DĪGHA-NIKĀYA

Romanize Pāli Text with English Translation



Alka Barua

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(Romanize Pāli Text with English Translation)

VOL- II

by

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2008

NEW BHARATIYA BOOK CORPORATION
DELHI INDIA

Published by :
NEW BHARATIYA BOOK CORPORATION
5824/7, New Chandrawal,
Near Shiv Mandir,
Jawahar Nagar,
Delhi–110007
Ph: 23851294, 65195809
E-mail newbbc@indiatimes.com

First Edition : 2008

ISBN No. : 81-8315-096-9

Printed by :
Jain Amar Printing Press
Delhi–110007

PREFACE

TO THE SECOND EDITION —

Does one but hold on long enough in this span of human wayfaring, one may be here to see even the translation of a Buddhist text sold out, with the gentle demand for it not yet exhausted. So has this work, after 28 years, attained to a second edition. By the process called 'off-set', emendations are difficult and costly. And there are no funds. Hence I have made only such as were most desirable, leaving in much which I should have wished to see expressed otherwise, both in my husband's work and in my own, were this more thoroughly a 'new' edition.

A word first to make clear our partnership in both this and the third (and last) volume, the first being wholly his work (published 1899). He ceased from his labours here in 1922, soon after the completion of these Dialogues. From the beginning of this century he had undertaken engrossing work as holding the new, the first Chair in a British University for the comparative study of religion, a task, at the present stage of research, fitter for half a dozen men than for one. Concentration on work in any one religious tradition had become impossible. It was only when Estlin Carpenter suggested that I should join in aiding the completion of the Dialogues that we both with good will started to do this. Of this second volume Rh D. had already, in 1881, published Suttantas XVI and XVII in *Sacred Books of the East,* XI. All the rest I translated, he revising my work, inserting many of the footnotes and contributing all the Introductions save that to the Mahā-Nidāna Suttanta, which is my work.

Another eleven years passed before the remaining volume was issued. Funds had to be raised, and our generous patron no longer sat on Siam's throne. My husband was ageing, his health

waning, and the accursed war came down. Siam's later monarch however, paid the printer, and the Dialogues achieved completion in 1921. Introductions to XXXI-XXXIII I wrote and all the translation.

In this edition it is mainly my own work that I have revised. Not a little in my partner's work needed revision, but there was not only expense, but the wish in me not to barge in on what was in a way a 'classic'. Moreover his footnotes, where a rendering seemed to him make-shift, often guard the reader. In all this there is matter in the history of research it may be well to keep in view.

Here I will briefly notice certain prominent renderings I have left unaltered, and also three of vital importance which I have altered.

(1) I have only altered Max-Mullerian transliteration (a system now generally discarded) where cerebrals were involved. To write *K* for C, *G* for J. etc., has proved for the general reader, ay, for the general writer too misleading to be left in. Further, I have let stand the circumflex for the long a ; also the less correct crude form of -i for -in, e.g. in Vipassin, and the crude form of -a in Gotama, etc. I never could share the partiality of some German and Asiatic scholars for the nominative in -o for general use. Such a phrase as 'he told Anado' is too unpleasant a shock—as were one to say 'amo tu'.

(2) I have let stand the use of 'god' for 'deva', but I do not find either 'god' or 'angel' historically fitting. In early Buddhism (as a consequence of the accepted Immanence) Vedic gods *had become friendly mortals,* living close by and given, in friendly-good will, to talk with the 'man-who-saw' and heard. Immanence had driven out, save for the many-folk, the notions of worship, prayer, ritual, intermediacy. Nor were devas always 'messengers' (angels) from a Highest. Nor do I like *devatā,* the abstract, as 'fairy' ; this I have changed to 'being' or 'spirit'.

(3) I have left in 'brethren' for *bhikkhu, bhikkhave,* etc. Unwillingly, but cf. footnote, 1st ed., p. 81. I have not the objection to 'monk' Rh. D. there shows, nor have I found Buddhists

objecting. We should not, because of convenience and tradition, force in 'brethren'. The Pali for 'brother' could have been used had it seemed meet ; it never was used.

(4) I have left in his 'intoxications' and my 'intoxicants' for 'āsavā'. We have no good word for spreading, absorbed, liquid Dane. 'Canker' is on the whole best, yet it is too 'dry'. Drugs, taints, poisons have also served.

(5) I have let *viññāṇa* be rendered by 'cognition', or by 'consciousness', albeit the older meaning : 'man-as-surviving' or 'soul' is in the main truer. But not in all Suttas. We see, in Majjhima 38, how this older meaning of a persisting principle, referred to as 'speaker, experiencer', is being hounded out, to be replaced by a meaning virtually identical with that of the other two varieties of cognition : *saññā, vedanā,* as merely the mental outcrop of sensation. *Viññāṇa,* in the Indian tradition, could connote both meanings ; we have no such Janus-word.

(6) I have let 'rapture' in Jhāna stand for *samādhi* (lit. 'concentration'), although it goes too far, is too near Chalmers' 'ecstasy', which also goes too far. The only 'rapture' about *samādhi* is the 'rapt' quality of hyper-attention. As 'rapture' it is too easily confused with *pīti,* or emotional rapture, which in *samādhi* had to be suppressed.

(7) I have let the usual 'wobbling' in translation stand, when it is *bhava* that has to be rendered. Thus (p. 131) the last two lines : 'craving for future life—renewed existence—no more birth' show a triple use of the one word *bhava,* thus : 'then is the craving for becoming rooted out— that which leads to becoming is faded out—there is no more becoming'. No one reading the former translation gets any idea of the sinister change which had come over this word. No one unhelped would recognize it as the joyous word on p. 267, when the king sends polite greeting : 'May good fortune *(bhava)* attend the honourable Jotipāla.' (The Commentary strongly supports this rendering). In original Buddhism 'becoming' is given as the reason why men needed Gotarna's message, as one which could promote that 'good fortune' in the spiritual growth of the man. It had come, in monas-

ticism, to mean the dreadful persistence of life both as 'rebirth' and as 're-worlded'. However, the translator, with his triple variant for the one Pali word, gets there, so far as the monastic outlook goes, and so I leave it.

(8) Then there is the great word, of all words hardest fitly to translate : Dhamrna. This is quite inaccurately rendered 'Truth' : Had the Buddhist speaker wished to say 'Truth', he had three strong words at hand : *sacca, bhūta, tathatā.* But no one regrets more than I that Rh. D. and I did not hammer out more often our renderings together. Till near his end I was too much just pupil ; let alone that we were both more or less akin to the Sutta Nipāta rhinoceros :

eko care khaggavisānakappo

My own view of that day I somewhat guard in a footnote (p. 29) by adducing the term 'Norm'. But Dhamma wants a better word than what is a 'good average'. Gotama's many brahmin fellow-workers will have had in mind the Upanishadic term *antaryāmin.* Yet will this not have sufficed for Dhamma, object from the first of the Leader's avowed worship. This was more ; it was inner incentive, urger, not merely restraining force. There was in Dhamma the push of conscience as well as its check. Hence possibly it is why *antaryāmin* did not get taken over by them, as for a while did *amrta.*

But *dhamma* had also got the wider looser meaning of 'religion'; for this no other word was current (save perhaps *suddhi).* Take an instance from our volume III, p. 37 : 'What is this *dhamma* wherein you train your disciples, so that they win comfort and acknowledge inclination as the beginning of the training, *ajjhāsayam ādibrahmacariyam* ?' How is not a stronger word, like 'will', wanted here). For us religion here fits better than any other term. If the reader will bear in mind this wider meaning of *dhamma,* and let 'Truth' convey this, Rh. D. will not have misled him. Anyway it is better than the rendering 'Law'.

Here a brief codicil. On p. 38 I have once more altered in a formula three epithets, usually applied to *dhamma,* and have let them apply, implicitly as in the Pali, to the life of the 'wayfarer'

(tathāgta). If *dhamma* means 'religion', these epithets : 'beginning, middle, end' have no fit place. Nor have they if we call *dhamma* 'Truth'. Nor can the three fit the later meaning now general among Southern Buddhists, of *dhamma* as a code of teaching, for, when this mission-charge was made to the first disciples, there was not yet any such code of oral teaching. Obviously, for me, the epithets apply to man's span of present life, here or elsewhere : *dhamma* as 'lovely at the beginning, middle, end.'

(9) A not unimportant matter is the leaving in, on p. 82 ff.. of 'prosper' for growth *(vuddhi)*. In the text we find *vuddhi* opposed to 'decay' *(parihāni)* : 'just growth is to be expected, not decay.' 'Prosper' is not in itself incorrect, but for me it is vital to remember, that not only here, at the end of his long mission, but at its very beginning, the inspiring message ran: 'Men are decaying ; as learners of (this) *dhamma* they will grow' (lit. 'become'). The great Man-lover is here shown keeping faith with the message from the Unseen from first to last. By the literal rendering 'growth' the reader can see this, as with 'prosper' he cannot.

This brings me to the three emendations I have made in our work, made because it is vital to an improved grasp of the teaching of original Buddhism that they should replace our own pioneer renderings, through which that grasp has been and still is crippled.

(10) The first is on pp. 29-32. Hero, in translating, I had docilely followed Oldenberg's rendering in *Vinaya Texts* (S.B.E.)—these pages being his work, not Rh. D's—and also K.E. Neumann's (p. 268 of his *Majjhima Nikāya,* 1917). A rendering I repeated, alas ! knowing no better then, in *Kindred Sayings,* I, pp. 173ff., 1917. These scholars judged that the word giving the better state for men who would hear Gotama teach meant just 'will be', not 'will become', or 'grow'. But this word 'will be' or 'become' is opposed to 'decaying,' thus indicating no mere future happening, but a causal process, an evolution, and hence had we all been more discerning, we should have seen that more was wanted than just a 'will be'. We had before us contexts

in both Upanishads and Pitakas, where *bhavissanti* (and other *bhu* inflections) clearly meant more than just a copula, or bare future state. The more pregnant meaning of 'will become' gives a hitherto buried consecutive force to the Hesitation scene and to its immediate sequel, as I have repeatedly pointed out.[1]

(II) The second corrected context is no less important. It is on p. 108 ; a very solemn, very emphatic parting charge. Rh. D.'s rendering is echoed by R.O. Franke's, which is yet more free. But that is not the worst. Both entirely ignored the religious import, in Gotama's day, of the word *attā (ātmā),* import by which the accepted teaching of Immanence brought into the word 'self', or 'spirit'. Deity Itself. 'Lamps . . . refuge *unto yourselves* 'may be good modern English tradition, but it was not Indian religious idiom of 500 B.C And when our translators render similar compounds of *ātmā* in the Upanishads, their procedure is very different. Then it is 'Lamp of the Self, refuge of the Self', or at least similar usage of this word. Why not this usage here also ?

Buddhists and lapsed Christians have lapped up this apparent call to be depending on the actual average self, quite overlooking that, in the Pali scriptures, the believer is usually told to take as refuge, not himself, not the two of the injunction : 'live as they that have the *attā,* that have *dhamma* as lamp, as refuge, and no other', but a *trinity* of lamps or refuges. And he cannot have it both ways. But I am here not mainly concerned with inconsistencies. It is for me most vital, I repeat, if we are to grip rightly the Founder's teaching, that we reject the atheistic or antitheistic presentation of it which, true enough of degenerate Hinayāna, is here thrust upon him who was the Child of a teaching of Immanence, the Child of an uplift in man—man as being, immanently and in germ, the Highest, the Peak of the Immortal *(t' amat' agge)*—an outlook unrivalled then and since in religious culture. I do not suppose we shall ever get the word 'self' to raise us religiously as it raised India. We have seen grow

1. Cf. esp. my *To become or not to Become*, 1937.

up, since Johnson's Dictionary registered our language, the meaning in self and unselfish of 'egoism', 'altruism'. But long before it, St. Catherine of Genoa had taught Immanence with a personal pronoun. 'My Me is God . . . by a process of transformation'. For her perhaps *ipse, stessa,* did not mean the ugly thing they now do, yet she chose well. And I think that if our translators had consistently used 'spirit', not 'self', that rather absurd perversion by our translators of the pathetic farewell had never been made. But we started our Indian culture with research into grammar, and only then moved on into religion, taking with us the *grammatical ātmā,* when we, richer here than India, had the better alternatives of 'spirit' and 'soul', India having the one word.

(12) The third alternative is of but one word, yet it is hardly less important than the others. On p. 33, where the Hesitation scene, true it may be of Gotama only, is told as true or earlier Buddhas, we see the Teacher-to-be, for whom doubt has now been dispelled, making glad response to the inspiring deva, whom psychically he has seen and heard. So glad was this for early compilers that it had been lifted into poetry :

Opened for man the portals of the Undying !

Man, as learning that he was essentially, not just a being, but a becoming, was herein to be shown how he had a very guarantee to winning the 'immortal peak' of Becoming, the very culmination of life (cf. p. 109). This glorious destiny for man conceived as essentially divine reverberates through the early Upanishads and was echoed by the Sakyan missioners.

But for the after-men the vision faded out. Life was to be realized—so far as man, his vision turned earthwards could see—not as an ever more and more, but as something to be got rid of. And for the virtually positive term *amata*. they substituted the actually negative term *nirvāna*. So we get the Commentary telling us, that the 'portals' are '*nibbāna* reckoned as *amata*', and the translators, alas ! following it, choosing (possibly for aesthetic reasons) the more musical exegetic term, and turning from a word belonging, as that term did not, to the best religious teaching *when 'Buddhism' was barn.* Late in time I have restored the 'undying' of the text, where *nirvāna* had been put.

Senior and junior translators, we may, in this volume leave- an impression of 'self-lit self-supported' confidence that is misleading. Nay, none have been more mindful of difficulties. And I regret that, in the translation transferred from *S.B.E. XI,* for my husband's general preface no room was found, since in it are words of modesty and historical sagacity. Thus he wrote : 'with very great diffidence I yet maintain, that the discovery of early Buddhism . . . has turned the flank, so to speak, of most of the existing literature on Buddhism'. After a lapse of sixty years I venture to think, that we can only now go on to achieve the flank-turning. Only now can we, with regard to the refrains and emphases in the Pitakas, endorse with confidence the truth in his special and later Introduction, in this volume, to No. XVI (p. 77). Namely, that these records may be considered authentic enough, but only in the one way in which any such record can be considered authentic, that is, as evidence of beliefs, of values, held *at the date at which it was composed.*

NOTE. I regret that, in the foregoing I did not list my cited reading of *t'amat' agge :* 'The peak of the Highest' as a fourth alteration. In preparing the volume for reprint, it had broken in on me, that Buddhaghosa's interpretation (p. 109 fn.) was fantastic, and of the worsened outlook of degenerate values. "Darkness" *(tamas)* plays here no part. The *t'*is the emphatic *ta ;* the *agge* is Magadhese nominative (lingering here and there in the Canon) ; and *amata* it was that the New Gospel *professed to be revealing.* The compound, coupled with the pregnant *bhavissanti,* as 'will become' shows this very grand old man (yet ever young) closing his long work with the very words with which he had begun. But so far philologians have shaken sapient heads at me!

INTRODUCTION

The 'Dīghā Nikāya' is regarded as the first book of the Sutta Pitaka. The Dīgha Nikāya' which is a collection of longer Suttas or discourses deals with various subjects of Buddhism. The book, (Romanize Pāli Text with English Translation) which is divided into three Volumes. The Mahāpadāna Sutta is the fourteenth sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya and Second Volume begins with this Sutta. The word 'Apadāna' used in the little signifies legend or life-story of the Buddha. It is also used as the little of the thirteen book of the khuddaka Nikāya of the Sutta Pitaka and it means the legends or life story of an Arhat. In later books, Apadāna is never used to mean the legend of a Buddha. The mahapādana may mean the story of the Great Ones (Seven Buddhas). This Sutta introduces an account of the seven Buddha's by way of illustrations. But it is only the life of vipassi, first of the seven precious Buddhas, which finds an elaborate treat this Sutta interprets the term Pātimokkha not in the vigorous sense of ethical discipline attainable by the imitation of the lives of the Great Master.

The Mahānidāna Sutta is the fifteenth Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya. This Sutta deals with the doctrine of Paticcasamuppāda or dependent origination of the law of causation and mentions soul. Seven kinds of being and eight kinds of vimokkhas or Stages of emancipation. The eight stages of emancipation are the condition of rūpi, arūpi, Saññi, recognition of Subha, realisation of ākāsānanañacāyatana (infinity of space). viññānānañcāyatana (infinitude of life-force or mind matter), of ākiñcaññayatana (realm or sphere of nothingness), of neva- Saññānasaññāyatana (neither perception nor non perception), and of Saññāvedayitanirodha (cessation of consciousness and sensation).

This Sutta also discusses the Cause of jāti (birth), jara (oldage) and marana (death). We learn from this Sutta, that there

was a talk between the Blessed one and venerable Ānanda. Here the latter told the former that it was really strange to see that the Dharma which is regarded as deep and profound appeared to me to be very easy. But the Buddha said to Ānanda that it was really not good to say like this. But the Buddha said to Ānanda that it was really not good to say like this. Because due to ignorance and non realisation of his Dharma, people were too busy with the worldly affairs and were entangled too much in this worldly matters and were not able to over come hell.

The Mahāparinibbāna Sutta is the Sixteen Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya. It is regarded as the best Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya. It deals with the Buddha's last days and his last speeches and Sayings. This Sutta refers to the Buddha's visit to vesāli (vaisāli). It mentions important events which practically affected the fate of Buddhism and records the wailings of men and women of countries far and near on hearing that the Blessed one would pass away too soon, and the honour with which the relics of the Buddha were received and cairns made over them, go to show how deeply were the people moved by the preachings and personalityof the Buddha. The last word of the Tathagata, "Decay, is inherent in all component things; work out your salvation with diligence" "Vayadhammā Samkhārā, appamādena Sampādethati" Strikes the keynote of Buddha's philosophy.

The Sutta mentions sila and Samādhi, four application of mind fulness (cattāre satipaṭṭhāna), four psychic powers (cattāre iddhipādā), five guiding faculties (pañca indriyāni), five forces (pañcabalāni) seven factors of enlightenment (satta bojjhanga), the noble eight-fold path (ariya aṭṭhaṅigika magga), the fourfold noble truth, Dhamma and vinaya, Vassakāra Brāhmana's visit to the Buddha, Seven conditions of welfare of the Bhikkhusaṁgha, the lineage of faith, eight causes of earth quake, eight causes of subduing others, the Buddha's visit to cunda, four places of pilgrimage of any devout lay Buddhist, good results relating to the erection of dhātucaityas, former greatness of kushīnārā, Subhadha's visit to the Buddha and his conversation with him, the Mahāparinibbāna of the Buddha or the passing away of the Buddha, the Mallas homage to the Buddha's dead body, the cremation of the dead body of the Blessed One, quarrel over the

Buddhas relics. Dona's important role for the peaceful distribution of the Buddha's relics. It further says that when Ajātasattu of Magadha wanted to declare war against the vajjians and to defeat them, then the Buddha told that the vajjians fulfilled the seven conditions of welfare and it was for this reason they would not face any danger now. It then describes that the disciples of Pātligāma cordially received the Buddha who referred to the five disadvantages for not observing the percepts by householders and also five advantages for observing precepts by householders.

The Sutta gives and account of the villages through which the Buddha passed on his way to kusinagara or kusinārā, and he gave the last instruction for the well being of the saṁgha. The names of the places were Pātaligāma, kotigāma, Nādikā, Vesāli, Bhandagāma, Bhoganagara, Pāvā and kusinārā. At Pāvā the Buddha stayed in the mangogrove of Cunda, who was the son of a blacksmith. He took his meal at cuṇḍa's place and then he had and attack of dysentry. From there he went to kusīnārā of the Mallas and there his Mahāparinibbāna took place between the twin Sāla trees. This Sutta then describes the distribution of the Buddha's relics amongst the Moriyas of Pipphalivana. Ajātasattu of Magadha, the Licchavis of Vaiśāli (Vesāli), the Sākyas (Sākiyos) of kapilavastu (kapilavatthu), the Bulis of Allakappa, the koliyas of Rāmagāma, a Brāhmaṇa of Vettadīpa, and the Mallas of Pāvā and kusinārā who erected stupas over them.

The Sutta informs us about the republican states like vajji, Malla, Buli and koliya, From this Sutta we learn that the Buddha said to his disciples to observe precepts meditation, knowledge and emancipation and he also introduced four rules to ascertain the Buddhavacanas authertically. He also told his lay disciples to go to kapilvastu, Gaya, Benaras and kusinagara. This Sutta records that the Buddha described Parisā or assemblies of the gods which were the assembly of the cātummahārājika gods, the assembly of the Tāvatimsa gods, the assembly of Mara and the assembly of Brahmā.

The Mahāsudassana Sutta is the Seventeenth Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya. It begins with an account of the riches and glory of Mahāsudassana. It reveals in its details the instructive fact that the legend is nothing more or less than a spiritualised sun-myth.

The Sutta mentions the greatest glory and majesty of the greatest king, the royal city and its place of Righteousness, the extent of his kingdom and his enjoyment. The aim and object of it is to inform us that all is vanity except righteousness. It says that nothing is permanent and there is an inevitable destruction of all objects. For this reason it has used rhetorical phrases and other figurative expressions. It mentions the past greatness of kusāvatī (kusinagara, kusīnārā), which was king Sudassana's city.

The Janavasabha Sutta is the eighteenth Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya. It deals with the rebirths of Gautama Buddhas faithful lay disciples, the effect of name, great kings of four quarters, joy of the gods, the four ways of miraculous power or magical power (iddhi), the three ways of bliss and seven requistes relating to samādhi or concentration. It also describes the Tāvatiṁsa gods, the gods of Paranimmita Vasavatti, Nimmānarati, Yāma, Cātummahārājika heavens, and king vessavana kuvera's assembly form it. We learn that about 24,00,000 lay-devotees, who belonged to Magadha followed the Buddha's instructions properly and were able to attain the Sotāpattiphala or the fruition of the first stage of sanctification.

The nineteenth Sutta is the Mahā-Govinda Sutta. It is important from the standpoint of ancient Indian history and geography. It deals with the Buddhist conception of the Shape of India. It states that on the north India was broad but in the South its form was like the front portion of a cart (i.e., sakatamukhaṁ) and was divided into seven equal parts. They were kalinga, Patana, Avanti, Sovīra, Videha, Aṅga and kāsi. This Sutta mentions the Suddhamma or Mete Hall of the gods of Tāvatiṁsa Heaven where all the gods assembled there and Sakka, the king of gods, acted as the President and they members through the appearance in their midst, of new gods produced by the good karma of the followers of the new view of life put forward by Gautama. Sakka, who was regarded as the lord of the gods, praised the Buddha in a few verses. From this Sutta we learn about Mahā-Brahmā's views of an ideal Brāhmana, concept of Nirvana, path leading to it, practice of piety, danger of delay, the lower and higher ways, and Mahā Govinda's renunciation of the worldly life with many followers and his seven wives.

The Mahā Samaya Sutta is the twentieth Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya. It deals with the continual change in animistic belief which was then prevalent in India. There are three parts to the poem. The first is the list of gods, the second, the framework put into the Buddha's mouth, at the beginning and at the end, the third the prologue, with the verse of the four gods of the four gods of the Pure Abode. The prologue has been preserved as a separate episode in the samyutta 1, 27. The way in which the list is fitted into the framework in our section four, fifth and sixth is very confused, and awkward: and the grammer of the frame work is inconsistent with the grammer of the list. It is highly probable therefore that the list itself and also the epilogue has been handed down as independent works in the community before our sutta was composed. The frame-work may be the work of the editor. The legends told here were intended to counteract the animistic delusions about them then so prevalent in the Ganges valley. They are almost the only evidence we have as yet outside the priestly books. This Sutta refers to some gods of the earth and also of the regions above and in all, there is a reference to a long list of gods.

The Sakkapañha Sutta is the twenty first of the Digha Nikāya. This Sutta describes that the Buddha stayed at a Brāhmaṇa village named Ambasaṇda which was near Magadha and there he dwelt in the Indasāla cave on the vediya mountain Sakka, found it very difficult to approach the Buddha, who had then engaged himself in deep meditation. He then took the help of Pañcasikha who was a heavenly Musician (gandhabba). This musician sang in praise of the blessed one, the truth, the Arahant and love. The Buddha was deeply moved by the music of the Gandhabba and then he had a talk with him and he came to know about the advent of Sakka through his conversation with him. Sakka paid homage to the Buddha and asked several questions which were related to ethics and psychology. He was very happy with the Buddha's answer and he was then converted to Buddhism.

This Sutta also deals with the causes of malice and avarice, the causes of favour or disfavour, this path relating to papañca (any of the evil conditions), Sañña (consciousness), and

samkhāranirodha; (cessation of confectional) and the rules of the Pātimokkha which were to be followed by a bhikkhu. It then discusses the Buddha's sojourn in the kingdom of Magadha, and Gopika, a Sākya princess, who was happy with the Buddha, the Dhamma and the saṁgha, observed the precepts properly, and was so much unhappy with women life that she exgaged harself in meditation to become a man.

The Mahā Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta is the twenty Second sutta of the Digha Nikāya. It deals with the path of mindfulness (sati). The Aryan Path can be obtained with the help of mindfulness. In this Sutta the Buddha told his disciples to set up mindfulness. It then discusses four types of meditation on impurities and impermanency of body and impermanency of vedanā (sensation), citta (thought) and dhamma (condition). It also mentions five hindrances, seven part of wisdom, four truth, five khandhas or aggregates and various stages of inhalations and exhalations.

The Pāyāsi Sutta is the twenty third sutta of the Digha Nikāya. This Sutta has received its name after a khattiya teacher and philosopher named Pāyāsi, who was a cheftain of Setavya, a city of kosalans. According to him, there was no rebirth after death and that the acts of a being, good or bad, did not produce and effect. But kumāra kassapa a disciple of the Buddha, refuted this view and with the help of similesa and analogy he was able to show and to prove that Pāyāsi's arguments had no value at all and they were useless. So he was able to convince Pāyāsi and defeated him by his arguments and as a result, Pāyāsi became a disciple of kassapa. The second part of the dialogue is sequal to the first which is a dialogue between Pāyāsi and his disciple Uttara. Here the latter was successful in persuading Pāyāsi to extablish gifts in the faith. The third part is a sequal to the second and it deals with a conversation between the venerable Gavampati and the god Pāyāsi in the lovely sarisakma Mansion

The Pāyāsi Sutta records moon god and Sun god, message from the dead excape of the soul, search for the soul and right and wrong sacrifices.

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(The Great Discourse on Causation)

Introduction to the Parinibbāna Sutta

16. Parinibbāna Sutta 135-341
(The Book of the Great Decease)

Introduction to the Mahāsudassana Sutta

17. Mahāsudassana Sutta 342-408
(The Great King of Glory)

Introduction to the Janavasabha Sutta

18. Janavasabha Sutta 409-444
(Janavasabha's Story)

Introduction to the Maha Govinda Sutta

19. Maha Govinda Sutta 445-501
(The Lord High Steward)

Introduction to the Mahāsamaya Sutta

20. Mahā-Samaya Sutta 502-522
(The Great Concourse)

Introduction to the Sakka-Pañha Sutta

21. Sakka-Pañha Sutta 523-574
(The Questios of Sakka)

Introduction to the Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta

22. Mahā Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta 575-621
(Setting up of Mindfulness)

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23. Pāyāsi Sutta 622-690
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INTRODUCTION
TO THE
Mahāpadāna-Sutta

The fourteenth is the Mahāpadāna Sutta. The word 'Apadāna' used in the title signifies legend or life story of a Buddha[1]. It is also used as the title of the thirteenth book of the khuddaka Nikāya of the Sutta Piṭaka and it means the legent or life-story of an Arahat. The Mahāpadāna may mean the story of the Great ones (Seven Buddhas). This Sutta introduces and account of the seven Buddhas by way of illustrations. But it is only the life of vipassi, first of the seven previous Buddhas, which finds an elaborate treatment in it. It should be noted that the cullaniddesa (Page-80) cites this Sutta as a typical instance of the earlier Jātakas. This Sublime Story in Pāli may be held in a way to be the historical basis of the Mahāvastu, the Book of the Great Story Further, it may be seen that this Sutta interprets the term Pātimokkha not in the vigorous sense of a penal Code of the monks but in a higher sense of ethical discipline attainable by the imitation of the lives of the Great Masters.

1. See Dr. B.C. Law's 'A Study of the Mahāvastu' (Supplement), PP.–4–8– Jātaka and Avadāna or Apadāna contrasted.

Dīgha Nikāya

xiv. Mahāpadāna-Sutta.

1. 1. Evam me sutaṃ. Ekaṃ samayaṃ Bhagavā Sāvatthiyaṃ viharati Jetavane Anāthāthapiṇḍikassa ārāme[1] Kareri-kuṭikāyaṃ.[2] Atha kho sambahulāta - paṭikkantānaṃ Kareri-maṇḍala-māḷe[3] sannisinnānaṃ sannipatitānaṃ pubbe-nivāsa-paṭisaṃyuttā dhammī[4] kathā udapādi: 'Iti pubbe-nivāso ti.'

1. Thus have I heard. The Exalted One was once staying at Sāvatthi, in Anātha Pindka's pleasaunce in the Jeta Wood, at the Kareri-tree cottage[5]. Now among many bhikkhus who had

1. K Anāthapīṇḍikassârāme (*spells* - pīṇḍ-, *and below* pīṇḍapāta, etc.)
2. B[m] Karerī, *and so always.* S[cd] Karerū *here,* Kareri *in* § 2: K Kareri *throughout.* Sum Kareru- *thrice,* Kareri *once.*
3. K *always,* B[m] *mostly,* SS *frequently* māḷe (SS *here* kareri-).
4. B[m] *dhammi, and onwards*
5. Kareri, according to Childers, is *Cappan's trifoliata.* The Cy. states that this tree which stood by the entrance to the cottage was a Varuna-tree, suggestive, if true, of the superseded tree-cult into which Varuna-worship had declined. See Rhys Davids's 'Buddhist India,' p. 235; Jāt. IV, 8. There were four principal buildings in the Jeta Wood : the cottage or chamber in question, the Kosamba-tree cottage, a perfumed chamber, and the fir-tree house (salala= sarala-ghara). According to the commentator each cost 100,000 [? kahāparcas] to build, but the ancient bas-relief on the Bharahat Tope shows clearly cottages, and apparently cottages of only one room each. In § 12 below this cottage is called a vihāra; and the latter word, in the ancient texts, always means a single room or lodging-place. Anātha-pindika had built the first three, King Pasenadi the last.

returned from their alms-tour and were assembled, sitting together after their meal, in the pavilion in the Kareri grounds[1], a religious conversation bearing on previous births arose, to the effect that thus and thus were previous births[2].

2. Assosi kho Bhagavā dibbāya sota-dhātuyā visuddhāya atikkanta-mānusikāya tesaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ imaṃ kathā-sallāpaṃ. Atha kho Bhagavā uṭṭhāy' āsanā yena Kareri-maṇḍala-māḷo ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā paññatte[3] āsane nisīdi. Nisajja kho Bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi:

'Kāya nu 'ttha bhikkhave etarahi kathāya sannisinnā, kā ca pana vo antarā kathā vippakatā ti ?'

Evaṃ vutte te bhikkhū Bhagavantaṃ etad avocuṃ :

'Idha bhante amhākaṃ pacchā-bhattaṃ paṇḍapāta-paṭikkantānaṃ Kareri-maṇḍala-māḷe[4] sannisinnānaṃ sannipatitānaṃ pubbe-nivāsa-paṭisaṃyuttā dhammī kathā udapādi : "Iti pubbe-nivāso iti pubbe nivāso ti." Ayaṃ kho no bhante antarā kathā vippakatā atha Bhagavā anuppatto ti.'

2. And the Exalted One, with clear and Heavenly Ear surpassing the hearing of men, overheard this conversation among the bhikkhus[5]. And arising from his seat he came to the pavilion

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1. Mālo. Buddhaghosa describes this as a nisīdana-sālā, or sitting-room, built near the cottage. At the time when this Sutta was composed it meant a thatched roof supported by wooden pillars. There were no walls to it.
2. According to the Cy. only religious teachers, religious disciples, Pacceka-Buddhas, and the Saviour Buddhas could recall their own or other previous lives, and, of the first, only those who taught Karma. Except the memories of the great Buddhas, which have no limit whatever, a limit is given in the case of each of these classes, past which they could not recall. This systematizing of a popular belief seems to indicate that, when Buddhaghosa lived, no claim to such transcendent memory was actually made among his contemporaries.
3. K paññattâsane.
4. *So all MSS.*
5. Buddhaghosa distinguishes between the 'omniscient knowledge'

in the Kareri grounds, and took his seat on the mat spread out for him. And when he had sat down he said to the brethren :—'What is the talk on which you are engaged sitting here, and what is the subject of conversation between you ?' [And they told him all.]

3. 'Iccheyyātha no tumhe bhikkha ve pubbe-nivāsa-paṭisaṃyuttaṃ dhammiṃ kathaṃ sotun ti ?'

'Etassa Bhagavā kālo, etassa Sugata Kālo, yaṃ bhagavā pubbe-nivāsa-paṭisaṃyunttaṃ dhammiṃ kathaṃ kareyya, Bhagavato[1] sutvā bhikkhū dhāressantîti.'

'Tena hi bhikkhave suṇātha, sādhukaṃ manasikarotha, bhāsissāmîti.'

'Evaṃ bhante' ti kho te bhikkhū Bhagavato paccassouṃ. Bhagavā etad avoca:

3. Then he said :—'Do you not wish, brethren, to hear some religious talk on the subject of former lives ?'

'Now is the time, O Exalted One, now is the time, O Welcome One, for the Exalted One to give us a religious discourse on the subject of former lives. When the brethren have heard it from the Exalted One they will bear it in mind.'

'Wherefore then, brethren, hearken well to me, and I will speak.'

'So be it, lord,' replied the brethren. And the Exalted One said :—

4. 'Ito so bhikkhave eka-navuto kappo[2] yaṃ Vipassī bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho loke udapādi. Ito so bhikkhave eka-tiṃso kappo[3] yaṃ Sikhī bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho loke udapādi. Tasmiṃ yeva kho bhikkhave eka-tiṃse kappe Vessabhū bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-

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by which the Buddha realizes the drift of the talk in the Brahmajāla Sutta ('Dialogues,' I, 2), and the divine hearing, as by a finer sense, operating here.

1. K *adds* vacanaṃ.
2. *So* SS *and* K; B^{m} eka-navuti-kappe. *Comp.* Jāt. i. 41, *and below* 3. 29 *and* 31.
3. S^{c} eka-tiṃsa-kappe, B^{m} tiṃse kappe.

sambuddho loke udapādi. Imasmiṃ yeva[1] kho bhikkhave bhadda-kappe Kakusandho bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho loke udapādi. Imasmiṃ yeva kho bhikkhave bhadda-kappe Konāgamano[2] bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho loke udapādi. Imasmiṃ yeva kho bhikkhave bhadda-kassapo bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho loke udapādi. Imasmiṃ yeva kho bhikkhave bhadda-kappe ahaṃ etarahi arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho loke uppnno.

4. 'It is now ninety-one aeons ago, brethren, since Vipassi, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, arose in the world. It is now thirty-one aeons ago, brethren, since Sikhi, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, arose in the world. It was in that same thirty-first aeon, brethren, that Vessabhu, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, arose in the world. It was in this present auspicious aeon, brethren, that Kakusandha, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, arose in the world. It was in this auspicious aeon, brethren, that Konagamana, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, arose in the world. It was in this auspicious aeon, brethren, that Kassapa, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, arose in the world. It is in this auspicious aeon, brethren, that now I, an Arahant, Buddha Supreme, have arisen in the world.'

5. 'Vipassī bhikkhave bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho khattiyo jātiyā ahosi, khattiya-kule udapādi. Sikhī bhikkhave bhagavā araham sammā-sambuddho khattiyo jātiyā ahosi, khattiya-kule udapādi. Vessabhū bhikkhave bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho khattiyo jātiyā ahosi, khattiya-kule udapādi. Kakusandho bhikkhave bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho brāhmaṇo jātiyā ahosi, brāhmaṇa-kule udapādi. Konāgamano bhikkhave bhagavā arahṃ smmā sambuddho brāhmaṇo jātiyā ahosi, brāhmaṇa-kule udapādi. Kassapo bhikkhave bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sāmbuddho brāhmaṇo jātiyā ahosi, brāhmaṇa-kule udapādi. Ahaṃ bhikkkave etarahi arahṃ sammā-sambuddho khattiyo jātiyā ahosiṃ.[1] khat-tiya-kule uppanno.

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1. SS *omit.*
2. *So* S^{cd} K; Fausböll *prints* Koṇā°, *so* S B^m. S^c B^m *add* nāma.
3. B^m ahosi.

5. Vipassī, the exatted one, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, was belonged to Sratiya caste, born in the Noble family. Sikhi, the Exalted one, Arhant, Buddha Supreme, was belonged to Sratiya Caste, born (arose) in the noble family. Vessabhu, the exalted one, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, was belonged to Sratiya Family. Kakusandha the Exaalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, was belonged to Brahmin Caste, born (arose) in the Brahmin family. Konaamana, the Exalted On, Arahant, Buddha supreme, was belonged to Brahmin Caste, born (arose) in the Brahmin family. Konagamana, the Exalted One, Arhant, Buddha Supreme, was belonget to Brahmin Caste, born in the Brahmin family. Kassapa, the Exalted one, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, was belonged to Brahmin caste, born in the Brahmin family that now. I , an Arahant, Buddha Supreme have belonged to Sratiya Caste, Born (arisen) in the noble family.

6. 'Vipāssī bhikkhave bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho Koṇḍañño gottena ahosi. Kikhī bhikkhave bhavavā arahaṃ sammā sambuddho Koṇḍañño gottena ahosi. Vessabhū bhikkhave bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho Koṇḍañño gottena ahosi. Kakusandho bhik-khave bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho Kassapo gottena ahosi. Konāgamano bhikkhave bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho kassapo gottena ahosi. Kassapo bhikkhave bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho Kassapo gottena ahosi. Ahaṃ bhikkhave etarahi arahaṃ sammā sambuddho Gotamo gottena.[2]

6.Vipassi, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, was belonged to Kodañña a clan. Sikhi, the Exalted one Arhant, Buddha Supreme, was belonged to Kodañña clan. Vessabha the Exalṭed One, Arahant, Buddha was belonged to Kodañña clan Kakusandha, the Exalted one Arhant, Buddha Supreme, was belonged to kassapa clan. Konagaman, the Exalted one Arhant, Buddha Supreme, was belonged to kassapa clan. kassapa, the Exalted one Arhant, Buddha Supreme, was belonged to Kassapa clan. that now I, am Arahant Buddha Supreme, have belonged to Gotama clan.

7. 'Vipassissa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa asītiṃ[3] vassa-sahassāni āyuppamāṇaṃ ahosi. Sikhissa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa sattati[4] vassa-sahassāni āyuppamāṇaṃ ahosi. Vessabhussa

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2. K *adds* ahosiṃ ; S^c B^m *add* ahosi.
3. B^m K asiti.
4. *So all four MSS. and* K. Jāt. i. 42 satta-tiṃsa.

bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā sambuddhassa saṭṭhi[5] vassa-sahassāni āyuppamāṇaṃ ahosi. Kakusandhassa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa cattārīsaṃ[6] vassa-sahassāni āyuppamāṇaṃ ahosi. Konāgamanassa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa tiṃsa vassa-sahassāni āyuppamāṇaṃ ahosi. Kassapassa bhikkhave bhagacato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa vīsatiṃ[7] vassa-sahassāni āyuppamānaṃ ahosi. Mayhaṃ bhikkhave etarahi appakaṃ a āyuppamāṇaṃ parittaṃ,[8] yo ciraṃ jīvati so vassasataṃ appạ vā bhiyyo.

7. Vipassi, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme's length of the life was eighty thousand year old, Sikhi, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme's length of the life was seventy thousand year old. Vessabhu, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme's length of the life was sixty thousand year old. Kakusandha, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme's length of the life was forty thousand year old. Konagamana, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme's length of the life was thirty thousand year old. Kassapa, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme's length of the life was twenty thousand year old. that now I am Arahant Buddha Supreme's length of the life was one thousand year old.

8. 'Vipassī bhikkhave bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho pāṭaliyā mūle abhisambuddho. Sikhī bhikkhave bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho puṇḍarīkassa[1] mūle abhisambuddho. Vessabhū bhikkhave bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho sālassa mūle bhisambuddho. Kakusandho bhikkhave bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho sirīsassa[2] mūle abhisambuddho. Konāgamano bhikkhave bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho udumbarassa mūle abhisambuddho. Kassapo bhikkhave bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho nigrodhassa mūle abhisambuddho. Ahaṃ bhikkhave etarahi arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho assatthassa mūle abhisambuddho.

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5. S[t] saṭṭhiṃ.
6. B[m] cattālīsa; K - ḷisa.
7. B[m] K vīsati.
8. *So* Sum. *and* S[cdt] *here and in* 3.30; B[m] K lahukaṃ.
1. B[m] puṇḍarik[O].
2. B[m] sīrisassa.

8. Vipassi, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, was became enlighted under Patali tree. Sikhi, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, was became enlighted under Pundarika tree. Vessabhu, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, was became enlighted under Sala tree. Kakusandha, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, was became enlighted under Sirisa tree. Konagamana, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, was became enlighted under Udumbara tree. Kassapa, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, was became enlighted under Nigrodha tree that now I an Arahant, Buddha Supreme, was became enlighted under Assatthaz tree.

9. 'Vipassissa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa Khaṇḍa-Tissaṃ nāma sāvaka-yugam ahosi aggaṃ. Sikhissa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa Abhibhū-Sabhavaṃ nāma sāvaka-yugaṃ ahosi aggaṃ bhadda-yugaṃ. Vessabhussa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa Soṇ-Uttaraṃ[3] nāma sāvaka-yugaṃ ahosi aggaṃ bhadda-yugaṃ. Kakusandhassa bhikkhave bhagvato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa vidhūra-Sañjīvaṃ[4] nāma sāvaka-yugaṃ ahosi aggaṃ bhadda-yugaṃ. Konā-gamanassa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sam-buddhassa Bhiyyos-Uttaraṃ[5] nāma sāvaka-yugaṃ ahosi aggaṃ bhadda-yugaṃ. Kassapassa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa Tissa-Bhāradvājaṃ nāma sāvaka-yugaṃ ahosi aggaṃ bhadda-yugaṃ. Mayhaṃ bhikkhave etarahi Sāriputta-Moggallānaṃ nāma sāvaka-yugaṃ ahosi[6] aggaṃ bhadda-yugaṃ.

9. Vipassi, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme's name of the chief disciples were Khanda and Tissa. Sikhi, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme's name of the chief disciples were Abhibhu and and Sambhava. Vessabhu, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme's name of the chief disciples were Sona and Ultara. Kakusandha, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme's name of the chief disciples were Vidhura and Sanjiva. Konagamana the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme's name of the chief disciples were Bhiyyosa and Uttara. Kassapa, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme's

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3. K S^c Sonuttaraṃ.
4. SS B^m Vidhura. *and so* Trenckner *at* M. i. 333; K Vidhūra. *So also* S ii. 191. B^p at M. i. 33, Jāt. i. 42, *and* Sum.
5. S^cd Bhīyosu naṃ
6. *So all MSS. and* K.

name of the chief disciples were Tissa and Bharadvaja. That now, I an Arahant, Buddha Supreme's name of the chief disciples were Sariputta and Moggallana.

10. 'Vipassissa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa toyo sāvakānaṃ sannipātā ahesuṃ. Eko sāvakānaṃ sannipāto ahosi aṭṭha-saṭṭhi-bhikkhusata-sahassaṃ. Eko sāvakānaṃ sannipāto ahosi bhikkhusata-sahassaṃ. Eko sāvakānaṃ sannipāto ahosi asīti-bhikkhu-sahassāni. Vipassissa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa ime tayo sāvakānaṃ sannipātā ahesuṃ sabbesaṃ yeva khīṇâsavānaṃ.

'Sikhissa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa tayo sāvakānaṃ sannipātā ahesuṃ. Eko sāvakānaṃ sannipāto ahosi bhikkhu-sata-sahassam.[1] Eko sāvakānaṃ sannipāto ahosi asītiṃ[2] bhikkhu-sahassāni. Eko sāvakānaṃ sannipāto ahosi sattati bhikkhu-sahassāni. Sikhissa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa ime tayo sāvakānaṃ sannipātā ahesuṃ sabbesaṃ yeva khīṇâsavānaṃ.

'Vessabhussa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā--sam-buddhassa tayo sāvakānaṃ sannipātā ahesuṃ. Eko sāvakānaṃ sannipāto ahosi asītiṃ[3] bhikkhu-sahassāni. Eko sāvakānaṃ sannipāto ahosi sattati-bhikkhu-sahassāni. Eko sāvakānaṃ sannipāto ahosi saṭṭhi bhikkhu-sahassāni. Vessabhussa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa ime tayo sāvakānaṃ sannipātā ahesuṃ sabbesaṃ yeva khīṇâsavānaṃ.

'Kakusandhassa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa eko sāvakānaṃ sannipāto ahosi cattārīsaṃ[4] bhikkhu-sahassāni. Kambuddhassa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa ayaṃ eko sāvakānaṃ sannipāto ahosi sabbesaṃ yeva khīṇâsavānaṃ.

'Konāgamanassa bhikkhave bhavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa eko sāvakānaṃ sannipāto ahosi tiṃsa bhikkhu-sahassāni. Konāgamanassa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa ayaṃ eko sāvakānaṃ sannipāto ahosi sabbesaṃ yeva khīṇâsavānaṃ.

'Kassapassa bhikkhave Bhagavato arahato sammā-sam-

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1. S[c] sahassāni.
2. B[m] K asīti.
3. B[m] K asīti.
4. B[m] cattālīsa ; K -līsa.

buddhassa eko sāvakānaṃ sannipāto ahosi vīsatiṃ[1] bhikkhu-sahassāni. Kassapassa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa ayaṃ eko sāvakānaṃ sannipāto ahosi sabbesaṃ yeva khīṇâsavānaṃ.

'Mayhaṃ bhikkhave etarahi eko sāvakānaṃ sannipāto ahosi aḍḍha-teḷasāni[2] bhikkhu-satāni. Mayhaṁ bhikkhave ayaṃ eko sāvākānaṃ sannipāto ahosi sabbesaṃ yeva khīṇâsāvānaṃ.

10. Vipassi, the Exalted One, Arhant Buddha Supreme, had three assebl̩ies of disciple. Sixty eight lakh bhikkhu presented at one assembly of disciple. One lakh bhikkhu presented at one assembly of disciple. Eighty lakh bhikkhu presented at one assembly of disciple. These were the three assembly where all were free from mental obsessions, Arahant.

Sikhi, the Exatted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, had three assemblies of disciple. One lakh bhikkhu presented at one assembly of disciple. Eight thousand bhikkhu presented at one assembly of disciple. Seventy thousand bhikkhu presented at one assembly of disciple. These were the three assemblies where all were free from mental obsession, Arahant.

Vessabhu, the exalted one, Arahant, Buddha Supreme had three assembles disciplinc Eight thousand bhikkhu presented at one assembly of disciple. Seventy thousand bhikkhu presented at one assembly of disciple. Sixty thousand bhikkhu presented at one assembly of disciple. These were the three assemblies where all were free from mental obsession, Arahant.

Kakusandha, the exalted one, Arahant, Buddha Supreme had one assembles of disciplie. Forty thousand bhikkhu presented at one assembly of disciples at one assembly of disciplies. This was the One assemblies of disciples. Where all were free from mental obsession, Arahant.

Konāgamana, the exalted one, Arahant, Buddha Supreme had one assembles of disciplines. Thirty thousand bhikkhu presented at one assembly of disciples where all were free from mental obsession, Arahant.

Kassapa, the exalted one, Arahant, Buddha Supreme had one assembles of discipline. Twenty thousand bhikkhu presented

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1. Bᵐ K vīsati.
2. Sᶜᵈᵗ telasāni *here, but* ! *in* § 30. Sum. *has* 1.

.at assembly of disciples where all were free from mental obsession, Arahant.

I an Arahant, Buddha Supreme have one assembles of disciplines. One thousand two hundred fifty bhikkhu presented at the assembly of disciples. Where all were free from mental obsession, Arahant.

11. 'Vipassissa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa Asoko nāma bhikkhu upṭṭhāko ahosi aggupaṭṭhāko. Sikhissa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa Khemaṃkaro[3] nāma bhikkhu upaṭṭhāko ahosi aggupaṭṭhāko. Vessabhussa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa Upasannako[4] nāma bhikkhu upaṭṭhāko ahosi aggupaṭṭhāko. Kaku-sandhassa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa Buddhijo[5] nāma bhikkhu upaṭṭhāko ahosi aggupaṭṭhāko. Konāgamanassa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambudhassa Sotthijo nāma bhikkhu upaṭṭhāko ahosi aggupaṭṭhāko. Kassapassa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa Sabbamitto nāma bhikkhu upaṭṭhāko ahosi aggupaṭṭhāko. Mayhaṃ bhikkhave etarahi Ānando bhikkhu upaṭṭhāko[6] aggu-paṭṭhāko.

11. Vipassi, the exalted one, Arahant, Buddha Supreme Ashoka was the name of the usual attendant Bhikku. Sikhi, the exalted one, Arahant, Buddha Supreme Khemankura was the name of the usual attendant Bhikku. Verssabhu, the exalted one, Arahant, Buddha Supreme's upasannaka was the name of the usual attendant Bhikku. Kakusandha, the exalted one, Arahant, Buddha Supreme's Bhuddhya was the name of the usual attendant Bhikku. Konagaman, the exalted one, Arahant, Buddha Supreme's Sotthija was the name of the usual attendant Bhikku. Kassapa, the blessed one, Arahant, Buddha Supreme's Sabbanitta was the name of the usual attendant Bhikku. I am Arahant the Buddha Supreme's Ananda was the name of the usual attendant Bhikku.

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3. K Khemaṅk°.
4. K B^{m} *and* Jāt. i. 42 Upasanto : *but* K *gices* Upasannako *also as the Sinhalese reading*
5. K Vuḍḍhijo.
6. *All Mss. and* K *add* ahosi : *but see* Sum.

12. 'Vipassissa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa Bandhumā nāma rājā pitā ahosi, Bandhumatī nāma devī mātā ahosi janettī. Bandhumassa rañño Bandhumatī nāma nagaraṃ rāja-dhānī ahosi.

'Sikhissa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa Aruṇo nāma rājā pitā ahosi, Pabhāvatī nāma devi mātā ahosi janettī. Aruṇassa rañño Aruṇavatī nāma nagaraṃ rāja-dhānī ahosi.

'Vessabhussa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sam-buddhassa Suppatīto[1] nāma rājā pitā ahosi, Yasavatī nāma devī mātā ahosi janettī. Suppatītassa rañño Anopamaṃ[2] nāa nagaraṃ rāja-dhānī ahosi.

'Kakusandhassa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa Aggidatto nāma Brāhmaṇo pitā ahosi. Visākhā nāma Brāhmaṇī mātā ahosi janettī. Tena kho pana bhikkhave samayena Khemo nāma rājā ahosi. Khemassa rañño Khemavatī[3] nāma nagaraṃ rāja-dhānī ahosi.

'Konāgamanassa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa Yaññadatto[4] nāma Brāhmaṇo pitā ahosi, Uttarā nāma Brāhmaṇī mātā ahosi janettī. Tena kho pana bhikkhave samayena Sobho nāma rāja ahosi. Sobhassa rañño Sobhavatī nāma nagaraṃ rājā-dhānī ahosi.

'Kassapassa bhikkhave bhagacato arebato sammā-sambuddhassa Brahmadatto nāma Brāhmaṇo pitā ahosi. Dhanavatī nāma Brāhmaṇī mātā ahosi janettī. Tena kho pana bhikkhave samayena Kikī[5] nāma rājā ahosi. Kikissa rañño Bārāṇasī nāma nagaraṃ rāja-dhānī ahosi.

'Mayhaṃ bhikkhave etarahi Suddhodano nāma rājā pitā ahosi, Māyā devī mātā[6] janettī. Kapilavatthu[7] nagaraṃ rāja-dhānī[8] ti.'

Idam avoca Bhagavā. Idaṃ vatvā[9] Sugato uṭṭhāy āsanā vihāraṃ pāvisi.[10]

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1. B[m]-tito.
2. S[t] Ahonāpamaṃ, B[m] K Anomaṃ.
3. Jāt. i. 42 Khemaṃ.
4. S[dt] Saññadattho.
5. K Kiṃkī, *and* Kiṃkissa *below*.
6. K mātā ahosi.
7. B[m] *adds* nāma: Kvatthuṃ nāma.
8. K ahosīti.
9. B[m] K vatvana.
10. B pāvīsi.

12. Vipassi, the exalted one, Arahant, Buddha Supreme's father name was King Bandhuma, mother name was Bandhumati, name of the birthplace was Bandhumati, Capital of the king bandhuma.

Sikhi, the exalted one, Arahant, Buddha Supreme's father name was King Aruna, mother name was pathavati, name of the birthplace was Arunavati, name of the capital was Arbna.

Vessabhu, the exalted one, Arahant, Buddha Supreme's father name was King Suppatita, mother name was yasavati, name of the birthplace was Anopama, name of the capital was Suppatita.

Kakusandha, the exalted one, Arahant, Buddha Supreme's father name was Brahman Aggidatta, mother name was Brahmani Vishakha brethren, in that time name of the capital was khem, name of the birthplace was Khemavati, Capital of the king Khema.

Konagamana, the exalted one, Arahant, Buddha Supreme's father name was Brahman Yaññadatta, mother name was Brahmani Uttara, in that time name of the king was Sobha, name of the birthplace was Sobhavati, name of the capital was Sobha.

Kassapa, the exalted one, Arahant, Buddha Supreme's father name was Brahman Brahmadatta, mother name was Brahmani Dhanavati, in that time name of the king was Kiki, name of the birthplace was Baranasi, name of the capital was Kiki.

Brethrem, My father name was King Sudhodana, mother name was Mayadevi, name of the capital was Kapilvastu.

13. Atha kho tesaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ acira-pakkantassa Bhagavato ayam antarā kathā udapādi:

'Acchariyaṃ āvuso abbhutaṃ[1] āvuso Tathāgatassa mahiddhikatā mahânubhāvatā, yatra hi nāma Tathāgato atīte Buddhe parinibbute chinna-papañce chinna-vaṭume pariyādinna[2] -vaṭṭe sabba-dukkha-vītivatte jātito pi anussarissati,[3] nāmato pi anussarissati, gottato pi anussarissati, āyuppamāṇato pi anussarissati, sāvaka-yugato pi anus-sarisati,

1. K abbhūtaṃ, *and so always.*
2. B^m pariyādiṇṇa. *See* M. ii. 172, iii. 118.
3. *So* Sum. S^c anussarissarissati, S^d anussarati *Comp.* § 14, *and the future at* M. iii. 118.

sāvaka-sannipātato pi anussarissarti— "Evaṃ-jaccā te Bhagavanto ahesuṃ iti pi, evaṃ-nāmā evaṃ-gottā evaṃ-dhammā evaṃ-paññā evaṃ-vihārī evaṃ-vimuttā te Bhagavanto ahesuṃ iti pīti." Kin[4] nu kho āvuso ? Tathāgatass' eva nu kho esā dhamma-dhātu suppaṭividdhā [5]yassā dhamma-dhātuyā suppaṭividdhattā[5] Tathāgato atīte Buddhe parinibbute chinna-papañce chinna-vaṭume pariyādinna[6]-vaṭṭe sabba-dukkha-vītivatte[1] jātito pi anussarati, nāmato pi anussarati, gottat pi anussarati, āyuppamāṇato pi anussarati, sāvaka-yugato pi anussarati, sāvaka-sannipātato pi anussarati: "Evaṃ-jaccā te Bhagavanto[2] ahesuṃ iti pi, evaṃ-nāmā, evaṃ-gottā, evaṃ-sīlā, evaṃ-dhammā, evaṃ-paññā, evaṃ-vihārī, evaṃ vimuttā te Bhagavanto ahesuṃ iti pīti"? Udāhu devatā[3] Tathāgatassa etam atthaṃ ārocesuṃ[4] yena Tathāgato atīte Buddhe parinibbute chinna-papañce chin-na-vaṭume pariyādinna-vaṭṭe sabba-dukkha-vītivatte jātito pi anussarati, nāmato pi anussarati, gottato pi anussarati, āyuppamāṇato pi anussarati, sāvaka-yugato pi anussarati, sāvaka-sannipātato pi anussarati: "Evaṃ-jaccā te Bhagavanto[5] ahesuṃ iti pi, evaṃ-nāmā evaṃ gottā evaṃ-sītā evaṃ-dhammā evaṃ-paññā evaṃ-vihārī evaṃ-vimuttā te Bhagavanto ahesuṃ iti pîti" ?'

Ayañ ca h' idaṃ[6] tesaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ antarā kathā vippakatā[7] hoti.

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4. K Kiṃ.
5_5. S[c] tassā dhammādhatu supaṭividhattā; S[d] *omits. Text as in* §14. B[m] *agreces with text.* S[t] *omits* suppaṭividdhā yassā dhamma-dhātuyā.
6. S[t] diṇṇa. *so* B[m] (and B[m] *below*).
1. B[m] viti°.
2. S[cd] Bhagavato.
3. S[cdt] *here add* hi, *but omit in* § 14.
4. S[c] āroceyyuṃ; *but in* § 16 ārocesuṃ.
5. S[d] Bhagavante.
6. K hi, *om.* idaṃ.
7. S[dt] -kathā.

13. Now not long after he had gone out, this talk arose among the brethren :—' How wonderful a thing, brethren, and how strange is the great genius, the master mind of the Tathāgata, that he should remember the Buddhas of old, who attained final completion, who cut off obstacles, who cut down barriers, who have ended the cycle, who have escaped from all sorrow—that he should remember of these that such was their rank, such were their personal names, such were their family names, such the span of their lives, such their pair of disciples, and such the

number of the congregations of their disciples, telling us :— "Of such was the birth of those Exalted Ones, such were their names, and their clans; such were their morals, their doctrines, their wisdom ; thus did they live, and thus they gained emancipation."
Now, what think you, brother? Has this principle of truth been clearly discerned by the Tathāgata, so that by his discernment of it he remembers [all those facts] about the Buddhas of the past? Or have gods revealed this matter to the Tathāgata, so that thereby he remembers ?'

14. Atha kho Bhagavā sāyaṇha-samayaṃ paṭisallāṇā vuṭṭhito yena Kareri[1]-maṇḍala-māḷo ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā paññatte āsane nisīdi. Nisajja kho Bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi :

'Kāya nu 'ttha bhikkhave etarahi kathāya sannisinnā, kā ca pana vo antarā vippakatā ti ?'

Evaṃ vutte te bhikkhū Bhagavantaṃ etad avocuṃ:

'Idha bhante amhākaṃ acira-pakkantassa Bhagavato ayaṃ antarā kathā udapādi: " Acchariyaṃ āvuso abbhutaṃ āvuso Tathāgatassa ahiddhikata mahânubhāvatā, yatra hi nāma Tathāgato atīte Buddhe parinibbute chinna-papañce chinna-vaṭume pariyādinna-vaṭṭe sabba-dukkha-vītivatte jātio pi anussarati, nāmato pi anussarti, gottato pi anussarati,

1. S[t] kāreti (*for the first time*), B[m] karerī.

āyuppamāṇato pi anussarati, sāvaka-yugato pi anussarati, sāvaka-sannipātato pi anussarati: 'Evaṃ-jaccāte Bhagavanto ahesuṃ iti pi, evaṃ-nāmā, evaṃ-gottā, evaṃ-sīlā, evaṃ-dhammā, evaṃ-paññā, evaṃ-vihārī, evaṃ-vimuttā te Bhagavanto ahesuṃ iti pîti.' " Kin nu kho āvuso ? Tathāgatass' eva nu kho esā dhamma-dhātu suppaṭividdhā yassā dhamma-dhātuyā suppaṭizid- dhattā Tathāgato atīte Buddhe parinibbute chinna-papañce chinna-vaṭume pariyādinna-vaṭṭe sabba-dukkha-vītivatte jātito pi anussarati, nāmato pi anussarati, gottato pi anussarati, āyuppamāṇato pi anussarati, sāvaka-yugato pi anussarati, sāvaka-sannipātato pi anussarati: "Evaṃ-jaccā te Bhagavanto ahesuṃ iti pi, evaṃ-nāma, evaṃ-gotta, evaṃ-sīlā, evaṃ-dhammā. evaṃ-paññā, evaṃ vihārī, evaṃ-vimuttā te Bhagavanto ahesuṃ iti pîti" ? Udāhu devatā Tathagātassa etam atthaṃ ārocesuṃ yena Tathāgato atīte Buddhe parinibbute chinna-papañce chinna-vaṭume pariyādinna-vaṭṭe sabba-dukkha-vītivatte jātito pi anussarati, nāmato pi anussarati, gottato pi anussarati, āyuppamāṇato pi anussarati, sāvaka-yugato pi anussarati, sāvaka-sannipātato pi anussarati: "Evaṃ-jaccā te Bhagavanto ahesuṃ iti pi, evaṃ nāmā evaṃ-gottā evaṃ-sīlā evaṃ-dhammā evaṃ-paññā evaṃ-vihārī evaṃ-vimuttā te Bhagavanto ahesuṃ iti pîti" ?'

'Ayaṃ kho no bhante antarā kathā vippakatā[1] atha bhagavā anuppatto ti.'

14. Now such was the trend of the talk that was going on among the brethren when the Exalted One, rousing himself at eventide from meditation, went to the pavilion in the Kareri grounds, and took his seat on the mat spread out for him. And when he had sat down, he said to the brethren :— 'What is the talk on which you are engaged, brethren, as ye sit here, and what was the subject of conversation between you ?' [And they told him all.]

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1. B^m *adds* hoti.

15. 'Tathāgatass' ev' esā bhikkhave dhamma-dhātu suppaṭividdhā yassā dhamma-dhātuyā suppaṭividdhattā Tathāgato atīte Buddhe parinibbute chinna-papañce chinna-vaṭume pariyādinna-vaṭṭe sabba-dukkha-vītivatte jātito pi anussarati, nāmato pi anussarati, gottato pi anussarati, āyuppamāṇato pi anussarati, sāvaka-yugato pi anussarati, sāvaka-sannipātato pi anussarati: "Evaṃ-jaccā te Bhagavanto ahesuṃ iti pi evaṃ-nāmā, evaṃ-gottā, evaṃ-sīlā, evaṃ-dhammā, evaṃ-paññā, evaṃ-vihāri, evaṃ-vimuttā te Bhagavanto ahesuṃ iti pîti." Devatā pi Tathāgatassa etam atthaṃ ārocesuṃ[1] yena Tathāgato atīte Buddhe parinibbute chinna-papañce chinna-vaṭume pariyādinna-vaṭṭe sabba-dukkha-vītivatte jātito pi anus-sarati, nāmato pi anussarati, gottato pi anussarati, āyuppamāṇato pi anussarati, sāvaka-yugato pi anussarati, sāvaka-sannipātato pi anussarati: "Evaṃ-jaccā te Bhagavanto ahesuṃ iti pi, evaṃ-nāmā, evaṃ-gottā, evaṃ-sīlā, evaṃ-dhammā, evaṃ-paññā, evaṃ-vihārī, evaṃ-vimuttā te Bhagavanto ahesuṃ iti pîti."

'Iccheyyātha no tumhe bhikkhave bhiyyoso mattāya pubbe-nivāsa-paṭisaṃyuttaṃ dhammiṃ[2] kathaṃ sotun ti ?'

'Etassa Bhagavā kālo, etassa Sugata kālo. Yaṃ Bhagavā bhiyyoso mattāya pubbe-nivāsa-paṭisaṃyuttaṃ dhammiṃ kathaṃ kareyya Bhagavato sutvā bhikkhū dhāressantîti.'

'Tena hi bhikkhave suṇātha, sādhukaṁ manasikarotha, bhāsissāmîti.'

'Evaṃ bhante' ti kho te bhikkhū Bhagavato paccas-sosuṃ. Bhagavā etad avoca:

15. 'It is through his clear discernment of a principle of the truth, brethren, that the Tathāgata is able to remember [all those facts about the Buddhas of old[3]]. And gods also have revealed these matters to him, enabling him to remember [all those things]. Do ye not wish, brethren, to hear yet further religious discourse bearing on former lives ?'

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1. S[c] āroceyyuṃ.
2. S[d] B[m] *and below* dhammi- ; S[t] dhammī-.
3. In the text is a full repetition of the reminiscence given in § 13.

'Now, O Exalted One, is the time, now, O Welcome One, is the time! Whatsoever the Exalted
One may tell us further bearing on former lives, the brethren will listen to it and bear it in mind.'

'Wherefore, brethren, hearken and attend well, and I will speak.'

'So be it, lord,' replied the brethren. The Exalted One said:—

16. 'Ito so bhikkhave eka-[1] navuto kappo[1] yaṃ Vipassī bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho loke udapādi. Vipassī buikkhave bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho khattiyo jātiyā ahosi, khattiya-kule udapādi. Vipassī bhikkhave bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho Koṇḍañño gottena ahosi. Vipassissa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa asīti-vassa-sahassāni āyuppamāṇaṃ ahosi. Vipassī bhikkhave bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho pāṭaliyā mūle abhisabuddho. Vipassissa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa Khaṇḍa-Tissaṃ[2] nāma sāvaka-yugaṃ ahosi aggaṃ bhadda-yugaṃ. Vipassissa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa tayo sāvakānaṃ sannipātā anesuṃ. Eko sāvakānaṃ sannipāto ahosi aṭṭha-saṭṭhi[3] bhikkhu-sata-sahassaṃ. Eko sāvakānaṃ sannipāto ahosi bhikkhu-sata-sahassaṃ. Eko sāvakānaṃ sannipāto ahosi asīti-[4] bhikkhu-sata-sahassāni. Vipassissa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa ime tayo sāvakānaṃ sannipātā ahesum sabbesaṃ veva khīṇâsavānaṃ. Vipassissa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa Asoko nāma bhikkhu upaṭṭhāko ahosi aggupaṭṭhākò. Vipassissa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambud-dhassa Bandhumā nama rājā pitā ahosi, Bandhumatī nāma devī mātā ahosi janettī. Bandhumassa raññc Bandhumatī nāma nagaraṃ rāja-dhānī ahosi.

1.1. S[t] B[m] navute kappe.
2. S[c] Khanda-Tissa. S[d] Khaṇaccan-Tissaṃ.
3. S[cd] attha-satthuṃ.
4. S[cdt] asītiṃ.

16. 'I have told you, brethren, when Vipassi, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, arose in the world, into what rank and family he was born, how long he lived, where he became a Buddha, the names of his leading disciples, the number of his disciples, the name of his ministering bhikkhu, of his father, his mother, and of their place of residence[1].

17. 'Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassī Bodhisatto Tusitā[2] kāyā cavitvā sato sampajāno mātu-kucchiṃ okkami. Ayam ettha dhammatā.

'Dhammatā esā bhikkhave, yadā Bodhisatto Tusitā kāyā cavitvā mātu kucchiṃ okkamati atha sadevake loke samārake sabrahmake sassamaṇa-brāhmaṇiyā pajāya sadeva-manussāya appamāṇo uḷāro[3] obhāso[4] pātubhavati atikkamma[5] devānaṃ devânubhāvaṃ. Yā pi[6] tā lokan-tarikā aghā asaṃvutā andhakārā andhakāra-timisā, yattha pi 'me candima-suriyā[7] evaṃ mahiddhikā evaṃ mahânu-bhāvā ābhāya nânubhonti, tattha pi appamāṇo uḷāco obhāso pātubhavati atikkamm'[8] eva devānaṃ devânu-bhāvaṃ. Ye pi tattha sattā upapannā, te pi ten' obhāsena aññaṃ aññaṃ sañjānanti: "Aññe pi kira bho santi sattā idhûpapannā ti." Ayañ ca dasa-sahassī loka-dhātu saṃkampati sampakampati sampavedhati.[9] Appamāṇo ca uḷāro obhāso loke pātubhavati atikkamm' eva[10] devānaṃ devānubhāvaṃ. Ayam ettha dhammatā.

17. 'Now Vipassi, brethren, when, as Bodhisat, he ceased to belong to the hosts of the heaven of Delight, descended

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1. The text repeats verbatim all that was said above of Vipassi.
2. B^m Tussitā, *and below. Cp* Acchariyabbhuta-Suttaṃ, M. iii 119.
3. Koḷ° *throughout and in* § 30.
4. K *adds* loke.
5. *So* SS *and* M. iii. 120. B^m K atikamm' eva; *and so below.*
6. B^m *omits here, but not in* § 30.
7. B sūr° *here and in* § 30.
8. S^d atikamm'.
9. K *here and in* § 30 - vedheti.
10. S^d atikamma ca.

into his mother's womb mindful and self-possessed[1]. That, in such a case, is the rule[2].

'It is the rule, brethren, that, when the Bodhisat ceases to belong to the hosts of the heaven of Delight, and enters a mother's womb, there is made manifest throughout the universe—including the worlds above of the gods, the Māras and the Brahmās, and the world below with its recluses and brahmins, its princes and peoples—an infinite and splendid radiance, passing the glory of the gods. Even in those spaces which are between the worlds, baseless[3], murky and dark, and where even moon and sun, so

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1. This and following paragraphs (to § 30 inclusive) recur in the Acchariyabbhutadhamma Sutta (M. III, pp. 119-24). The notes appended by Dr. Neumann to his translation of that Sutta, giving parallels from Christian archaeology, are of great interest. *(Reden Gotamo Buddho's* Majjhimanikāyo, III, pp. 253 ff.) How the Birth-legend had developed in the fifth century A.D. may be seen in the Nidānakathā, translated in Rhys Davids's 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' pp. 62 ff.

   This state of mind in Rule the first, according to a voluminous comment by Buddhaghosa, refers more to the termination of the Bodhisat's life in the Tusita heaven, than to any miraculous embryonic commencement. He is depicted as being fully aware, with his angelic neighbours, of the imminent culminating career awaiting him, and to have selected country, region, town, father and mother, on the eve of his 'fall' from heaven. He is further said to be conscious that he was *quá* god deceased:— 'Thus fallen (or deceased) he knows 'I fall.' But he is not aware of his cuti-cittaṁ, or dying thought. As to when there is awareness of re-conception, the Buddhist fathers were not agreed. But they admit that, in its content, the dawning idea was either the first, or the fifth of the eight types of 'good thought' enumerated in Dhamma-Sangani (pp. 1, 39 of the translation). But we learn, under § 21, that there was no consciousness by way of the five senses before birth.
2. Dhammatā, i.e. says the Cy. in the nature, or order of things. The five old-world order of things is the Order of Karma, of the Seasons, of Life-germs, of Mind, and of the Dhamma. The last named is here implicated.
3. Asaṁvutā. Cy.—not supported from beneath.

wondrous and mighty, cannot prevail to give light, even there is made manifest this infinite and splendid radiance, passing the glory of the gods. And those beings who happen to be existing there[1], perceiving each other by that radiance, say :— "Verily there be other beings living here!" And the ten thousand worlds of the universe tremble and shudder and quake. And that this infinite splendid radiance is made manifest in the world, passing the glory of the gods—that, in such a case, is the rule.

17ª. 'Dhammatā esā bhikkhave, yadā Bodhisatto mātu kucchiṃ okkanto hoti, cattāro naṃ[2] deva-puttā catud-disaṃ[3] rakkhāya upagacchanti: "Mā taṃ[4] Bodhisattaṃ vā Bodhisatta-mātaraṃ vā manusso vā amanusso vā koci vā viheṭhesîti."[5] Ayam ettha dhammatā.

17ª. 'It is the rule, brethren, that, when the Bodhisat is descending into a mother's womb, four sons of the gods go toward the four quarters to protect him, saying :— "Let no one, be he human, or non-human, or whatsoever he be, work harm to the Bodhisat or to the mother of the Bodhisat!" That, in such a case, is the rule.

18. 'Dhamatā esā bhikkhave, yadā Bodhisatto mātu kucchiṃ okkanto hoti, pakatiyā sīlavatī Bodhisatta-mātā hoti, viratā pānâtipātā adinnâdānā, viratā kāmesu micchâcārā, viratā musā-vādā, viratā surā-meraya- majja-pamādaṭṭhānā. Ayam ettha dhammatā.

18. 'It is the rule, brethren, that, when the Bodhisat is descending into a mother's womb, the mother of the Bodhisat is

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1. In the Great Inter-world Hell. They would be undergoing purgatory for karma of grievous offences against parents and the religious world, and of cruelty to animals. Very long in body and with bats' nails, they were condemned to crawl up the CakkavaVa rock, till finding no food, they turned back and fell into the river of brine flowing round the world. Cy.
2. K *omits.*
3. K cātud°.
4. B[m] K naṃ.
5. S[ct] vihethessasîti

a woman virtuous through her own nature :—averse from taking life, averse from taking what is not given, averse from unchastity, averse from lying speech, averse from indulgence in strong drinks. That, in such a case, is the rule.

19. Dhammatā esā bhikkhave, yadā Bodhisatto mātu kucchiṃ okkanto hoti, na Bodhisatta[1]-mātu purisesu mānasaṃ uppajjati kāma-guṇûpasaṃhitaṃ, anatikka-maniyā ca Bodhisatta [2]-mātā hoti kenaci purisena rattacittena. Ayam ettha dhammatā.

19. 'It is the rule, brethren, that, when the Bodhisat is descending into a mother's womb, that mother has no mind for indulgence in the pleasures of sense with men, and is incapable of transgression with any man whatever who may be enamoured of her. That, in such a case, is the rule.

20. 'Dhammatā esā bhikkhave, yadā Bodhisatto mātu kucchiṃ okkanto[3] hoti, lābhinī Bodhisatta-mātā hoti pañcannaṃ kāma-guṇānaṃ, sā pañcahi kāma-guṇehi samappitā samaṅgibhūtā parivāreti. Ayam ettha dhammatā.

20. 'It is the rule, brethren, that, when the Bodhisat is descending into a mother's womb, that mother is living in the enjoyment yielded by the five senses, is addicted to it, possessed of it, surrounded by it. That, in such a case, is the rule.

21. 'Dhammatā esā bhikkhave, yadā Bodhisatto mātu kucchiṃ okkanto hoti, na Bodhisatta-mātu kocid eva ābādho uppajjati, sukhinī Bodhisatta-mātā hoti akilanta kāyā. Bodhisattañ ca Bhodhisatta-mātā tiro-kucchi-gataṃ passati sabbaṅga-paccaṅgiṃ abhinindriyaṃ.[4]

'Seyyathā pi bhikkhave maṇi veluriyo subbo jātimā aṭṭhaṃso suparikamma-kato accho vippasaanno sabbâkāra-sampanno. Tatra 'ssa[5] suttaṃ āvutaṃ nīlaṃ vā. Pītaṃ vā

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1. SS Bodhisattassa.
2. S[cd] Bodhisattassa.
3. S[c] okkamanto.
4. K ahīnindriyaṃ B[m] ahin°. *See* ii. 85; Sum, on the passage, i 222; M. iii. 121.
5. B[m] yaṃ. *See* ii. 84; M. iii. 121.

Lohitaṃ[1] vā odātaṃ vā paṇḍu-suttaṃ vā. Tam evaṃ cakkhumā puriso hatthe[2] karitvā pacca-vekkheyya: "Ayaṃ kho maṇi veluriyo subho jātimā atthaṃo supari-kamma-kato accho vippasanno sabbâkāra-sampanno Tatr' idaṃ[3] suttaṃ āvutaṃ vā ti."[4] Evaṃ eva kho bhikkhave yadā Bodhisatto mātu kucchiṃ okkanto hoti, na Bodhisatta-mātu kocid eva ābādho uppajjati, sukhinī Bodhisatta-mātā hoti akilanta-kāyā, Bodhisattañ ca Bodhisatta-māta tiro-kucchi-gataṃ passati sabbaṅga-paccaṅgiṃ abhinindriyaṃ. Ayam ettha dhammatā.

21. 'It is the rule, brethren, that, when the Bodhisat is descending into a mother's womb, no ailment whatsoever befalls that mother; at ease is she and un-afflicted in body ; and within her womb she sees the Bodhisat complete in the endowment of all his organs and his limbs. Just as if, brethren, there were a beautiful cat's-eye gem[5], of purest water, octangular, cut with supreme skill, translucent and flawless, excellent in every way. And through it were strung a thread, blue or orange, red, white, or yellow. If a man who had eyes to see were to take it into his hand, he would clearly perceive how the one was strung on the other. Even so, brethren, when the Bodhisat is descending into a mother's womb, no ailment whatever befalls that mother; at ease is she and unaffected in body; and within her womb she sees the Bodhisat complete in the endowment of all his organs and his limbs. That, in such a case, is the rule.

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1. B^m lohitakaṃ *and below.*
2. B^m K hatthesu.
3. K tatr' assa.
4. K *omits* ti.
5. This simile, occurring in a similar connexion in M. III, 121, is elsewhere ('Dialogues,' I, 87 ; M. II, 17) applied to self-knowledge, i.e. of one's body and mind and their interdependence. The point of the simile is not the perfection of the jewel, but the clarity of vision. The myth of the visible embryo recurs in mediaeval Christian art. See Neumann, op. cit.; and 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' p. 65 *n.*

22. 'Dhamatā esā bhikkhave, sattāha-jāte Bodhisatte Bodhisatta-mātā kālaṃ karoti, Tusitaṃ[1] kāyaṃ uappajjati. Ayam ettha dhammatā.

22. 'It is the rule, brethren, that, on the seventh day after the birth of a Bodhisat, the mother of the Bodhisat dies, and rises again in the heaven of Delight. That, in such a case, is the rule.

23. 'Dhammatā esā bhikkhave, yathā aññā itthikā nava vā dasa vā māse gabbhaṃ kucchinā pariharitvā vijāyanti, na h' evaṃ Bodhisattaṃ Bodhisatta-mātā vijāyati, das' eva māsāni[2] Bodhisattaṃ Bodhisatta-mātā kucchinā pariharitvā vijāyati. Ayam ettha dhammatā.

23. 'It is the rule, brethren, that, whereas other women bring forth after bearing either nine or ten months[3], the mother of a Bodhisat brings not forth till she has borne the child ten months. That, in such a case, is the rule.

24. 'Dhammatā esā bhikkhave, yathā aññā itthikā nisinnā vā nipannā vā vijāyanti, na h' evaṃ Bodhisattaṃ Bodhisatta-mātā vijāyati, ṭhitā va Bodhisattaṃ Bodhisatta mātā vijāyati. Ayam ettha dhammatā.

24. 'It is the rule, brethren, that, whereas other women bring forth sitting or reclining, the mother of a Bodhisat brings forth not so, but standing. That, in such a case, is the rule.'

25. 'Dhammatā esā bhikkhave, yadā Bodhisatto mātu kucchismā[4] nikkhamati, devā paṭhamaṃ paṭigganhanti, pacchā manussā. Ayam ettha dhammatā.

25. 'It is the rule, brethren, that, when a Bodhisat issues

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1. B^m Tussitaṃ.
2. B^m māse.
3. The Cy. holds that these disjunctives may be understood to include a term of from seven to twelve months. Seven months' embryos, it adds, live, but cannot endure heat or cold; eight months' babes do not live—a midwife tradition that, we fancy, is still current here and now.
4. B^m kucchimahā, *and so throughout.*

from his mother's womb, gods receive him first, afterwards men[1]. That, in such a case, is the rule.

26. 'Dhammatā esā bhikkhave, yadā Bodhisatto mātu kucchismā nikkhamati appatto va[2] Bodhisatto paṭhaviṃ hoti. cattāro naṃ deva-puttā patiggahetvā mātu purato ṭhapenti: "Attamanā devi hoti, Mahesakko te putto uppannot it." Ayam ettha dhammatā.

26. 'It is the rule, brethren, that, when a Bodhisat issues from his mother's womb, and has not yet touched the earth, for four sons of the gods to receive him, and present him to the mother, saying :—"Rejoice, lady, for Mighty is the son that is born to thee !" That, in such a case, is the rule.

27. 'Dhammatā esā bhikkhave, yadā Bodhisatto mātu kucchismmā nikkhamati, visado va nikkhamati, amakkhito uddena amakkhito semhena amakkhito ruhirena[3] amak-khito kenaci asucinā, suddho visado[4].

'Seyyathā pi phikkhave maṇi-ratanaṃ Kāsike vatthe nikkhittaṃ, n'eva maṇi-ratanaṃ Kāsikaṃ vatthaṃ makkheti, na pi Kāsikaṃ vatthaṃ maṇi-ratanaṃ makkheti—tam kissa hetu ? ubhinnaṃ suddhattā—evam eva kho bhikkhave yadā Bodhisatto mātu kucchismā nikkhamati, visado vanikkhamati, amakkhito uddena amakkhito semhena amakkhito ruhirena amakkhito kenaci asucinā, suddho visado.[5] Ayam ettha dhammatā.

27. 'It is the rule, brethren, that, when a Bodhisat issues from his mother's womb, he comes forth stainless, undefined by watery matter, undefiled by mucus, undefiled by blood, undefiled by any uncleanness whatever, pure, spotless. Just as if, brethren, a jewel were laid down on Benares muslin ; the jewel

1. Cf. the account of the birth of Gotama, 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' p. 66, and of the *four,* not *three,* adoring kings in some early Christian bas-reliefs, Neumann, op. cit.
2. S^{dt} K ca; S^{c} *omits*; B^{m} *and* M. iii. 122 va.
3. SS *here, but only* S^{d} *in the repetition,* rudhirena.
4. K visuddho; Jāt. 53 visado.
5. K visuddho (*as above*).

is not stained by the muslin, nor is the muslin stained by it; and why is that ? Because of the purity of both. Even so, brethren, is it at the birth of a Bodhisat. That, in such a case, is the rule.

28. 'Dhammatā esā bhikkhave. Yadā Bodhisatto mātu kucchismā nikkhamati, dve udakassa dhārā[1] antalikkhā pātubhavanti, ekā sītassa ekā uṇhassa, yena Bodhisattassa udaka-kiccaṃ karonti mātucca.[2] Ayam ettha dhammatā.

28. 'It is the rule, brethren, that, when a Bodhisat issues from his mother's womb, two showers of water appear from the sky, one of cold, the other of warm water, wherewith they do the needful bathing of the Bodhisat and of his mother. That, in such a case, is the rule.

29. 'Dhammatā esā bhikkhave. Sampati-jāto Bodhi-satto samehi pādehi patiṭṭhahitvā uttarâbhimukho[3] sattapada-vītihārena gacchati, setamhi chatte anuhīramāne[4] sabbā ca disā viloketi[5] āsabhiñ ca vācaṃ bhāsati: "Aggo 'ham asmi lokassa, jeṭṭho 'ham asmi lokassa, seṭṭho 'ham asmi lokassa, ayam antimā[6] jāti, n'atthi 'dāni punabbhavo ti." Ayam ettha dhammatā.

29. 'It is the rule, brethren, that, when a Bodhisat has come to birth, he stands firm on both feet and, with his face to the north, takes seven strides, the while a white canopy is held over him[7], and, looking around on every side, he utters as with the voice of a bull:—"Chief am I in the world, Eldest am I in the world, Foremost am I in the world ! This is the last birth ! There

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1. K *and* Sum. udakassa. SS *and* Jāt. i. 53 ukaka.
2. S[d] mātucchā ; B[m] K mātu ca, *and so* M. iii. 123
3. *MSS. and* K uttarenâbhimukho; *but see* M. iii. 123 *quoted* Sum. i. 60.
4. S[cd] Sum. Anuhīramāne; S[t] anubhiramāne; B[m] anu-dhārayamāne: K anudhāriyamāne. *See* Trencker's *Pāli Misc.* 79.
5. B[m] K *and* Sum. i. 60 anuvil[0].
6. K *adds* me.
7. As an emblem of sovereignty, says the Cy., in which case the emblem is usually named, not its bearers. But these were devatā, angels or fairies or gods.

is now no more coming to be[1]! "That, in such a case, is the rule.

30. 'Dhammatā esā bhikkhave. Yadā Bodhisatto mātu kucchismā[2] nikkhamati, atha sadevake loke samārake sabrahmake sassamaṇ[3]-brāhmaṇiyā pajāya sadeva-manussāya appamāṇo uḷāro obhāso pātubhavati, atik-kamm' eva devānaṃ devânubhāvaṃ. Yā pi tā lokan-tarikā aghā asaṃvutā andhakārā andhakāra-timisā, yattha pi 'me candimasuriyā evaṃ mahiddhikā evaṃ mahânubhāvā ābhāya evaṃ mahiddhikā evaṃ mahânu-bhāvā ābhāya nânubhonti, tattha pi appamāṇo uḷāro obhāso pātubhavati atikkamm' eva devānaṃ devânubhāvaṃ. Ye pi tattha sattā upapannā, te pi ten' obhāsena aññam aññaṃ sañjānanti: "Aññe pi kira bho santi sattā idhûpapannā ti." Ayañ ca dasa-sahassī loka-dhātu saṃkampati sampakampati sampavedhati. Appamāṇo ca uḷāro obhāso loke pātubhavati atikkamm' eva devānaṃ devânubhāvaṃ. Ayam ettha dhammatā.

30. 'It is the rule, brethren, that, when a Bodhisat issues from his mother's womb, there is made manifest throughout the universe—including the worlds above of the gods, the Māras and the Brahmās, and the world below with its recluses and brahmins, its princes and peoples,—an infinite and splendid radiance passing the glory of the gods. Even in those spaces which are between the worlds, baseless, murky and dark, and where even moon and sun, so wondrous and mighty, cannot prevail to give light, even there is manifest this infinite and splendid radiance,

1. Each action of the babe had for the later Buddhists its symbolical meaning. Standing on the earth meant obtaining the Four Iddhipādas. Facing the north meant the spiritual conquest of multitudes. The seven strides were the Seven Bojjhangas. The canopy was the umbrella of emancipation. Looking around meant unveiled knowledge. The bull-cry meant the irrevocable turning of the wheel of the Truth or Law. The 'lion-roar' of 'the last birth' meant the arahantship he would attain in this life.
2. B^{m}-imhā.
3. B^{m} sasam°.

passing the glory of the gods. And those beings who happen to be existing there, perceiving each other by that radiance, say :— "Verily there be other beings living here!" And the ten thousand worlds of the universe tremble and shudder and quake. And this infinite and splendid radiance is made manifest in the world, passing the glory of the gods. This, in such a case, is the rule.'

31. 'Jāte kho pana bhikkhave Vipassimhi kumāre, Bandhumato rañño paṭivedesuṃ: "Putto [1]te deva[1] jāto, taṃ devo passatûti." Addasā kho bhikkhave Bandhumā rājā Vipassī[2]-kumāraṃ, disvā nemitte brāhmaṇe āmantā-petvā etad avoca: "Passantu phonto nemittā brāhmaṇā kumāran ti." Addasāsuṃ[3] kho bhikkhave[4] nemittā brāhmaṇā Vipassī[5]-kumāraṃ, disvā Bandhumaṃ[6] rājānaṃ etad avocuṃ: "Attamano deva hohi, makesakkho te deva[7] puffo uppanno. Lābhā te Mahārāja, suladdhaṃ te Mahārāja, yassa te kule evarūpo putto upanno. Ayaṃ hi deva kumāro dvattiṃsa. Mahāpurisa-lakkhaṇehi sa-mannāgato, yehi samannāgatassa Mahāpurisassa dve[8] gatiyo bhavanti anaññā. Sace agāraṃ ajjhāvaseti, rājā hoti cakka-vatti dhammiko dhamma-rājā cāturanto vijitāvī janapadatthāvariyappatto[9] satta-ratana-samannāgato. Tass' imām satta ratanāni bhavanti, seyyathîdaṃ cakka-ratanaṃ hatti-ratanaṃ assa-ratanaṃ maṇi-ratanaṃ gahapati-ratanaṃ pariṇāyaka-ratanam eva sattamaṃ. Paro sahassaṃ kho pan' assa puttā bhavanti sūrā vīraṅga-rūpā parasenappamaddanā. So imaṃ paṭhaviṃ sāgara-pariyantaṃ adaṇḍena asatthena dhammena abhivijiya

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1_1. B^m deva te.
2. *So* SS, B^m K-siṃ. *and below.*
3. *So* S^{dt}, S^c addasāsu, B^m K addasaṁsu.
4. K *adds* naṃ.
5. B^m K-siṃ.
6. B^m K-mantaṃ.
7. B^m K te *only,* SS deva *only.*
8. B^m K *add* va ; SS *and* Sum. *omit.*
9. K °ṭṭhāv°.

ajjhāvasati. Sace kho pana agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajati, arahaṃ hoti sammā sambuddho loke vivattacchaddo.[1]

31. 'When the boy Vipassi, brethren, was born, they brought word to Bandhuman the rāja saying :— "A son, my lord, is born to you ! May it please you to see him?" Now when Bandhuman the rāja had seen the babe, he sent for the brahmin soothsayers[2], saying:— "Let the reverend brahmin soothsayers see the child." Then, brethren, when the brahmin soothsayers had seen the child, they said to Bandhuman the rāja :— "Rejoice, lord, for one of the Mighty Ones is born thy son! Eortune is thine, my lord, good fortune is thine, in that in thy family such a son has come to birth! For this babe, my lord, is endowed with the thirty-two marks of the Great Man ; and to one so endowed two careers lie open, and none other. If he live the life of the House, he becomes Lord of the Wheel[3], a righteous Lord of the Right[4], ruler of the four quarters, conqueror, guardian of the people's good, owner of the Seven Treasures. He is do those seven treasures become, to wit, the Wheel treasure, the Elephant treasure, the Horse treasure, the Gem treasure, the Woman treasure, the Steward treasure, the Eldest Son treasure making seven[5]. More than a thousand sons will be his, heroes, vigorous of frame, crushers of the hosts of the enemy. He, when he has conquered this earth to its ocean bounds, is established not by the courge, not by the sword, but by righteousness. But if such a boy go forth from the life of the House into the Homeless state[6], he becomes an Arahant, a Buddha Supreme, rolling back the veil from the world.

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1. K vivaṭṭhavha to.
2. Literally, mark-men, or augurs. See 'Dialogues,' I, 16, *n.* 1.
3. Turner of the Wheel, the now well-known Indian symbol of empire.
4. Dhamma-rāja.
5. For details of each of these see below in the Mahā-Sudassana Sutta, No. XVII.
6. This vigorous and picturesque idiom—agārasmā anagāriyaṁ pabbajati—has been here and elsewhere rendered as literally as possible.

32. ' "Katamehi cāyāṃ deva kumāro dvattiṃsa Mahāpurisa-lakkhaṇehi samannāgato yehi samannagatassa Mahāpurisassa dve gatiyo bhavanti anaññā ? Sace agāraṃ ajjhāvasati, rājā hoti cakka-vatti dhammiko dhamma-rājā cāturanto vijitāvī janapadatthāvariyappatto[1] satta-ratana-samannāgato. Tass' imāni satta ratanāni bhavanti, seyyathîdaṃ cakka-ratanaṃ hatthi-ratanaṃ assa-ratanaṃ maṇi-ratanaṃ itthi-ratanaṃ gahapati-ratanaṃ pariṇāyaka-ratanaṃ eva sattamaṃ. Paro sahassaṃ kho pan' assa puttā hbavanti sūrā vīraṅga-rūpā parasenappamaddanā. So imaṃ paṭhaviṃ sāgara-pariyantaṃ adaṇḍena asatthena dhammena abhivijiya ajjhāvasati. Sace kho pana agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajati, arahaṃ hoti sammā sambuddho loke vivatta-cchaddo.

' "Ayaṃ hi deva kumāro suppatiṭṭhita-pādo. Yam pâyaṃ deva kumāro suppatiṭṭhita-pādo, idam pi 'ssa[2] Mahāpurisassa Mahāpurisa-lakkhaṇaṃ bhavati.

' "Imassa deva kumārassa hetthā-pāda-talesu cakkāni jātāni sahassârāni sanemikāni sanābhikāni sabbâkāra-paripūrāni. Yam pi deva imassa kumārassa hetthā-pāda-talesu cakkāni jātāni sahassârāni sanemikāni sanābhikāni sabbâkāra-paripūrāni, idam pi 'ssa Mahāpurisassa Mahāpurisa-lakkhaṇaṃ bhavati.

' "Ayaṃ hi deva kumāro āyata-paṇhī . . . pe . . .

' "Ayaṃ hi deva kumāro dīghaṅgulī . . . pe . . .

' "Ayaṃ hi deva kumāro mudu-taluṇa-hattha-pādo . . . pe . . .

' "Ayaṃ hi deva kumāro jāla-hattha-pādo . . . pe . . .

' "Ayaṃ hi deva kumāro ussaṅkha-pādo . . . pe . . .

' "Ayaṃ hi deva kumāro eṇi-jaṅgho . . . pe . . .

' "Ayaṃ hi deva kumāro ṭhitako va anonamanto ubhohi pāṇi-talehi jannukāni[3] parimasati[4] parimajjati . . .pe . . .

1. K °ṭṭhāv°.
2. B^m p'imassa, *and below.*
3. S^t B^m jaṇṇuk°.
4. S^c param°; B^m parām°.

' "Ayaṃ hi deva kumāro kosohita-vatthaguyho . . . pe . . .

' "Ayaṃ hi deva kumāro suvaṇṇa-vaṇṇo kañcana-sannibhattaco[1] . . . pe . . .

' "Ayaṃ hi deva kumāro sukhumacchavī[2] sukhumattā chaviyā rajojallaṃ kāye na upalimapati[3] . . . pe . . .

' "Ayaṃ hi deva kumāro ekeka-lomo ekekāni lomāni loma-kūpesu jātāni . . . pe . . .

' "Ayaṃ hi deva kumāro uddhaga- lomo uddhaggāni lomāni jātāni nīlāni añjana-vaṇṇāni kuṇḍala[4]-vattāni dakkhiṇâvattaka-jātāni . . . pe . . .

' "Ayaṃ hi deva kumāro brahmujju-gatto[5] . . . pe . . .

' "Ayaṃ hi deva kumāro sattussado . . . pe . . .

' "Ayaṃ hi deva kumāro sattussado . . . pe . . .

' "Ayaṃ hi deva kumāro sīha-pubbaddhakāyo . . . pe . . .

' "Ayaṃ hi deva kumāro citantaraṃso[6] . . . pe . . .

' "Ayaṃ hi deva kumāro nigrodha-parimaṇḍalo, yāvatakvassa kāyo tāvatakvassa vyāmo, yāvatakvassa vyāmo tāvatakvassa kāyo . . . pe . . .

' "Ayaṃ hi deva kumāro samavattakkhandho[7]. . .

' "Ayaṃ hi deva kumāro rasaggasaggī . . . pe . . .

' "Ayaṃ hi deva kumāro sīha-hanu . . . pe . . .

' "Ayaṃ hi deva kumāro cattātīsa-danto . . . pe . . .

' "Ayaṃ hi deva kumāro sama-danto . . . pe . . .

' "Ayaṃ hi deva kumāro avivara[8]-danto . . . pe . . .

' "Ayaṃ hi deva kumāro susukka-dāṭho . . . pe . . .

' "Ayaṃ hi deva kumāro pahūta-jivho . . . pe . . .

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1. B^m K sannibhataco.
2. S^cd B^m sukhumachavi.
3. S^d uparimapati; S^t upalippati.
4. B^m K-lā.
5. K -ūju-
6. S^c citaṃtaraṃso; K pittantaraṃso.
7. S^d samavata-; S^t samavata-*corrected to* °vatta; B^m K samavaṭṭa.
8. B^m K aviraḷa.

' "Ayaṃ hi deva kumāro Brahmassaro karavīka[1]-bhāṇī . . . pe . . .

' "Ayaṃ hi deva kumāro abhinīla-netto . . . pe . . .

' "Ayaṃ hi deva kumāro go-pakhumo . . . pe . . .

' "Imassa deva kumārassa uṇṇā bhamukantare jātā odātā mudu-tūla-sannibhā. Yam pi deva imassa kumārassa uṇṇā bhamukantare jātā odātā mudu-tūla-sannibhā, idam pi 'ssa Mahāpurisassa Mahāpuris-lakkhaṇaṃ bhavati.

' "Ayaṃ hi deva kumāro uṇhīsa[2]-sīso. Yam pâyaṃ deva kumāro uṇhīsa-sīso, idam pi 'ssa Mahāpurisassa Mahāpurisa-lakkhaṇaṃ bhavati.

32. ' "And what, my lord, are the thirty-two marks of the 'Great Man[2],' wherewith endowed this child hath two careers open to him, and only two :—that of the Lord of the Wheel . . . that of Buddha Supreme ?

' "This babe, my lord, has feet with level tread[3]. That this is so counts to him as one of the marks of a Great Man.

' "On the soles of the babe's feet wheels appear with a thousand spokes, with tyre and hub, in every way complete. That this is so counts to him as one of the marks of a Great Man.

' "This babe has projecting heels[4],
He is long in the fingers and long in the toes[5],
Soft and tender in hands and feet,
With hands and feet like a net[6].

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1. S[t] karavīkara; B[m] K karavika.
2. Given also at M. II, 136, 137. Comp. the note above Vol. I, p. no. The whole theory is pre-Buddhistic.
3. Suppatthita Mita-pādo: literally, 'well-planted feet.' The traditional meaning is, that the whole under-surface touched the ground at once. The Great Man was 'flat-footed,' and did not toe or heel the ground in walking.
4. If the foot of a 'Great Man' be measured in four parts, two are taken up by the sole and toes, one is under the leg, and one is the heel projecting rearward.
5. And all four, fingers and toes, are of equal length, like a monkey's. Cy.
6. Like a lattice, says the Cy., and explains this to mean that there is no 'webbing' between fingers and toes, but that these are set in right lines, like the meshes of a net.

His ankles are like rounded shells[1] ;

His legs are like an antelope's[2].

Standing and without bending he can touch and rub his knees with either hand.

His male organs are concealed in a sheath.

His complexion is like bronze, the colour of gold.

His skin is so delicately smooth that no dust cleaves to his body[3].

The down on it grows in single hairs, one to each pore,

The small hairs on his body turn upward, every hair of it, blue-black in colour like eye-paint, in little curling rings, curling to the right.

' " This babe has a frame divinely straight[4].

He has the seven convex surfaces[5].

The front half of his body is like a lion's [6].

There is no furrow between his shoulders[7].

His proportions have the symmetry of the banyan-tree[8] :– The length of his body is equal to the compass of his arms, and the compass of his arms is equal to his height.

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1. Ensuring the maximum of flexibility. Cy. This is desirable in sitting cross-legged.
2. With protuberant well-modelled joints, like an ear of rice or barley. Cy.
3. Hence the Buddhas only wash as an example to their followers. Cy.
4. He will not stoop, nor lean backward, as if catching at the stars, nor have a crooked spine, but tower up symmetrically like a golden tower-gate in a city of the gods. Cy.
5. The backs of the four limbs, the shoulders and the trunk are well fleshed. Cy.
6. i. e. proportionately broad and full.
7. Citantaraṁso, lit. he has the shoulder-interval filled up. The Cy. explains, the two sides of the back have no depression in the middle, nor look separated, but from the small of the back upwards the fleshy covering is as a level golden slab.
8. Literally, he has the banyan circumference. It was believed that a banyan always measured the same, like the diameter of a circle, in height as in width.

His bust is equally rounded [1].
His taste is supremely acute [2].
His jaw is as a lion's[3].
He has forty teeth[4],
Regular teeth.
Continuous,
The eye-teeth very lustrous. His tongue is very long[5].
He has a divine voice like the karavīka-bird's[6].
His eyes are intensely blue[7].
He has the eyelashes of a cow[8].

Between the eyebrows appears a hairy mole, white and like soft cotton down.

His head is like a royal turban[9].

This too counts to him as one of the marks of a Great Man[10].

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1. Samavattakkhandho. According to the Cy. the exterior of the whole vocal apparatus is here meant, rather than the trunk or shoulders only.
2. Rasaggasaggi.
3. That is, with the lower jaw relatively fuller than the upper. Cy.
4. That is, the Great Man at a more adult stage has eight more than the normal thirty-two. How the learned brahmins saw these signs in the babe is not explained.
5. See 'Dialogues,' I, 131.
6. According to Childers, the Indian cuckoo. The Great Man's voice is very clear and pure-toned, neither worn nor broken nor harsh. Cy. Yoga-culture is to-day held to yield, as one result, a pleasant musical voice.
7. Like flax-blossom. Cy. Perhaps a tradition of Aryan origin.
8. Completely surrounding the eyes, thick like a black cow's; bright and soft like a new-born red calf's. Cy.
9. Unhīsa-sīso. This expression, says the Cy., refers to the fullness either of the forehead or of the cranium. In either case the rounded highly-developed appearance is meant, giving to the unadorned head the decorative dignified effect of a crested turban, and the smooth symmetry of a water-bubble.
10. In the text this refrain occurs after the naming of each mark.

33. 'Imehi kho ayaṃ deva kumāro dvattiṃsa Mahā-purisa-lakkhaṇehi samannāgato, yehi samannāgatassa Mahāpurisassa dve gatiyo bhavanti anaññā. Sace agāraṃ ajjhā vasati, rājā hoti cakkavatti dhammiko dhamma-rājā cāturanto vijitāvī janapadatthāvariyappatto satta-ratana-samannāpato. Tass' imāni satta-ratanāni bhavanti: sey-yathîdaṃ cakka-ratanaṃ hatthi-ratanaṃ assa-ratanaṃ maṇi-ratanaṃ-ratanṃ itthi-ratanaṃ pariṇāyaka-ratanam eva sattamaṃ. Paro-sahassaṃ kho pan' assa puttā bhavanti sūrā vīraṅga-rūpā parasaenppaaddanā. So imaṃ paṭhaviṃ sāgara-pariyantaṃ adaṇḍena asat-thena dhammena[2] abhivijiya ajjhāvasati. Sace kho pana agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajati, arahaṃ hoti sammā sambuddho loke vivattacchaddo ti.[3]

'Atha kho bhikkhve Bandhumā rājā nemitte brāhmaṇe ahatehi[4] vatthehi acchādāpetvā[5] sabba-kāmehi santappesi.

33. ' "Endowed, my lord, as is this babe with these two-and-thirty marks of the Great Man, two careers and none other are open to him. . ." [as above, § 31] . . .

'Thereupon Bandhuman the rāja, brethren, let the brahmin soothsayers be invested with new robes and gratified their every desire.

34. 'Atha kho bhikkhave Bandhumā rājā Vipassissa kumārassa dhātiyo upaṭṭhāpesi. Aññā sudaṃ[6] pāyenti aññā nahāpenti,[7] aññā dhārenti, aññā aṅkena pariharanti. Jātassa khe pana bhikkhave Vipassissa kumārassa setacchattaṃ dhārayittha divā c' eva ratti ca: "mā naṃ sītaṃ vā uṇhaṃ vā tiṇaṃ vā ussāvo vā bādha ti."[8] Jāto kho pana bhikkhave

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1. B^m^ uṅhissa *twice.*
2. K *adds* samena *here, but not in* § 31.
3. B^m^ -cchado; K vivaṭacchado hoti.
4. B^m^ āhatehi.
5. K acchādetvā.
6. B^m^ K khīraṃ.
7. B^m^ nhāp^o^. *So* K *in text, but* nahāpenti *in note.*
8. B^m^ bādhayitthāti; K ti *only* (*without verb*). A.i. 145 *has* phussi *after* mā naṃ, *and omits* bādha.

Vipassī kumāro bahuno janassa piyo ahosi manāpo. Seyyathā pi bhikkhave uppalaṃ vā padumaṃ vā puṇḍarīkaṃ vā bahuno janassa piyaṃ manāpaṃ evam eva kho bhikkhave Vipassī kumāro bahuno janassa piyo ahosi manā po. Svāssudaṃ[1] aṅken' eva aṅkaṃ[2] parihariyati.

34. 'And Bandhuman the rāja, brethren, engaged nurses for the babe Vipassi. Some suckled him, some washed him, some nursed him, some carried him about on their hip. And a white canopy was held over him day and night, for it was commanded:—"Let not cold or heat or straws or dust or dew annoy him !" And the boy Vipassi, brethren, became the darling and the beloved of the people, even as a blue or red or white lotus is dear to and beloved of all, so that he was literally carried about from lap to lap[3].

35. 'Jāto kho pana bhikkhave Vipassī kumāro mañju-ssaro ca[4] ahosi vaggu-ssaro ca madhura-ssaro ca pema-yāya-ssaro ca. Seyyathā pi bhikkhave Himavante pabbate karavīkā nāma sakuṇa-jāti mañjussarā ca vaggu[5]-madhu- rassarā ca pemanīyassarā ca, evam eva kho bhikkhave Vipassī kumāro mañjussaro ca ahosi vaggussaro ca madhurassaro ca pemanīyassaro ca.

35. 'And when the boy Vipassi was born, brethren, he had a lovely voice, well modulated and sweet and charming, just as the voice of the karavika-bird in the mountains of Himālaya is lovely and sweetly modulated and charming[6].

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1. B^m savassudaṃ; SS *here* So sudam; Sum svāsudaṃ.
2. B^m aṅgen' eva aṅgaṃ.
3. Literally by hip to hip; women passing him from arm to arm, men from one shoulder to another, explains the Cy.
4. S^d brahmassaro mañjussaro ca; B^m brahmassaro ca mañjuro ca; S^ct K Sum *omit.*
5. K vaggussarā va madhurassarā ca.
6. The Cy. relates of the bird that it sings a flute-like song after pecking at honey and mangoes, and that the song exercises a sort of Orpheus-spell over every beast that hears it. Asandhimittā, the consort of Asoka, was converted by it. She had inquired of the

36. 'Jātassa kho pana bhikkhave Vipassissa kumārassa kamma-vipākajaṃ dibbaṃ cakkhuṃ[1] pātur ahosi, yena sudaṃ[2] samantā yojanaṃ passati divā c' eva rattiñ va.

36. 'And when the boy Vipassi was born, brethren, there was manifested in him the Heavenly Eye born of the result of his karma[3], by the which verily he could see as far as a league by day and eke by night.

37. 'Jāto kho pana bhikkhave Vipassī kumāro ahimi-santo[4] pekkhati, seyyathā pi[5] devā[6] Tāvatiṃsā. "Animi-santo[7] kumāro[8] pekkhatîti"[9] kho[10] bhikkhave Vipassissa kumārassa "Vipassī"[11] tveva samaññā udapādi. Atha kho bhikkhave Bandhumā rājā attha-karaṇe[12] nisinno, Vipassi[13] -kumāraṃ aṅke[14] nisīdāpetvā atthe[15] anusasati. Tatra sudaṃ bhikkhave Vipassī kumāro pitu aṅke nisinno viceyya viceyya atthe

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Order, if it were known what the Buddha's voice was like; and on its being compared to the karavtka's song, wished to hear that. Asoka sent for one, which would not sing in its cage, till a mirror was placed by it. Fancying it saw a kinsman, it sang, throwing every one into ecstasies, and so exalting the queen's idea of the Buddha's voice, that she attained 'the fruit of sotāpatti.'

1. SS dibbaṃ cakkhuṃ; Bm dibba-cakkhu; K dibba-cakkhuṃ.
2. K dūraṃ.
3. That is, not by special practice, but as the result of action in former births, as with the fairies' power of vision. Cy.
4. Bm animmisanto, *and below;* K animmissanto, *and below.*
5. K *adds* bhikkhave.
6. K devatā.
7. K aninmmissantā.
8. Bm K *omit.*
9. Bm pekkhati; K pekkhanti.
10. Bm jātassa kho pana; K evam eva kho bhikkhave Vipassī kumāro animmissanto pekkhati. Jātassa kho pana.
11. Sd K *omit.*
12. Sd- karaṇo; Bm aṭṭha-karo; K aṭṭakaraṇe.
13. Bm K Vipassiṃ.
14. Bm aṅge, *and below.*
15. K aṭṭe.

panāyati ñāyena.[1] "Viceyya viceyya kumāro atthe[2] panāyati ñāyenâti"[3] [4]kho bhikkhave Vipassissa[5] kumārassa bhiyyoso mattāya "Vipassī [6]Vipassī" tveva samaññā udapādi.

37. 'And when the boy Vipassi was born, brethren, he looked forward with unblinking eyes, like the gods in the heaven of Delight. Now it was because of this, people exclaiming "Vipassi, Vipassi"—a Seer, a Seer! —that this became his name[7]. And again, brethren, while Bandhuman rāja was sitting as judge, he would take the boy on his hip and so lay down the law as to the cases arising till verily the boy, thus seated on his father's hip, and continually considering, would also determine the points of the matter according to justice[8]. Then at the thought "It is the babe who is judging cases aright" ever more and more did that word "a Seer, a Seer" become used as his name.

38. 'Atha kho bhikkhave Bandhmā rājā Vipassissa kumārassa ṭayo pāsāde kārāpesi, ekaṃ vassikaṃ ekaṃ hemantikaṃ ekaṃ gimhikaṃ, pañca kāma-guṇāni upaṭṭhāpesi. Tatra sudaṃ bhikkhave Vipassī kumāro vassike pāsāde vassike[9] cattāro māse nippurisehi[10] turiyehi parivārayamāno[11] na heṭṭhā pāsādaṃ orohati.[12]

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1. K ñāṇena.
2. K aṭṭe.
3. K ñāṇenāti.
4. K *adds* atha.
5. S^c Vipassī-.
6. K *omits second* Vipassī.
7. Vipassī refers rather to the inward vision of the seer. Vipassanā is insight or intuition.
8. Namely by giving signs of dissatisfaction when a decision was wrong.
9. K *omits* vassike, *but see* A i. 145.
10. B^m nipur^o.
11. B^m paricāriya^o.
12. K orohatîti.

13-13. B^m K paṭhamā-bhāṇavāraṃ.

38. 'Now Bandhuman rāja, brethren, had three palaces built for the boy Vipassi, one for the rains, one for the winter and one for the summer, and he had them fitted with every kind of gratification for the five senses. Thus it came to pass that Vipassi spent the four months of the rainy season in the rains-palace, ministered to by bands of female musicians[1] ; and not once did he come down (from the upper terrace) into the mansion.'

[13]Jāti-khaṇḍaṃ niṭṭhitam.[13]

Here endeth the Birth chapter.

II.

2.1. 'Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassī kumāro bahunnaṃ vassānaṃ bahunnaṃ vassa-satānaṃ bahunnaṃ vassa-sahassānaṃ accayena sārathiṃ āmantesi:

' "Yojehi samma sārathi bhaddāni bhaddāni[2] yānāni, uyyāna-bhumiṃ gacchāma bhūmiṃ[3] dassanāyâti."

' "Evaṃ devâti" kho bhikkhave sārathi Vipassissa kumārassa paṭissutvā bhaddāni bhaddāni yānāni yojāpetvā Vipassissa[4] kumārassa paṭivedesi: "Yuttāni kho te deva bhaddāni bhaddāni yānāni, yassa 'dāni kālaṃ maññasîti."

'Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassī kumāro bhaddaṃ[5] yānaṃ abhiruhitvā bhaddehi bhaddehi yānehi uyyāna-bhumiṃ niyyāsi.[6]

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1. Nippurisehi turiyehi. Both words are ambiguous. Childers, following B. R., who follow Wilson, renders turiya by musical instrument. It is very doubtful whether it ever means that. Music, or orchestra, seems to be required in such passages as I have noted. Nippurisa (only found as yet in this connexion) may be non-human (that is, fairy), or not male. See D. II, 171 ; M. I, 571 ; A. I, 145; Vin. I, 15; II, 180; J. I, 58, and Senart's note at Mahāvastu III, 486. The alternative rendering would therefore be 'fairy music.[1] But the commentator evidently takes the words in the meaning given above.
2. S[ct] *omit first and third, but not second time.*
3. S[c] K subhūmiṃ; B[m] subhūmi.
4. K Vipassi-.
5. B[m] bhaddaṃ bhaddaṃ; K bhadraṃ, *See* pp. 28, 41.
6. S[d] B[m] niyyāti. *See* p. 41.

1. 'Now the young lord Vipassi, brethren, when many years, many centuries, many thousands of years had passed by[1], bade his charioteer make ready the state carriages, saying:—"Get ready the carriages, good charioteer, and let us go through the park to inspect the pleasaunce." "Yea, my lord," replied the charioteer, and harnessed the state carriages and sent word to Vipassi:—"The carriages are ready, my lord ; do now what you deem to be fit." Then Vipassi mounted a state carriage, and drove out in state into the park.

2. 'Addasā kho bhikkhave Vipassī kumāro uyyāna-bhūmiṃ niyyanto purisaṃ jiṇṇaṃ gopānasi-vaṅkaṃ bhoggaṃ[2] daṇḍa-parāyanaṃ pavedhamānaṃ gacchantaṃ āturaṃ gata-yobbanaṃ. Disvā sārathiṃ āmantesi:

' "Ayam pana samma sārathi puriso kiṃ kato, kesā pi 'ssa na yathā aññesaṃ, kāyo pi 'ssa na yathā aññesan ti ?"

' "Eso kho deva jiṇṇo nāmâti."

' "Kim pan' eso samma sārathi jiṇṇo nāmâti ?"

' "Eso kho deva jiṇṇo nāma: Na dāni tena ciraṃ jīvitabbaṃ bhavissatîti."

' "Kim pana samma sārathi aham pi jarā-dhammo jaraṃ anatīto ti ?"

' "Tvañ ca deva mayañ c' amhā[3] sabbe jarā-dhammā jaraṃ anatītā ti."

' "Tena hi samma sārathi alan dān' ajja uyyāna-bhūmiyā, ito va antepuraṃ paccaniyyāhîti."[4]

' "Evaṃ devâti" kho bhikkhave sārathi Vipassissa kumārassa paṭissutvā tato va antepuraṃ paccaniyyāsi. Tatra

1. The legendary age of humans at the time of Vipassi was 80,000 years, so that we may reckon 1000 of his years as one of ours. When this legend is afterwards related of Gotama Buddha (in the Nidānakathā), he is said to have reached his majority (sixteen years) when the drives begin.
2. K bhaggaṃ. *See* A. i. 138; M. i. 88; Dhp. A. 315; *and* Jāt. i. 59.
3. SS *often* amha.
4. SS Bm *always* paccaº; K *at first* paccaº, *towards the end* paccā. St ºnūyº; Scd ºnūyyº.

sudaṃ bhikkhave Vipassī kumāro antepura[1]-gato dukkhī dummano pajjhāyati: "Dhir[2] atthu kira bho jāti nāma.[3] yatrahi nāma jātassa jarā paññāyissatîti."

2. 'Now the young lord Vipassi saw, brethren, as he was driving to the park, an aged man as bent as a roof gable, decrepit, leaning on a staff, tottering as he walked, afflicted and long past his prime. And seeing him Vipassi said:—"That man, good charioteer, what has he done, that his hair is not like that of other men, nor his body ?"

' "He is what is called an aged man, my lord."

' "But why is he called aged ?"

' "He is called aged, my lord, because he has not much longer to live."

' "But then, good charioteer, am I too subject to old age, one who has not got past old age?"

' "You, my lord, and we too, we all are of a kind to grow old, we have not got past old age."

' "Why then, good charioteer, enough of the park for to-day! Drive me back hence to my rooms[4]."

' "Yea, my lord," answered the charioteer, and drove him back. And he, brethren, going to his rooms sat brooding sorrowful and depressed, thinking:—"Shame then verily be upon this thing called birth, since to one born old age shows itself like that!"

3. 'Atha kho bhikkhave Bandhumā rājā sārathiṃ āmantāpetvā etad avoca:

' "Kacci samma sārathi kumāro uyyāna-bhūmiyā abhiramittha, kacci samtha sārathi kumāro uyyāna-bhūmiyā attamano ahosîti ?"

' "Na kho deva kumāro uyyāna-bhūmiyā abhiramittha, na kho deva kumāro uyyāna-bhūmiyā attamano ahosîti."

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1. B^m K-raṃ.
2. B^m dhī.
3. *So* SS B^m K *and below* ; Jāt. i. 59 jātiyā.
4. Antepurarṁ, or harem. Tradition adds that he 'dismissed his womenfolk, and sat alone in his bedchamber, pierced in heart by this first dart.'

' "Kim pana samma sārathi addasa kumāro uyyāna-bhūmiṃ niyyanto ti ?"

' "Addasā[1] kho deva kumāro uyyāna-bhūmiṃ niyyanto purisaṃ jiṇṇaṃ gopānasi-vaṃkaṃ bhoggaṃ bhoggaṃ daṇḍa-parāya-naṃ pavedhamānaṃ gacchantaṃ āturaṃ-gata-yobbanaṃ. Disvā maṃ etad avoca: 'Ayam pana samma sārathi puriso kiṃ kato, kesā pi 'ssa na yathā aññesaṃ, kāho pi 'ssa na yathā aññesan ti ?' 'Eso kho deva jiṇṇo nāmâti.' 'Kim pana so samma sārathi jiṇṇo nāmâti ?' 'Eso kho deva jiṇṇo nāma: na dāni tena ciraṃ jīvitabbạ bhavis-satîti.' 'Kim pana samma sārathi aham pi jarā-dhammo jaraṃ anatīto ti?' 'Tvañ ca deva mayañ c' amhā sabbe jarā-dhammā jaraṃ anatītā ti. 'Tena hi samma sārathi alan dān' ajja uyyāna-bhūmiyā, ito va antepuram pacca-niyyāhîti.' 'Evaṃ devâti' kho ahaṃ deva Vipassissa kumārassa paṭissutvā tato va antepuraṃ paccaniy-yāsiṃ. So kho deva kumāro antepura-gato dukkhī dummano pajjhāyati : 'Dhi-r-atthu kira bho jāti jāti nāma, yatra hi nāma jātassa jarā paññāyissatîti.' "

3. 'Thereupon Bandhuman rāja, brethren, sent for the chari-oteer and asked him :— "Well, good charioteer, did the boy take pleasure in the park ? was he pleased with it ?"

' "No, my lord, he was not."

' "What then did he see on his drive ?"

'[And the charioteer told the rāja all.]

4. 'Atha kho bhikkhave Bandhumassa rañño etad ahosi: "Mā h'eva kho Vipassī kumāro na rajjaṃ kāresi, mā h'eva Vipassī kumāro agarasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbaji, mā h'eva nemittānaṃ brāhmaṇānaṃ saccaṃ assa vacanan ti."

'Atha kho bhikkhave Bandhumā rājā Vipassissa kumārassa bhiyyoso mattāya pañca kāma-guṇāni upaṭṭhāpesi yathā Vipassī kumāro rajjam kāreyya,[2] yathā Vipassī kumāro na agārasmā anagariyaṃ pabbajeyya, yathā nemittānaṃ brāhmaṇānaṃ micchā assa vacanaṃ.[3] Tatra sudaṃ bhikkhave

1. *All MSS.* addasa *in the question,* addasā *in the answer.*
2. Bᵐ kareyya. (*So* Sᶜ *here, but no afterwards.*)
3. SS Bᵐ vacanan ti.

vipassī kumāro pañcahi kāma-guṇehi samappito samaṅgi-bhūto[1] parivareti.[2]

4. 'Then the rāja, brethren, thought thus :— "We must not have Vipassi declining to rule. We must not have him going forth from the House into the Homeless state. We must not let what the brahmin soothsayers spoke of come true."

'So, that these things might not come to pass, he let the youth be still more surrounded by sensuous pleasures. And thus Vipassi continued to live amidst the pleasures of sense.

5. 'Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassī kumāro bahunnaṃ vassānaṃ . . . pe (§ 1) . . .

5. 'Now after many years, many centuries, many thousands of years had passed by, the young lord Vipassi, brethren, again bade his charioteer make ready, and drove forth as once before[3].

6. 'Addasā kho bhikkhave Vipassī kumāro uyyāna-bhūiṃ niyyanto purisaṃ ābādhikaṃ dukkhitaṃ[4] bāḷha-gilānaṃ sake mutta-karīse palipannaṃ semānaṃ[5] aññehi vuṭṭhāpiyamānaṃ aññehi saṃvesiyamānaṃ. Disvā sārathiṃ āmantesi : "Ayam pana samma sārathi puriso kiṃ kato, akkhīni pi 'ssa na yathā aññesaṃ, saro[6] pi 'ssa na yathā aññesan ti ?"

' "Eso kho deva vyādhito[7] nāmâti."

' "Kim pana eso samma sārathi vyādhito nāmâti ?"

' "Eso kho deva vyādhito nāma: app eva nāma tamhā ābādhā vuṭṭhaheyyâti."

' "Kim pana samma sārathi aham pi vyādhi-dhammo vyādhiṃ anatīto ti ?"

' "Tvañ ca deva mayañ c' amhā sabbe vyādhi-dhammā vyādhiṃ anatītā ti."

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1. S[c] B[m] samaṅgī-.
2. So SS; B[m] paricāreti.
3. Text repeats in full as in § 1.
4. S[t] dukkhaṃ ; S[d] dukkhiṃ (*see* M. i. 88, A.i. 139).
5. S[t] sopānaṃ; B[m] K sayamānaṃ.
6. K siro.
7. B[m] K byādhito, *and throughout.*

' "Tena hi samma sārathi alan dān' ajja uyyāna-bhūmiyā, ito va antepuraṃ paccaniyyāhîti."

' "Evaṃ devâti" bhikkhave sārathi Vipassissa kumārassa paṭissutvā tato va antepuraṃ paccaniyyāsi. Tatra sudaṃ bhikkhave Vipassī kumāro antepura-gato dukkhī dummano pajjhāyati: "Dhi-r-atthu kira bho jāti nāma, yatra hi nāma jātassa jarā paññāyissati vyādhi paññāyissatîti."

6. 'And Vipassi, brethren, saw as he was driving to the park, a sick man, suffering and very ill, fallen and weltering in his own water, by some being lifted up, by others being dressed. Seeing this, Vipassi asked, "That man, good charioteer, what has he done that his eyes are not like others' eyes, nor his voice like the voice of other men?"

' "He is what is called ill, my lord."

' "But what is meant by 'ill' ?"

' "It means, my lord, that he will hardly recover from his illness."

' "But am I too then, good charioteer, subject to fall ill; have not I got out of reach of illness ?"

' "You, my lord, and we too, we all are subject to fall ill, we have not got beyond the reach of illness."

' "Why then, good charioteer, enough of the park for to-day! Drive me back hence to my rooms." "Yea, my lord," answered the charioteer, and drove him back. And he, brethren, going to his rooms sat brooding sorrowful and depressed, thinking :— "Shame then verily be upon this thing called birth, since to one born decay shows itself like that, disease shows itself like that."

7. 'Atha kho bhikkhave Bandhumā rājā sārathiṃ āmantāpetvā etad avoca:

' "Kacci samma sārathi kumāro uyyāna-bhūmiyā abhiramittha, kacchi samma sārathi kumāro uyyāna-bhūmiyāā attamano ahosîti ?"

' "Na kho deva kumāro uyyāna-bhūmiyā abhiramittha, na kho deva kumāro uyyāna-bhūmiyā attamano ahosîti."

' "Kim pana samma sārathi addasa kumāro uyyāna-bhūmiṃ niyyanto ti?"

' "Addasā kho deva kukāro uyyāna-bhūmiṃ niyyanto purisaṃ ābādhikaṃ dukkhitaṃ bāḷha-gilānaṃ sake mutta-karīse palipannaṃ semānaṃ aññehi vuṭṭhāpiyamānaṃ aññehi saṃvesiyamānaṃ. Disvā maṃ etad avoca: 'Ayam pana samma sārathi puriso kiṃ kato, akkhīni pi 'ssa na yathā aññesaṃ, saro pi 'ssa na yathā aññesan ti ?' 'Eso kho deva vyādhito nāmâti.' 'Kim pan' eso samma sārathi vyādhito nāmâti ?' 'Eso kho deva vyādhito nāma: app eva nāma tamhā ābādhā vuṭṭhaheyâti.' 'Kim pana samma sārathi aham pi vyādhi-dhammo vyādhiṃ anatīto ti ?' 'Tvañ ca deva mayañ c' amhā sabbe vyādhi-dhammā vyādhiṃ anatītā ti' 'Tena hi samma sārathi alan dān' ajja uyyāna-bhūmiyā, ito va antepuraṃ paccaniyyāhîti.' 'Evaṃ devâti' kho ahaṃ deva Vipassissa kumārassa paṭissutvā tato va antepuraṃ paccaniyyāsiṃ. So kho[1] deva deva kumāro antepura-gato dukkhī dummano apjjhāyati: Dhi-r-atthu kira bho jāti nāma, yatra hi nāma jātassa jarā paññāyissati vyādhi paññāyissatîti.' "

7. 'Thereupon Bandhuman rāja, brethren, sent for the chari-oteer and asked him :— "Well, good charioteer, did the young lord take pleasure in the park and was he pleased with it?"

' "No, my lord, he was not."

' "What did he see then on his drive ?"

'[And the charioteer told the rāja all.]

8. 'Atha kho bhikkhave Bandhumassa rañño etad ahosi: "Mā h'eva kho Vipassī kumāro na rajjaṃ kāresi, mā h'eva Vipassī kumāro agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbaji, mā h'eva nemittānaṃ brāhmaṇānaṃ saccaṃ assa vacanan ti."

'Atha kho bhikkhave Bandhumā rājā Vipassissa kumā-rassa bhiyyoso mattāya pañca kāma-guṇāni upaṭṭhāpesi, yathā Vipassī kumāro rajjaṃ kāreyya, yathā Vipassī kumāro na agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajeyya, yathā nemittānaṃ brāhmaṇānaṃ micchāassa vacanaṃ. Tatra sudaṃ bhikkhave Vipassī kumāro pañcahi kāma-guṇehi samappito samaṅgi-bhūto parivāreti.

1. K eso.

8. 'Then the rāja, brethren, thought thus :— "We must not have Vipassi declining to rule; we must not have him going forth from the House to the Homeless state ; we must not let what the brahmin soothsayers spoke of come true."

'So, that these things might not come to pass, he let the young man be still more abundantly surrounded by sensuous pleasures. And thus Vipassi continued to live amidst the pleasures of sense.

9. . . . pe [§ 1] . . .

9. 'Now once again after many years . . . the young lord Vipassi . . . drove forth..

10. 'Addasā kho bhikkhave Vipassī kumāro uyyāna-bhūmiṃ niyyanto mahājana-kāyaṃ sannipatitaṃ nānâ-rattānañ ca dussānaṃ milātaṃ[1] kayiramānaṃ. Disvā sārathiṃ āmantesi :

' " Kin nu bho so samma sārathi mahājana-kāyo sanni-patito nānârattānañ ca dussānaṃ milātaṃ kayiratîti ?"[2]

' "Eso deva kālakato[3] nāmâti."

' "Tena hi samma sārathi yena so kālakato tena rathaṃ pesehîti."

' "Evaṃ devâti" kho bhikkhave sārathi Vipassissa kumārassa paṭissutvā yena so kālakato tena rathaṃ pesesi. Addasā kho bhikkhave Vipassī kumāro[4] petaṃ kālakataṃ. Disvā sārathiṃ āmantesi :

' "Kim panâyaṃ[5] samma sārathi kālakato nāmâti ?"

' "Eso kho deva kālakato nāma: na dāni taṃ dakkhinti[6] mātā vā pitā aññe vā ñāti-sālohitā, so pi na dakkhissati mātaraṃ vā pitaraṃ vā aññe vā ñāti-sālohite ti."

' "Kim pana samma sārathi aham pi maraṇa-dhammo maraṇaṃ anatīto ti ? Mam pi na dakkhinti devo vā devī vā

1. Bᵐ K vilātam, *and below.*
2. K kariyatīti.
3. Bᵐ kālaṃ, *and so always.*
4. *In the repetition* Bᵐ K *insert* purisaṃ, *but not here.*
5. SS pana.
6. Sᶜ dakkhissanti; K Bᵐ dakkhanti. *See* i. 46; ii. 41.

āññe vā ñāti-sālohitā aham pi na dakkhissāmi devaṃ vā deviṃ vā aññe vā ñāti-sālohite ti?"

' "Tvañ ca deva mayañ c amhā sabbe maraṇa-dhammā maraṇaṃ anatītā. Tam pi na dakkhinti devo vā devī vā aññe vā ñāti-sālohitā. Tvam pi na dakkhissasi devaṃ vā aññe vā ñāti-sālohite ti."

"Tena hi samma sārathi alan dān' ajja uyyāna-bhūmiyā, ito va antepuraṃ paccaniyyāhîti."

' "Evaṃ devâti" kho bhikkhave sārathi Vipassissa kuārassa paṭissutvā tato va antepuraṃ paccaniyyāsi. Tatra sudaṃ bhikkhave Vipassī kumāro antepura-gato dukkhī dummano pajjhāyati: "Dhi-r-atthu kira bho jāti nāma, yatra hi nāma jātassa jarā paññāyissati, vyādhi paññāyissati, maraṇaṃ paññāyissatîti."

10. 'And he saw, brethren, as he was driving to the park, a great concourse of people clad in garments of different colours constructing a funeral pyre. And seeing them he asked his charioteer :— "Why now are all those people come together in garments of different colours, and making that pile ?"

' "It is because some one, my lord, has ended his days."

' "Then drive the carriage close to him who has ended his days."

' "Yea, my lord,' answered the charioteer, and did so. And Vipassi saw the corpse of him who had ended his days and asked:— "What, good charioteer, is ending one's days ?"

' "It means, my lord, that neither mother, nor father, nor other kinsfolk will see him any more, nor will, he ever again see them."

' "But am I too then subject to death, have I not got beyond the reach of death ? Will neither the rāja, nor the ranee, nor any other of my kin see me more, or I ever again see them?"

' "You, my lord and we too, we all are subject to death, we have not passed beyond the reach of death. Neither the rāja, nor the ranee, not any other of your kin would see you any more, nor would you ever again see them."

' "Why then, good charioteer, enough of the park for to-day! Drive me back hence to my rooms."

' "Yea, my lord," replied the charioteer, and drove him back.

'And he, brethren, going to his rooms, sat brooding sorrowful and depressed, thinking:—"Shame then verily be upon this thing called birth, since to one born the decay of life, since disease, since death shows itself like that!"

11. 'Atha kho bhikkhave Bandhumā rājā sārathiṃ āmantāpetvā etad avoca:

' "Kacci samma sārathi kumāro uyyāna-bhūmiyā abhiramittha, kacci samma sārathi kumāro uyyāna-bhūmiyā attamano ahosîti ?"

' "Na kho deva kumāro uyyāna-bhūmiyā abhiramittha, no kho deva kumāro uyyāna-bhumiyā attamano ahosîti."

' "Kim pana sammma sārathi addasa kumāro uyyāna-bhūmiṃ niyyanto ti ?"

' " Addasā kho deva kumāro uyyāna-bhūmiṃ niyyanto mahājana-kāyaṃ sannipatitaṃ nānârattānañ ca dussānaṃ mmilātaṃ kayiramānaṃ. Disvā maṃ etad avoca: 'Kin nu kho so samma sārathi mahājana-kāyo sannipatito nānârattā-nañ ca dussānaṃ milātaṃ kayiratîti ?' 'Eso kho deva kālakato nāmâti.' 'Tena hi samma sārathi yena so kālakato tena rathaṃ pesehîti.' 'Evaṃ devâti' kho ahaṃ deva Vipassissa kumārassa paṭissutvā yena so kālakato tena rathaṃ pesesiṃ. Addasākho deva kumāro petaṃ kālakataṃ. Disvā maṃ etad avoca: 'Kim panâyaṃ samma sārathi kālakato nāmâti ?' 'Eso kho deva kālakato nāma: na dāni taṃ dakkhinti mātā vā pitā vā aññe vā ñāti-sālohitā So pi na dakkhissati mātaraṃ vā pitaraṃ vā aññe vā ñāti-sālohite ti.' 'Kim pana samma sārathi aham pi maraṇa-dhammo maraṇaṃ anatīto ? Mam pi na dakkhinti[1] devo vā devī vā aññe vā ñati-sālohitā, aham pi na dakkhissāmi devaṃ vā deviṃ vā aññe vā ñāti-sālohite ti ?' 'Tvañ ca deva mayañ c' amhā sabbe maraṇa-dhammā maraṇaṃ anatītā.

1. K B^m dakkhaṇti, *and below.*

Tam pi na dakkhinti devo vā devī vā aññe vā ñāti-sālohitā. Tvam pi na dakkhissasi devaṃ vā deviṃ vā aññe vā ñāti-sālohite ti.' 'Tena hi samma sārathi alan dān' ajja uyyāna-bhūmiyā, ito va antepuraṃ paccaniyyāhîti.' 'Evaṃ devâti' kho ahaṃ Vipassissa kumārassa paṭissutvā tato va ante-puraṃ paccaniyyāsiṃ. So kho deva kumāro antepuragato dukkhī dummano pajjhāyati: 'Dhi-r-atthu kira bho jāti nāma, yatra hi nāma jātassa jarā paññāyissati, vyādhi paññāyissati, maraṇaṃ paññāyissatîti.' "

12. 'Atha kho bhikkhave Bandhumassa rañño etad ahosi: "Mā h'eva kho Vipassī kumāro na rajjaṃ kāresi, mā h'eva Vipassī kumāro agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbaji, mā h'eva nemittānaṃ brāhmaṇānaṃ saccaṃ assa vacanan ti."

'Atha kho bhikkhave Bandhumā rājā Vipassissa kumārassa bhiyyoso mattāya pañca kāma-guṇāni upaṭṭhāpesi, yathā Vipassī kumāro rajjaṃ kār yya, yathā Vipassī kumāro na agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajeyya, yathā nemittānaṃ brāhmaṇānaṃ micchā assa vacanaṃ. Tatra sudaṃ bhikkhave Vipassī kumāro pañcahi kāma-guṇehi samappito samaṅgi - bhūto parivāreti.

11-12. 'Thereupon, Bandhuman rāja, brethren, [questioned the charioteer as before, and as before let Vipassi be still more surrounded by sensuous enjoyments]. And thus Vipassi continued to live amidst the pleasures of sense.

13. 'Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassī kumāro bahunnaṃ vassānaṃ bahunnaṃ vassa-satānaṃ bahunnaṃ vassa-sahassānaṃ accayena sārathiṃ āmantesi :

' "Yojehi samma sārathi bhaddāni bhaddāni yānāni, uyyāna-bhūmiṃ gacchāma bhūmiṃ dassanāyâti."

' "Evaṃ devâti" kho bhikkhave sārathi Vipassissa kumārassa paṭissutvā bhaddāni bhaddāni yānāni yojāpetvā Vipassissa kumārassa paṭivedesi :

' "Yuttāni kho te deva bhaddāni bhaddāni yānāni, yassa dāni kālaṃ maññasîti."

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1. B^{m} bhaddaṃ bhaddaṃ; K bhadraṃ. *See* pp. 21, 41.

'Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassī kumāro bhaddaṃ[1] yānaṃ abhiruhitvā bhaddehi bhaddehi yānehi uyyāna-bhūmiṃ niyyāsi.

13. 'Now once again after many years ... the lord Vipassi . . . drove forth.

14. 'Addasā kho bhikkhave Vipassī kumāro uyyāna-bhūmiṃ niyyanto purisaṃ bhaṇḍuṃ pabbajitaṃ kāsāya-vasanaṃ. Disvā sārathiṃ āmantesi :

' "Ayam pana samma sārathi puriso kiṃ kato, sīsam pi 'ssa na yathā aññesaṃ, vatthāni pi 'ssa na yathā aññesan ti ?"

' "Eso kho deva pabbajito nāmâti."

' "Kim pan' eso samma sārathi pabbajito nāmâti ?"

' "Eso kho deva pabbajito nāma: sādhu dhamma-cariyā sādhu sama-cariyā[1] sādhu kusala-kiriyā[2] sādhu puñña-kiriyā sādhu avihiṃsā sādhu bhūtânukampā ti."

' "Sādhu kho so samma sārathi pabbajito nāma, sādhu hi[3] samma sārathi dhamma-cariyā sādhu sama-cariyā sādhu kusala-kiriyā sādhu puñña-kiriyā sādhu avihiṃsā sādhu bhūtânukampā.[4] Tena hi samma sārathi yena so pabbajito tena rathaṃ pesehîti."

' "Evaṃ devâti" kho bhikkhave sārathi Vipassissa kumārassa paṭissutvā yena so pabbajito tena rathaṃ pesesi. Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassī kumāro taṃ pabbajitaṃ etad avoca:

' "Tvaṃ pana samma kiṃ kato, sīsam pi te na yathā aññesaṃ, vatthāni pi te na yathā aññesan ti ?"

' "Ahaṃ kho deva pabbajito nāmâti."

' " Kim pana tvaṃ samma pabbajito nāmâti ?"

' "Ahaṃ kho deva pabbajito nāma: sādhu dhamma-cariyā sādhu sama-cariyā sādhu kusala-kiriyā sādhu puñña-kiriyā sādhu avihiṃsā sādhu bhūtânukampā ti."

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1. B^m samma- *and below.*
2. K cariyā, *with* kiriyā *as the Ceylon reading in note.*
3. B^m K *omit.*
4. B^m *adds* ti.

' "Sādhu kho tvaṃ samma pabbajito nāma, sādhu hi samma dhamma-cariyā sādhu sama-cariyā sādhu kusala-kiriyā sādhu puñña-kiriyā sādhu avihiṃsā sādhu bhūtânu-kampā ti."

14. 'And he saw, brethren, as he was driving to the park, a shaven-headed man, a Wanderer, wearing the yellow robe. And seeing him he asked the charioteer :— "That man, good chari-oteer, what has he done, that his head is unlike other men's heads and his clothes too are unlike those of others ?"

' "That is what they call a Wanderer, because, my lord, he is one who has gone forth."

' "What is that, to have gone forth ?"

' "To have gone forth, my lord, means being thorough in the religious life, thorough in the peaceful life, thorough in good actions, thorough in meritorious conduct, thorough in harmless-ness, thorough in kindness to all creatures."

' "Excellent indeed, friend charioteer, is what they call a Wanderer, since so thorough is his conduct in all those respects. Wherefore drive up to that forthgone man."

' "Yea, my lord," replied the charioteer, and drove up to the Wanderer. Then Vipassi addressed him, saying:— "You, master, what have you done that your head is not as other men's heads, nor your clothes as those of other men ?"

' "I, my lord, am one who has gone forth."

' "What, master, does that mean ?"

' "It means, my lord, being thorough in the religious life, thorough in the peaceful life, thorough in good actions, thorough in meritorious conduct, thorough in harmlessness, thorough in kindness to all creatures."

' "Excellently indeed, master, are you said to have gone forth, since so thorough is your conduct in all those respects."

15. 'Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassī kumāro sārathiṃ āmantesi:

' "Tena hi samma sārathi rathaṃ ādāya itova[1] ante-

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1. S^{ct} ca; B^{m} K va; S^{d} *omits.*

puraṃ paccaniyyāhi. Ahaṃ pana idh' eva kesa-massuṃ ohāretvā kāsāyāni vatthāni acchādetvā agārasmā anagāriyaṃ[1] pabbajissāmîti."

' "Evam devâti" kho sārathi Vipassaissa kumārassa paṭissutvā, rathaṃ ādāya tato va[2] antepuraṃ pacca-niyyāsi. Vipassī pana kumāro tatth' eva kesa-massuṃ ohāretvā kāsāyāni vatthāni acchādetvā agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbaji.

15. 'Then the lord Vipassi, brethren, bade his charioteer, saying:— "Come then, good charioteer, do you take the carriage and drive it hence back to my rooms. But I will even here cut off my hair, and don the yellow robe, and go forth from the House into the Homeless state."

' "Yea, my lord," replied the charioteer, and drove back. But the lord Vipassi, there and then, cutting off his hair and donning the yellow robe, went forth from the House into the Homeless state.

16. 'Assosi kho bhikkhave Bandhumatiyā rājadhāniyā mahā-jana-kāyo caturāsīti-pāṇa-sahassāni : "Vipassī kira kumāro kesa-massuṃ ohāretvā kāsāyāni vatthāni acchādetvā agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajito ti." Sutvāna tesaṃ etad : "Na hi[3] nūna so orako dhamma-vinayo, na sā orikā[4] pabbajjā, yattha Vipassī kumāro kesa-massuṃ ohāretvā kāsāyāni vatthāni acchādetvā agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajito. Vipassī pi nāma kumāro kesa-massuṃ ohāretvā kāsāyāni vatthāni acchādetvā agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajissati, kim aṅga pana na[5] mayan ti ?" Atha kho so[6] bhikkhave mahā-jana-kāyo[7] caturāsīti-pāṇa-sahassāni[8] kesa-massuṃ ohāretvā kāsāyāni

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1. B^{m} anāg^{o}, *and below.*
2. *So* SS ; B^{m} va : K ca.
3. S^{ct} ha; S^{d} hā ; B^{m} K hi. *See* p. 42 *and* Vin. i. 19.
4. K orikā, SS *here* oraka ; 3. 14 orikā.
5. S^{ct} kim pana; S^{d} kimaṅgaṃ pana ; S^{t} kimaṅga pana na; B^{m} kim aṅgaṃ pana; K kimaṅga pana na. *So also in* 3.14
6. K *omits.*
7. K - kāyā.
8. SS-āsītiṃ; B^{m} K -ti.

vatthāni acchādetvā Vipassiṃ Bodhisattaṃ agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajitaṃ anupabbajiṃsu. Tāya sudaṃ bhikkhave parisāya parivuto Vipassī Bodhisatto gāma-nigama[1]-rājadhānīsu cārikaṃ carati.

16. 'Now at Bandhumati, brethren, the rāja's seat, a "Teat number of persons—some eighty-four thousand souls[2]—heard of what lord Vipassi had done, and thought:— "Surely this is no ordinary religious rule, this is no common going forth, in that the lord Vipassi himself has had his head shaved and has donned the yellow robe and has gone forth from the House into the Homeless state. If the lord Vipassi has done this, why then should not we also ?" And they all had their heads shaved, and donned the yellow robes, and in imitation of Vipassi the Bodhisat they went forth from the House into the Homeless state. So Vipassi the Bodhisat went on his rounds through the villages, towns, and cities accompanied by that multitude.

17. 'Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa raho-gatassa paṭisallīnassa evaṃ cetaso parivitakko udapādi:

' "Nakho me taṃ[3] patirūpaṃ yo 'haṃa ākiṇṇo viharāmi. Yan nūnâhaṃ eko gaṇamā[4] vūpakaṭṭho vihareyyan ti."

'Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassī Bodhisatto aparena samayena eko gaṇasmā vūpakaṭṭho vihasi. Añen' eva tāni caturāsīti-pabbajjita-sahassāni[5] agamaṃsu, aññena[6] Vipassī Bodhisatto.

17. 'Now there arose, brethren, in the mind of Vipassi the Bodhisat, when he was meditating in seclusion, the following consideration :— "That indeed is not suitable for me that I should live beset. 'Twere better were I to dwell alone, far from the crowd !"

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1. B^{m} K *insert* janapada.
2. Pāna, 'living creatures.' The number is the usual idiom for a multitude, no more pretending to accuracy than our 'a thousand thanks.'
3. B^{m} kho pan etaṃ.
4. B^{m} K gaṇamhā, *twice.*
5. SS -āsītiṃ ; B^{m} K -ti.
6. B^{m} *adds* maggena.

'So after a time he dwelt alone, away from the crowd. These eighty-four thousand Wanderers went one way, and Vipassi the Bodhisat went another way.

18. 'Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattasa vāsupagatassa[1] rahogatassa paṭisatillīnassa evaṃ cetaco parivitakko ndapādi :

' "Kicchaṃ vatâyaṃ loko āpanno, jāyati ca jīyati ca mīyati ca cavati ca uppajjati ca. Atha ca pan' imassa dukkhassa nissaraṇaṃ nappajānāti jarā-maraṇassa, kudāssu[2] nāma imassa dukkhassa nissaraṇaṃ paññāyissati jarāma-raṇassâti ?"

'Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa etad ahosi: "Kimhi nu kho sati jarā-maraṇaṃ hoti, kim-pac-cayā jarā-maraṇan ti ?" Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa yoniso-manasikārā ahu[3] paññāya abhisamayo: "Jātiyā kho sati jarā-maraṇaṃ hoti, jāti-paccayā jarā- maraṇan ti."

'Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa etad ahosi: "Kimhi nu kho sati jāti hoti, kim-paccayā jātîti?" Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa yoniso-manasikārā ahu paññāya abhisamayo: "Bhave kho sati jāti hoti bhava-paccayā jātîti."

'Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa etad ahosi: "Kimhi nu kho sati bhavo hoti, kim-paccayā bhavo ti?" Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisat-tassa yoniso-manasikārā ahu paññāya abhisamayo : "Upādāne kho sati bhavo hoti, upādāna-paccayā bhavo ti."

'Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa etad ahosi: "Kimhi nu kho sati upādānaṃ hotî, kim-paccayā upādānan ti ?" Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhi-sattassa yoniso-manasikārā ahu paññāya abhisamayo : "Taṇhāya kho sati upādānaṃ hoti, taṇhā-paccayā upādānan ti."

'Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa etad

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1. K vāsûp°.
2. *So* S[t]; S[c] kadussu; S[d] kudussu; B[m] K kudassu.
3. SS *vary between* ahu *and* āhu.

ahosi: "Kimhi nu kho sati taṇhā hotî, kim-paccayā taṇhā ti?" Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa yoniso-manasikārā ahu paññāya abhisamayo : "Vedanāya kho sati taṇhā hoti, vedanā-paccayā taṇhā ti."

'Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa etad ahosi: "Kimhi nu kho sati vedanā hoti, kim-paccayā vedanā ti?" Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisat-tassa yoniso-manasikārā ahu paññāya abhisamayo : "Phasse kho sati vedanā hoti, phassa-paccayā vedanā ti."

'Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa etad ahosi: "Kimhi nu kho sati phasso hoti, kim-paccayā vedanā ti?" Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisat-tassa yoniso-manasikārā ahu paññāya abhisamayo: "Saḷāyatane kho sati phasso hoti, saḷāyatana-paccayā phasso ti."

'Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa etad ahosi: "Kimhi nu kho sati saḷâyatanaṃ hoti, kim-paccayā vedanā ti?" Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisat-tassa yoniso-manasikārā ahu paññāya abhisamayo: "Nāma-rūpe kho sati saḷâyatanaṃ hoti, nāmarūpa-paccayā saḷâyatanaṃ ti."

'Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa etad ahosi: "Kimhi nu kho sati nāma-rūpaṃ hoti, kim-paccayā nāma-rūpaṃ ti?" Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisat-tassa yoniso-manasikārā ahu paññāya abhisamayo: "Viññāṇe kho sati nāma-rūpaṃ hoti, nāmarūpa-paccayā nāma-rūpaṃ ti."

'Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa etad ahosi: "Kimhi nu kho sati viññāṇaṃ hoti, kim-paccayā viññāṇan ti?" Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisat-tassa yoniso-manasikārā ahu paññāya abhisamayo: "Nāma-rūpe kho[1] sati viññāṇaṃ hoti. nāmarūpa-paccayā viññāṇan ti."

18. 'Now there arose, brethren, in the mind of Vipassi the Bodhisat, when he had gone to his place[2], and was meditating in

1. SS *omit.*
2. Vāsupagato. The commentary explains this as meaning 'when seated under his Wisdom-Tree,' But the word in the text is quite vague;

seclusion, the following consideration:— "Verily this world has fallen upon trouble ; one is born, and grows old, and dies, and falls from one state, and springs up in another."

"And from this suffering, moreover, no one knows of any way of escape, even from decay and death. O when shall a way of escape from this suffering be made known, from decay and from death !"

'Then to Vipassi the Bodhisat, brethren, this thought occurred:— "What now being present, is decay and dying also present; what conditions decay and dying ?" Then, brethren, from attention to the cause[1] arose the conviction through reason:— "Where birth is, there is decay and dying; birth is the condition of decay and dying."

'Then to Vipassi the Bodhisat, brethren, this occurred:— "What now being present, is birth also present; what conditions birth ? "Then, Brethren, from attention to the cause arose the conviction through reason :— "When becoming is, birth also is present; becoming is the condition of birth."

'Then to Vipassi the Bodhisat, brethren, this occurred :— "What now being present, is becoming also present; what con

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and it is only the later tradition which thought it edifying to limit all such deep questions as the one discussed in the following; sections to one time and place.

1. Yoniso manasikārā. The Cy. paraphrases thus that interesting idiom: 'i.e. from attention to expedients (upāya, that is, expedients in analysis, comp. S. II, 17 ; III, 135; III, 53; III, 161 ; A. V, III), from attention to the course [of things] (patha); the attention of one who is attending to impermanence and the rest [dukkha, anattā] *as such;* the attention of one who is observing the continuity, that is to say the rising and passing away, of the phenomena in question under either their positive or negative aspect.' There is here no attempt to substitute, as an equivalent for yoni, a term for origin or basis— nidāna, e.g. or mūla. The observation that is yoniso appears to Buddhaghosa to be of causation viewed as phenomenal only, as process of invariable antecedent and consequent, with application of the methods of induction known since J.S. Mill as the Methods of Agreement and Difference.

ditions becoming ?" Then, brethren, from attention to the cause arose the conviction through reason :—" Where grasping [1] is, there is becoming ; grasping is the condition of becoming."

'Then to Vipassi the Bodhisat, brethren, this occurred :— "What now being present, is grasping also present; what conditions grasping ? "Then, brethren, from attention to the cause arose the conviction through reason :— "Where craving is, there is grasping ; craving is the condition of grasping."

'Then to Vipassi the Bodhisat, brethren, this occurred :— "What now being present, is craving also present; what conditions craving?" Then, brethren, from attention to the cause arose the conviction through reason :— "Where feeling is, there is craving ; feeling is the condition of craving."

'Then to Vipassi the Bodhisat, brethren, this occurred :— "What now being present, is feeling also present; what conditions feeling ?" Then, brethren, from attention to the cause arose the conviction through reason:—"Where contact is, there is feeling; contact is the condition of feeling."

'Then to Vipassi the Bodhisat, brethren, this occurred :— "What now being present, is contact also present; what conditions contact?" Then, brethren, from attention to the cause arose the conviction through reason:— "Where is the sixfold field, there is contact; the sixfold field is the condition of contact[2]."

'Then to Vipassi the Bodhisat, brethren, this occurred :— "What now being present, is the sixfold field also present; what conditions the sixfold field?" Then, brethren, from attention to

1. The translating of upādānam must always be inadequate; we having no word to fill its dual sense of something-to-hand, *Staff,* fuel, and a laying hold of something. If 'data,' which is etymologically akin, had chanced to be danda, there would have been an approximation in implication. That the term, in the commentarial tradition, held this active force is clear from anupādāya, 'void of grasping, being paraphrased by agahetva, not having laid hold of. See also 'Psychological Ethics,' p. 322, *n.*1; 'Asl.' pp. 385, 450.
2. The sixfold field is the sphere of action of the six senses; that is, our five senses, and the representative faculty.

the cause arose the conviction through reason :— "Where name-and-form is, there is the sixfold field; name-and-form is the condition of the sixfold field[1]."

'Then to Vipassi the Bodhisat, brethren, this occurred :— "What now being present, is name-and-form also present; what conditions name-and-form ?" Then, brethren, from attention to the cause arose the conviction through reason :— "Where cognition is there is name-and-form ; cognition is the condition of name-and-form[2]."

'Then to Vipassi the Bodhisat, brethren, this occurred :— "What now being present, is cognition also present; what conditions cognition ? "Then, brethren, from attention to the cause arose the conviction through reason :— "Where name-and-form is, there is cognition ; name-and-form conditions cognition."

19. 'Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa etad ahosi : "Paccudāvattati kho idaṃ viññāṇaṃ nāma-rūpamhā, nâparaṃ gacchati. Ettāvatā jāyetha vā jīyetha[3] vā mīyetha[4] vā cavetha[5] vā uppajjetha[6] vā, yadidaṃ[7] nāmarūpa-paccayā viññāṇaṃ, viññāṇa-paccayā nāma-rūpaṃ nāmarūpa-paccayā

1. *Name-and-form* is what we should call mind and body.
2. The Cy. here inquires into the omission of the two ultimate links in the 'Chain of Causation' that are given in most of the passages where the formula occurs—notably in the Nidāna Saṁyutta and in the Majjhima Nikāya (I, pp. 49-52, 261, etc.); also in Dh. S., p. 348, and Vibh., PP. 135 ff. It judges that, whereas avijjā and saṅkhārā relate to existence *prior* to that in which the remainder of the terms from viññanaṁ to jarāmaranaṁ, for any given individual, hold true, Vipassi's vipassanā was confining itself to any given *present* life. Mr. Loveday, in his essay on the 'Chain,' also came to the conclusion that, to apply the links in succession to any individual life, 'ignorance' and 'the saṅkhāras' must be referred to prior existence. (J. A. O. S., 1894.)
3. Bm jiyyetha.
4. Bm miyyetha.
5. K cayetha.
6. Bm K upapajo.
7. SS yadisaṃ, *but* yadidaṃ *in* § 21.

saḷāyatanaṃ, saḷāyatana-paccayā phasso, phassa-paccayā vedanā, vedanā-paccayā taṇhasaḷāyatanaṃ, saḷāyatana-paccayā phasso, phassa-paccayā vedanā, vedanā-paccayā, taṇhā-paccayā upādānaṃ, upādāna-paccayā bhavo, bhava-paccayā jāti, jāti-paccayā jarā-maraṇaṃ soka-parideva-dukkha-domanass-upāyāsā sambhavanti, evam etassa kevalassa dukkha-kkhandhassa samudayo hoti.

' "Samudayo samudayo" ti kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa pubbe ananussutesu dhammesu cakkhuṃ udapādi, ñāṇaṃ udapādi, paññā udapādi, vijjā udapādi, āloko udapādi.

19. 'Then to Vipassi the Bodhisat, brethren, this occurred:— "Cognition turns back from name-and-form ; it goes not beyond. Only as follows can one be born or grow old or die or fall from one condition or reappear in another; that is, in that cognition is conditioned by name-and-form, and name-and-form by cognition[1], the sixfold field by name-and-form, contact by the sixfold field, feeling by contact, craving by feeling, grasping by craving, becoming by grasping, birth by becoming, decay and dying by birth, and so too grief, lamentation, ill, sorrow and despair come to pass. Such is the coming to be of this entire body of Ill."

' "Coming to be, coming to be !"—at that thought, brethren, there arose to Vipassi the Bodhisat a vision into things not called before to mind, and knowledge arose, reason arose, wisdom arose, light arose.

20. 'Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa etad ahosi: "Kimhi nu kho asati jarā-maraṇaṃ na hoti, kissa nirodhā jarā-maraṇa-nirodho ti ?" Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa yoniso-mansasikārā ahu paññāya abhisamayo: "Jātiyā kho asati jarā-maraṇaṃ na hoti, jāti-nirodhā jarā-maraṇa-nirodho ti."

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1. In S. II, 114 their independence is compared to two sheaves of reeds leaning one against the other. Elsewhere—in definitions of nāma-rupam—nāma is sometimes made to include viññānaṁ, Dh. S., PP- 341, 342, sometimes not, M. I, 53; Vibh. 136.

'Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa etad ahosi: "Kimhi[1] nu kho asati jāti na hoti, kissa nirodhā jāti-nirodho ti ?" Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa yoniso-manasikārā ahu paññāya abhisamayo: "Bhave kho asati jāti na hoti, bhava-nirodhā jāti-nirodho ti."

'Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa etad ahosi: "Kimhi nu kho asati bhavo na hoti, kissa nirodhā bhava-nirodho ti ?" Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa yoniso-manasikārā ahu paññāya abhisamayo: "Upādāne kho asati bhavo na hoti, upādāna-nirodhā bhava-nirodho ti."

'Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa etad ahosi: "Kimhi nu kho asati upādānaṃ na hoti, kissa nirodhā upādāna-nirodho ti ?" Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa yoniso-manasikārā ahu paññāya abhisamayo: "Taṇhāya kho asati upādānaṃ na hoti, taṇhānirodhā upādāna-nirodhā ti."

'Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa etad ahosi: "Kimhi nu kho asati taṇhā na hoti, kissa nirodhā taṃhā-nirodho ti ?" Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa yoniso-manasikārā ahu paññāya abhisamayo: "Vedanāya kho asati taṇhā na hoti, vedanā nirodhā taṇhā-nirodho ti."

'Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa etad ahosi: "Kimhi nu kho asati vedanā na hoti, kissa nirodhā vedanā-nirodho ti ?" Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa yoniso-manasikārā ahu paññāya abhisamayo: "Phasse kho asati vedanā na hoti, phassa-nirodhā vedanā-nirodho ti."

'Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa etad ahosi: "Kimhi nu kho asati phasso na hoti, kissa nirodhā phassa-nirodho ti ?" Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa yoniso-manasikārā ahu paññāya abhisamayo: "Saḷāyatane kho asati phasso na hoti, Saḷāyatana-nirodhā phassa-nirodho ti."

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1. SS *here only* kismiṃ.

'Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa etad ahosi: "Kimhi nu kho asati saḷāyatanaṃ na hoti, kissa nirodhā saḷāyatana-nirodho ti ?" Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa yoniso-manasikārā ahu paññāya abhisamayo: "Nāma-rūpe kho asati saḷāyatanaṃ na hoti, nāma-rūpa-nirodhā saḷāyatana-nirodho ti."

'Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa etad ahosi: "Kimhi nu kho asati nāma-rūpaṃ na hoti, kissa nirodhā nāma-rūpa-nirodho ti ?" Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa yoniso-manasikārā ahu paññāya abhisamayo: "Viññāṇe kho asati nāma-rūpaṃ na hoti, viññṇa-nirodhā nāma-rūpa-nirodho ti."

'Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa etad ahosi: "Kimhi nu kho asati viññāṇaṃ na hoti, kissa nirodhā viññāṇa-nirodho ti ?" Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa yoniso-manasikārā ahu paññāya abhisamayo: "Nāmarūpe kho asati viññāṇaṃ na hoti, nāma-rūpa-nirodhā viññāṇa-nirodho ti.

20. 'Then to Vipassi the Bodhisat, brethren, this occurred:— "What now being absent, is decay and dying also absent; by the ceasing of what does decay and dying cease ?" Then, brethren, from attention to the cause arose the conviction through reason:— " Where birth is absent, decay and dying are absent; when birth ceases, decay and dying cease . . . Where becoming is absent, birth is absent; when becoming ceases, birth ceases . . . Where grasping is absent, becoming is absent; when grasping ceases, becoming ceases . . . Where craving is absent, grasping is absent; when craving ceases, grasping ceases . . . Where feeling is absent, craving is absent; when feeling ceases, craving ceases . . . Where contact is absent, feeling is absent; when contact ceases, feeling ceases . . . Where the sixfold field is absent, contact is absent; when the sixfold field ceases, contact ceases . . . Where name-and-form is absent, the sixfold field is absent; when name-and-form ceases, the sixfold field ceases . . . Where cognition is absent, name-and-form is absent ; when cognition ceases, name-and-form ceases . . . Where name-and-form is absent, cognition is absent; when name-and-form ceases, cognition ceases."

21. 'Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa etad ahosi: "Adhigato kho mayâyaṃ[1] vipassanā[2]-maggo bo-dhāya[3] yadidaṃ nāmarūpa-nirodhā viññāṇa-nirodho, viññṇa-nirodhā nāmarūpa-nirodo, nāmarūpa-nirodhā saḷāyatana-nirodho, saḷāyatana-nirodhā phassa-nirodho, phassa-nirodhā vedanā-nirodho, vedanā taṇhā-nirodho, taṇha-nirodhā upādāna-nirodho, upādāna-nirodhā bhava-nirodho, bhava-nirodhā jāti-nirodho, jāto-nirodhā jarā-maraṇaṃ soka-parideva-dukkha-domanass-upāyāsā nirujjhanti, evam etassa kevalassa dukkha-kkhandhassa nirodho hoti.

"Nirodho nirodho ti" kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa pubbe ananussutesu dhammesu cakkhuṃ udapādi, ñāṇaṃ udapādi, paññā udapādi, vijjā udapādi, āloko udapādi.

21. 'Then to Vipassi the Bodhisat, brethren, this occurred:— "Lo! I have won to this, the Way to enlightenment through insight[4]. And it is this, that from name-and-form ceasing, cognition ceases, and conversely; that from name-and-form ceasing, the sixfold field ceases; from the sixfold field ceasing, contact ceases ; from contact ceasing, feeling ceases ; from feeling ceasing, craving ceases ; from craving ceasing, grasping ceases; from grasping ceasing, becoming ceases; from becoming ceasing, birth ceases; from birth ceasing, decay and dying, grief, lamentation, ill, sorrow and despair cease. Such is the ceasing of this entire body of Ill."

' "Ceasing to be, ceasing to be !" —at that thought, brethren, there arose to Vipassi the Bodhisat a vision into things not called before to mind, and knowledge arose, reason arose, wisdom arose, light arose.

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1. *So* Sum, *and* K *here.* SS me ayaṃ, *and so* K, SS *at* p. 36.
2. *From* Sum. MSS. *and* K *omit.*
3. S^c bodhā; S^d B^m sambodhāya; S^t K badhāya.
4. Literally 'the Vipassanā Way to insight.' As this is not a stock phrase in this connexion it doubtless contains a play on the name Vipassi.

22. 'Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassī Bodhisatto aparena samayena pañcas'[1] upādāna kkhandhesu udaya-vyayânupassī[2] vihāsi: "Iti rūpaṃ, iti rūpassa samudayo, iti rūpassa atthagamo[3]; iti vedanā, iti vedanāya samudayo, iti vedanāya atthagamo; iti saññā, iti saññāya samudayo iti saññāya atthagamo; iti saṃkhārā, iti saṃkhārānaṃ samudayo, iti saṃkhārānaṃ atthagamo; iti viññāṇaṃ, iti viññāṇassa samudayo, iti viññāṇassa atthagamo ti."

'Tassa pañcas' upādāna-kkhandesu udaya-vyayânupassino viharato na cirass' eva anupādāya āsavehi cittaṃ vimucci.[4]

22. 'Thereafter, brethren, Vipassi the Bodhisat dwelt in the discernment of the rising and passing away of the five groups [of individual life] depending on grasping[6] :— "Such is form, such is the coming to be of form, such is its passing away ; such is feeling, such is the coming to be of feeling, such is its passing away; such is perception, such is its coming to be, such is its passing away ; such are the syntheses, such is their coming to be, such is their passing away; such is cognition, such is its coming to be, such is its passing away."

'And for him, abiding in the discernment of the rising and passing away of the five groups depending on grasping, not long

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1. K pañcasu *and below.*
2. B[m] K udayabbayānup°.
3. B[m] K atthaṅgamo *throughout.*
4. B[m] K vimuccîti.
5. S[d] *omits* niṭṭhitaṃ. B[m] K Dutiya-Bhāṇavāraṃ (*omit niṭṭh°*)
6. That is, the new individual, divisible into five constituent parts, called into being by the grasping attitude maintained during the previous life. Khandho, group, is rendered by 'body' in § 19—'whole body of Ill'—and, in both connexions, is always paraphrased by rāsi, or heap. Buddhist Pluralism turned away from unifying concepts, and chose to picture organic processes under aggregates. The concept is not so atomistic as we might think, the 'heap' referring to past and potential repetition of process.

was it before his heart, void of grasping, was set free from the "Intoxicants[1]." '

Dutiyaka-Bhāṇavāraṃ Niṭṭhitaṃ.[5]

Here endeth the Second Portion for recitation.

III

3. 1. 'Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa etad ahosi : "Yannūnâhaṃ dhammaṃ deseyyan ti."[2]

[3] "Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa etad ahosi: "Adhigato kho[4] me ayaṃ[4] dhammo gambhīro duddaso duranubodhao santo paṇīto atakkâvacaro nipuṇo paṇḍita-vedanīyo. Ālaya-rāmā kho panâyaṃ pajā ālaya-ratā ālaya-sammuditā.[5] Ālaya-rāmāya kho pana pajāya ālaya-ratāya ālaya-sammuditāya duddasaṃ idaṃ ṭhāṇaṃ yadidaṃ ida-paccayatā paṭiccasamuppādo. Idam pi kho ṭhānaṃ duddasaṃ[6] yadidaṃ sabba-saṃkhāra-samatho sabbûpadhi-paṭinis-saggo taṇhakkhayo virāgo nirodho nibbānaṃ. Ahañ c'eva kho pana dhammaṃ deseyyaṃ pare ca me na ājāney-yuṃ, so mam' assa kilamatho, sā mam' assa vihesā ti."

1. 'Then to Vipassi the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, brethren, this occurred[7]:—"What if I were now to teach

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1. This is the standing phrase for the attainment, not of Buddha-hood, but of Arahantship. Nevertheless Vipassi is henceforth called a Buddha. Compare what is said above, p. 2. On the Āsavas, here rendered Intoxicants, see above, Vol. I, pp. 92, 93. The Jain use of the term is referred to by Bhandarkar, 'Report, etc.,' p. 100. Other Pāli references are J. IV, 222, 3 and A. I, 124, 7, which confirm the suggested connotation of a poisonous, intoxicating drug.
2. S[c] *repeats this whole sentence.*
3. *Comp. Vin.* i. p. 4. Mahāvagga. i. 5. 2.
4.4. B[m] myâyaṃ.
5. SS samuditā.
6. Old. sududdasaṃ.
7. The following episode occurs also in Vinaya I, 4 (translated in Vin. Texts, I, 84-8), and M. I, 167-9 (translated by Dr. Neumann, 'Reden G. Buddho's, Mittlere Sammlung,' I, pp. 268 ff.), and S. I, 137-4I.

the Truth[1]."

'Then to him, brethren, this occurred[2]:— "I have penetrated this Truth, deep, hard to perceive, hard to understand, calm, sublime, no mere dialectic[3], subtle, intelligible only to the wise. But this is a race devoting itself to the things to which it clings, devoted thereto, delighting therein. And for a race devoting itself to the things to which it clings, devoted thereto, delighting therein, this were a matter hard to perceive, to wit, that this is conditioned by that, and all that happens is by way of cause[4]. This too were a matter hard to discern :—The tranquillization of all the activities of life[5], the renunciation of

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1. Dhamma, more literally the Norm. On this difficult but all-pervading term see Rh. D. 'American Lectures,' pp. 2, 38, and 'Buddhist India,' 292-4.
2. In the eighth week, says the Cy., after his attainment of Buddhahood, the intervening weeks having been spent in places corresponding to those where Gotama Buddha is alleged, in the Nidānakathā, to have spent them. Rh. D. 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' pp. 105-9. But there is nothing in the text to confirm this.
3. See 'Dialogues,' I, 26 :— 'not to be grasped by mere logic'—atakkāvacaro. 'Only by ñānani'—knowledge, insight—adds the Cy. Takka, meaning fundamentally thinking, is perhaps too much honoured, in the meaning it had come to bear, by being rendered 'logic.' In the Takka-jātaka, e.g. where the soubriquet 'takka-pandita,' date-sage, is considered by Mr. Chalmers to imply a wordplay on date and logic, the pundit's occupation is said to be foretelling 'what were lucky and unlucky seasons' to villagers for pay. Such low crafts, however, are not classed as takka in the 'Moralities' list of Dialogues, I, pp. 16 ff. And it is very possible that 'takka' conveyed, to the religious mind of that day, much the same that so-called 'mere logic' or 'sophistry' does at the present time.
4. Idapaccayatā paticcasamuppādo :—more literally, that conditionedness, genesis by way of cause. The second term implies the universal law, the first is its application to any given case.
5. i.e. of the sankhāras of actions, speech and thoughts. 'When Nirvana is reached,' says the Cy., 'all their diffusions are calmed. So too all cravings are destroyed, all evil passions are quenched, all suffering ceases.' For Buddhaghosa, Vipassi's 'Truth' is the calm and detachment of the intellectually and ethically free man.

all substrata of rebirth, the destruction of craving, the death of passion, quietude of heart, Nirvana. And if I were now to teach the Truth, and other men did not acknowledge it to me, that would be wearisome to me, that would be hurtful to me."

2. 'Api 'ssu[1] bhikkhave Vipassiṃ bhagavantaṃ arahantaṃ sammā-sambuddhaṃ imā anacchariyā gāthā[2] paṭibhaṃsu pubbe assuta-pubbā:

> **"Kicchena me adhigataṃ halan dāni pakāsituṃ,**
> **Rāga-dosa-paretehi nâyaṃ dhammo susambuddho.**
> **Paṭisota-gāmiṃ[3] nipuṇaṃ gambhīraṃ duddasaṃ aṇuṃ**
> **Rāga-rattā na dakkhinti[4] tamokkhandhena āvaṭā[5] ti."**

'Iti ha bhikkhave Vipassissa bhagavato arahato sammā sambuddhassa paṭisaṃcikkhato[6] apossukkatāya[7] cittaṃ nami[8] no dhamma-desanāya. Atha kho bhikkhave añña-tarassa Mahā-brahmuno Vipassissa bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa cetasā ceto-pativitakkam aññāya[9] etad ahosi: "Nassati vata bho loko, vinassati vata bho loko, yatra hi nāma Vipassissa bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa appossukkatāya cittaṃ namati,[10] no dhamma-desanāyâti."

2. 'And then verily, brethren, to Vipassi the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme were revealed on the spur of the moment[11] these verses unheard of before:—

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1. Bm apissudaṃ *here and in* § 4; *so* K *in test, but* apissu *in note.*
2. *So* SS K *and* Sum. Old. gāthāyo, *so* Bm (*here and in* § 4).
3. So SS Bm K *and* Sum. Old. -gāmi.
4. Bm K dakkhanti.
5. *So* SS *and* Sum. Old. āvuṭā ; *so* Bm; K āvutā. *and so in* § 4.
6. Sc paṭissaṃo.
7. Bm apposukko, *and onwards.*
8. *So* Bm K Sum. *and* Mil. 232. SS *and* Old. namati.
9. SS Bm K *here and in* § 7 parivitakkamaññāya.
10. Bm K nami.
11. Anacchariyā, i.e. anu-acchar-iyā, instantaneous; analogous to the Greek *ávà. xpóvov,* and similar to the later *év átó*mw of the New Testament (1 Cor. xv. 52). The expression is frequently used of the Buddha's similes.

"This that through many toils I've won—
Enough! why should I make it known ?
By folk with lust and hate consumed
Not this the Truth that can be grasped!
Against the stream of common thought,
Deep, subtle, difficult, delicate,
Unseen 'twill be by passion's slaves
Cloaked in the murk of ignorance[1]."

'In these words, brethren, pondering over the matter, did the heart of Vipassi incline to be averse from exertion and not to preach the Truth. Thereupon to one of the Great Brahmās[2], when he became aware in thought of the thoughts of Vipassi, this occurred :— "Alas ! the world will perish ! Utterly alas! will the world perish, now that the heart of Vipassi the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, inclines to be averse from exertion and not towards preaching the Truth !"

3. 'Atha kho so bhikkhave Mahā-brahmā, seyyathā pi nāma balavā puriso sammiñjitaṃ vā bāhaṃ pasāreyya, pasāritaṃ vā bāhaṃ sammiñjeyya, evam eva Brahmaloke antarahito Vipassissa bhagavato arrahato sammā-sambuddhassa purato pātur ahosi. Atha kho so[3] bhikkhav Mahā-brahmā ekaṃsaṃ uttarâsaṅgaṃ karitvā dakkhiṇaṃ jānu-maṇḍalaṃ paṭhaviyaṃ nihantvā[4], yena Vipassī bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho ten' añjaliṃ paṇāmetvā Vipassiṃ bhagavantaṃ arahantaṃ sammāsambuddhaṃ etad avoca:

"Deseṭu bhante bhagavā dhammaṃ, desetu sugato dhammaṃ, santi sattā appa-rajakkha-jātikā, assavantā dhammassa parihāyanti, bhavissanti dhammassa aññātāro ti."

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1. Ignorance, not explicit in the text, is usually symbolized by darkness—tamokkhandho—and is so referred to in the Cy.
2. 'Although merely referred to,' says the Cy., 'as one among them, he is to be understood as the chief Great-Brahmā in this universe.' But the title of Sahampati, given in the Vinaya and Majjhima versions, seems to be a later gloss.
3. Sc S^t B^m; S^{cd} K *omit.*
4. K nidahanto.

3. 'Then, brethren, did that Great Brahmā, like a strong man stretching his bent arm out, or drawing back his outstretched arm, vanish from the Brahmā world and appear before Vipassi. And the Great Brahmā, brethren, draping his outer robe over one shoulder and stooping his right knee to the ground, raised his joined hands towards Vipassi the Exalted One, the Arahant, the Buddha Supreme and said :— "Lord ! may the Exalted One preach the Truth ! May the Welcome One preach the Truth ! There arc-beings whose eyes are hardly dimmed by dust, they are perishing from not hearing the Truth ; they will come to be knowers of the Truth."

4. 'Evaṃ vutte[1] bhikkhave Vipassī bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho[2] Mahā-brahmānaṃ etad avoca :

' "Mayham pi kho Brahme etad ahosi : 'Yannūnâhaṃ dhammaṃ deseyyan ti.' Tassa mayhaṃ Brahme etad ahosi: 'Adhigato kho me ayaṃ dhammo gaṃbhīro duddaso duranubodho santo paṇīto atakkâvacaro nipuṇo paṇḍita-vedanīyo. Ālaya-rāmā kho panâyaṃ pajā ālayaratā ālaya-sammuditā. Ālaya-rāmāya kho paṅa pajāya ālaya-ratāya ālaya sammuditāya duddasaṃ idaṃ ṭhānaṃ yadidaṃ idappaccayatā paticcasamuppādo. Idam pi kho ṭhānam duddasaṃ, yadidam sabba-saṃkhāra-samatho sabbûpadhi-paṭinissaggo taṇhyakkhayo virāgo nirodho nibbānaṃ. Ahañ c'eva kho pana dhammaṃ deseyyaṃ pare ca me na ājāneyyuṃ, so man assa kilamatho, sā mam' assa vihesā ti. Api 'ssu maṃ Brahme imā anacchariyā gāthā paṭibhaṃsu pubbe assuta-pubbā:

'Kicchena me adhigataṃ halan dāni pakāsituṃ
Rāga-dosa-paretehi nâyaṃ dhammo susambuddho.
Paṭisota-gāmiṃ nipuṇaṃ gambhīraṃ duddasaṃ aṇuṃ
Rāga-rattā na dakkhinti tamokkhandena āvaṭā ti.'

' "Iti ha me Brahme paṭisaṃcikkhato appossukkatāya cittaṃ nami no dhamma-desanāyâti."

4. 'At these words, brethren, Vipassi the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, spoke thus to the Great Brahma:—

1. B[m] atha kho *for* evaṃ vutte (*see* § 7).
2. B[m] *adds* taṃ (*so* SS, § 7. p. 39)

"To me too, O Brahma, did it occur :— 'What if I now were to preach the Truth ? But I judged that the world was not fit for it, would not acknowledge it; and that that would be wearisome for me, hurtful for me' . . . And so, O Brahma, pondering over the matter, my heart inclined to be averse from exertion, and not towards preaching the Truth."

5. 'Dutiyam pi kho bhikkhave so Mahā-brahmā . . . pe . . .

5. 'But this Great Brahmā, brethren, addressed Vipassi a second time . . .

6. 'Tatiyam pi kho bhikkhave so Mahā-brahmā Vipassiṃ Bhagavantaṃ arahantaṃ etad avoca :

' "Desetu bhante bhagavā dhammaṃ, desetu sugato dhammaṃ, santi sattā appa-rajakkha-jātikā assavanatā dhammassa parihāyanti, bhavissanti dhammassa aññātāro ti.'

'Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassī bhagavā arahaṃ sammāsambuddho Brahmuno ca ajjhesanaṃ viditvā sattesu ca kāruññatam paticca buddha-cakkhunā lokaṃ volokesi. Addasā kho bhikkhave Vipassī bhagavā arahaṃ sammāsambuddho buddha-cakkhunā kokaṃ volokento, satte appa-rajakkhe mahā-rajakkhe tikkhindriye mudindriye svâkāre dvâkāre suviññāpaye duviññāpaye[1] appekacce paraloka-vajja-bhaya-dassāvino viharante. Seyyathāpi nāma uppaliniyaṃ vā paduminiyaṃ vā puṇḍarikiniyaṃ vāappekaccāni uppalāni vā padumāni vā puṇḍarīkāni vā udake jātāni udake saṃvaḍḍhāni udakânuggatāni[2] anto-nimugga-posīni, appekkaccāni uppalāni vā padumāni vā puṇḍarīkāni vā udake jātāni udake saṃvaḍḍhāni[3] samodakaṃ[4] ṭhitāni, appekaccāni uppalāni vā padumāni vā puṇḍarīkāni vā udake jātāni udake samvaḍḍhāni[5] udakā[6] accuggamma ṭhanti[7] anupalittā udakena,—

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1. B[m] *omits* ; K *adds* bhabbe abhabbe, *and below.*
2. K -ānugatāni.
3. S[ct] saṃvaṭṭāni.
4. K -ka.
5. S[ct] saṃvaṭṭāni.
6. B[m] udakaṃ, SS K -ka.
7. *So* S[ct] *and* Sum; S[ct] ṭhitāni; B[m] K tiṭṭhanti, *and so* Feer *at* S. i. 138.

evam eva kho bhikkhave Vipassī bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho buddha-cakkhunā lokaṃ volokento addasa satte appa-rajakkhe mahā-rajakkhe tikkhindriye mud-indriye svâkāre dvâre suviññāpaye duviññāpaye appekacce paraloka-vajja-bhaya-dassāvino viharante.

6. '. . . and again a third time, saying :— "Lord ! let the Exalted One preach the Truth ! Let the Welcome One preach the Truth ! There are beings whose eyes are but hardly dimmed with dust; they are perishing from not hearing the Truth ; they will come to be knowers of the Truth !"

'Then, brethren, when Vipassi the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, became aware of the entreaty of the Brahmā, because of his pitifulness towards all beings, he looked down over the world with a Buddha's Eye[1]. And so looking, brethren, he saw beings whose eyes were nearly free from dust. and beings whose eyes were much dimmed with dust, beings sharp of sense and blunted in sense, beings of good and of evil disposition, beings docile and indocile, some among them discerning the danger in rebirth and in other worlds, and the danger in wrong doing. As in a pond of blue, or red, or white lotuses, some lotus-plants born in the water grow up in the water, do not emerge from the water, but thrive sunken beneath; and other lotus-plants, born in the water and grown up in the water, reach to the level; while other lotus-plants born in the water and grown up in the water, stand thrusting themselves above the water, undrenched by it; even so, brethren, did Vipassi the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, look down over the world with a Buddha's Eye, and see beings whose eyes were nearly free from dust, and beings whose eyes were dim with dust, beings sharp of sense and blunted in sense, beings of good and of evil disposition, beings docile and indocile, and some among them discerning the danger in rebirth in other worlds, and the danger in wrong doing.

7. 'Atha kho so bhikkhave Mahā-brahmā vipassissa bhagavato arahato samma-sambuddhassa cetasā ceto-

1. On the super-normal sense of a Buddha, one of his ten balas or powers, see 'Vibhanga,' p. 340.

parivitakkam aññāya Vipassiṃ bhagavantaṃ arahantaṃ sammā-sambuddhaṃ gāthāhi ajjhabhāsi:

"Sele yathā pabbata-muddhaniṭṭhito[1] yathā pi passe jantaṃ samantato,

Tathûpamaṃ dhammamayaṃ Sumedha pāsādam āruyha samanta-cakkhu,

Sokâvatiṇṇaṃ janataṃ apeta-soko avekkhassu jāti-jarâbhibhūtaṃ,

Uṭṭhehi vīra vijita-saṃgāma sattha-vāha anaṇa[2] vicara[3] loke.

Desetu bhagavā dhammaṃ, aññātāro bhavissantîi."

'Atha kho[4] bhikkhave Vipassī bhagavāaraharaṃ sammā-sambuddho taṃ Mahā-brahmānaṃ gāthāya paccabhāsi[5].

"Apārutā tesaṃ[6] amatassa dvārā[7]

Ye sotavanto pamuñcantu saddhaṃ[8]

Vihiṃsa-saññī paguṇam n'abhāsiṃ[9]

Dhammaṃ paṃtaṃ manujesu Brame ti."

'Atha kho so[10] bhikkhave Mahā-brahmā. "Katâvakāso kho mhi Vipassinā bhagavatā arahatā sammā-sambuddhena dhamma-desamāyâti" Vipassiṃ bhagavantaṃ arahantaṃ sammā-sambuddhaṃ abhivādetvā padak-khiṇaṃ katvā tatth' ev'[11] antaradhāyi.

7. 'Thereupon that Great Brahma, brethren, when he be-

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1. *So* SS B^{m} K *and* Sum. *Also at* Itiv. 33 *and at* S. i. 137, 234. Old. muddhini ṭhito.
2. S^{cd} anana; S^{t} aṇaṇa.
3. K vivara.
4. K evaṃ vutte *for* atha kho.
5. S^{d} ajjhabhāsi; *so* K Old.
6. K te.
7. SS *add* Brahme.
8. S^{c} saccaṃ ; S^{d} sabbaṃ.
9. *So* S^{cd} B K ; S^{t} Old, bhāsi.
10. K *omits.*
11. K eva.

came aware in thought of the thoughts of Vipassi, spoke to him in verse[1] :—

"As on a crag, on crest of mountain standing,
A man might watch the people far below,
E'en so do thou, O Wisdom fair, ascending,
O Seer of all, the terraced heights of Truth,
Look down, from grief released, upon the nations
Sunken in grief, oppressed with birth and age.
Arise, thou Hero! Conqueror in the battle!
Thou freed from debt! Lord of the pilgrim band !
Walk the world o'er, sublime and blessed Teacher[2]!
Teach us the Truth ; there are who'll understand."

'Thereupon, brethren, Vipassi, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, made response in verse to that great Brahmā:—

"Wide opened are the portals to Nirvana[3] !
Let those that hear renounce their empty faith [4]!
Despairing of the weary task, O Brahmā,
I spake not of this doctrine, sweet and good, to men."

'Then, brethren, that Great Brahma thinking :— "Verily I am the one by whom an opening has been given for the preaching of the Truth by Vipassi the Exalted One, the Arahant, the Buddha Supreme," bowed down before Vipassi, and passing round him by the left vanished away.

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1. The following verses and the response are otherwise arranged in the Vinaya and Majjhima versions, in the former immediately following the deity's petition, in the latter immediately following the lotus simile.
2. In the text simply, O Exalted (or Blessed) One;—practically the only expression not literally reproduced.
3. Amatassa dvārā; literally the doors of ambrosia. On this term see Appendix I. Cf. also M. I, 227 :—amatadvāraṁ. 'Wide-flung the living gate, the safe (road) leading to Nirvana.'
4. Pamuñcantu saddham. The expression is ambiguous. Olden-berg, 'Vinaya Texts,' I, 88, renders it 'Let them send forth faith to meet it.' We think it means let them give up their faith in rites, and gods, and ceremonies, with especial references to the offerings to the dead. Comp. R. O. Franke in Z.D.M.G., 1909, p. 7.

8. 'Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa etad ahosi : "Kassa nu kho ahaṃ paṭhamaṃ dhammaṃ desettaṃ, ko imaṃ dhammaṃ khippam eva ājānissatîti ?"

'Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa etad ahosi: "Ayaṃ kho Khaṇḍo ca rāja-putto Tisso ca purohita-putto Bandhamatiyā rāja-dhāniyā paṭivasanti paṇḍitā vyattā[1] medhāvino dīgha-rattaṃ apparajakkha-jātikā. Yannūnâhaṃ Khaṇḍ-assa ca rāja-puttassa Tissassa ca purohita-puttassa paṭhamaṃ dhammaṃ deseyyaṃ, te imaṃ dhammaṃ khippam eva ajānissantîti."

'Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassī bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho, seyyathā pi nāma balavā puriso sammiññitaṃ vā bāhaṃ pasāreyya, pasāritaṃ vā bāhaṃ sammiñjeyya, evam eva kho bodhi-rukkha-mūle antara-hito Bandhumatiyā rāja-dhāniyā Kheme miga-dāye pāturahosi.

8. 'Then to Vipassi, brethren, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, this occurred:— "To whom now should I first preach the Truth ? Who will quickly understand this doctrine?" And he thought:— "There is Khanda a rāja's son, and Tissa, the chaplain's son, both dwelling at Bandhumatī. They are learned, open-minded and wise, and for long have had but little dust in their eyes. If I were now to teach the Truth first to them, they would quickly understand it." Thereupon, brethren, did Vipassi, like a strong man stretching his bent arm out, or drawing back his outstretched arm, vanish from the Wisdom Tree and appear in the Sanctuary, in the deer-park at Bandhumati[2].

9. 'Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassi bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho dāya-pālaṃ[3] āmantesi :

' "Ehi tvaṃ samma dāya-pāla, Bandhumatiṃ rāja-dhāniṃ pavisitvā Khaṇḍañ ca rāja-puttaṃ Tissaṃ ca

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1. K viy°.
2. Tradition apparently identified this with Isipatana, the deer-park, in Gotama Buddha's time, at Benares, and attributed the name Knema to the park as having been given as a deer-preserve, or refuge. Cy.
3. K migadāya- *throughout.*

purohita-puttaṃ evaṃ vadehi: vadehi: 'Vipassī bhante bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho Bandhumatiṃ rāja-dhāniṃ anuppatto Kheme miga-dāye viharati. So tumhākaṃ dassana-kāmo ti.' "

' "Evaṃ bhante" ti kho bhikkhave dāya-pālo Vipassissa bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa paṭissutvā Bandhumatiṃ rāja-dhāniṃ pavisitvā Khaṇḍañ ca rājaputtaṃ Tissañ ca purohita-puttaṃ etad avoca :

' " Vipassī bhante bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho Bandhumatiṃ rāja-dhāniṃ anuppatto Kheme miga-dāye viharati. So tumhākaṃ dassana-kāmo ti."

9. 'And Vipassi, brethren, bade the park-keeper, saying :—"Ho you, good park-keeper, go into Ban- Dhumatī and tell Khanda the rāja's son, and Tissa the chaplain's son, that :—Vipassi, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, has arrived at Bandhumatī and abides in the Khema deer-park. He wishes to see you." "Ay, my lord," replied the park-keeper, and went to Bandhumatī and gave this message to Khanda and Tissa.

10. 'Atha kho bhikkhave Khaṇḍo ca rāja-putto Tisso ca purohita-putto bhaddāni bhaddāni yānāni yojāpetvā bhaddaṃ[1] yānaṃ abhiruhitvā bhaddehi bhaddehi yānehi Bandhumatiyā raja-dhāniyā nīyiṃsu,[2] yena Khemo miga-dāyo tena pāyaṃsu,[3] yāvatikā yānassa bhūmi yānena gantvā yānā paccorohitvā yānassa bhūmi yānena gantvā yānā paccorohitvā pattikā va yena Vipassī bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho ten' upasaṃkamiṃsu. Upasaṃkamitvā Vipassiṃ bhagavantaṃ arahantaṃ sammā-sambuddhaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdiṃsu.

10. 'Then they, ordering out their state carriages, mounted, and drove out from Bandhumatī to the deer-park. As far as there was a road they drove, and then alighting went on foot into the presence of Vipassi. And being come they saluted

1. B[m] K bhaddaṃ bhaddaṃ.
2. S[c] rājadhāniyiṃsu; S[d] nīyaṃsu ; S[t] nisīdiṃsu ; B[m] niyyiṃsu ; K nīy[o].
3. *So* SS; B[m] K pāyiṃsu.

Vipassi, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, and seated themselves beside him.

11. 'Tesaṃ Vipassī abhgavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho ānupubbi-kathaṃ[1] kathesi, seyyathîdaṃ dāna-kathaṃ sīla-kathaṃ sagga-kathaṃ kāmānaṃ ādīnavaṃ okāraṃ saṃkilesaṃ nekkhamme ānisaṃsaṃ pakāsesi. Yadā te bhagavā aññāsi kalla-citte mudu-citte vinīvaraṇa-citte udagga-citte pasanna-citte, atha yā Buddhānaṃ sāmukkaṅ-sikā dhamma-desanā tam pakāsesi, dukkhaṃ sāmudayaṃ nirodhaṃ maggaṃ. Seyyáthā pi nāma suddhaṃ vatthaṃ apagata-kāḷakaṃ sammad eva rajanaṃ paṭigaṇheyya,[2] evam eva Khaṇḍassa ca rāja-puttassa Tissassa ca purohita-puttassa tasmiṃ yeva āsane virajaṃ vītamalaṃ dhamma-cakkhuṃ udapādi: "Yaṃ kiñci samudaya-dhammaṃ, sabban taṃ nirodha-dhamman ti."

11. 'To them Vipassi discoursed in due order[3]; that is to say, he gave them illustrative talk on generosity, on right conduct, on heaven, on the danger, the vanity and the defilement of lusts, on the advantages of renunciation. When the Exalted One saw that they had become prepared, softened, unprejudiced, upraised and believing in heart, then he proclaimed that Truth which the Buddhas alone have won; that is to say, the doctrine of Sorrow, of its origin, of its cessation, and the Path. And just as a clean cloth, from which all stain has been washed away, will readily take the dye, just even so did Khanda and Tissa obtain, even while sitting there, the pure and stainless Eye for the Truth, and they knew :— "Whatsoever has a beginning, in that is also inherent the necessity of passing away."

12. 'Te duṭṭha-dhammā patta-dhammā vidita-dhammā pariyogāḷha-dhammā tiṇṇa-vicikicchā vigata-kathaṃ-kathā vesārajja-ppattā apara-ppaccayā satthu sāsane Vipassiṃ bhagavantaṃ arahantaṃ sammā-sambuddhaṃ etad avocuṃ:

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1. *So* SS Sum i. 277, 308; D. i. 110; M. i. 379 ; Jāt. i. 8, 30. Old *at* Vin. i 15, 18; ii. 156 anu°. K anupubbī-.
2. K paṭigg°.
3. Cf. 'Dialogues,' I, p. 135.

' "Abhikkantaṃ bhante, abhikkantaṃ bhante ! Seyyathā pi bhante nikkujjitaṃ vā ukkujjeyya, paṭicchannaṃ vā vivareyya, mūḷhassa vā maggaṃ ācikkiheyya, andhakāre vā tela-pajjotaṃ dhāreyya 'cakkhumanto rūpāni dakkhintîti,'[1] evam eva Bhagavatā aneka-pariyāyena dhammo pakāsito. Ete mayaṃ bhante Bhagavantaṃs saraṇaṃ gacchāma, dhammañ ca. Labheyyāma mayaṃ bhante Bhagavato santike pabbajjaṃ, pabbajjaṃ, labbajjaṃ, labheyyāma upasampadan ti."

12. 'Then they having seen the Truth, won the Truth, understood the Truth, sounded the depths of Truth, having crossed the waters of doubt and put away perplexity, having gained full confidence and become dependent on none other for the teaching of the Master, addressed Vipassi, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, and said :—

' "Most excellent, lord, most excellent, lord ! Just as if a man were to set up that which has been thrown down, or were to reveal that which has been hidden away, or were to point out the right road to him who has gone astray, or were to bring a light into the darkness so that those who had eyes could see external forms,—even so has the truth been made known in many a figure by the Exalted One. We here, lord, betake ourselves to the Exalted One as our guide, and to the Truth. May we be suffered to go forth from the world under the Exalted One, may we be suffered to obtain ordination."

13. Alatthuṃ kho bhikkhave Khaṇḍo ca rāja-putto Tisso ca purohita-putto Vipassissa bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa santike pabbajjaṃ, alatthum upasampadaṃ. Te vipassī bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho dhammiyā kathāya sandassesi samādapesi samuttejesi sampahaṅsesi, saṃkhārānaṃ ādīnavaṃ okāraṃ saṃkilesaṃ nibbāne[2] ānisaṃsaṃ pakāsesi. Tesaṃ Vipassinā bhagavatā arahatā sammā-sambuddhena dhammiyā kathāya sandassiyamānānaṃ samādapiyamānānaṃ samuttejiyamānānaṃ samphaṅsiyamānānaṃ na cirass' eva anupādāya āsavcehi cittāni vimucciṃsu.

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1. B^{m} K dakkhanti.
2. K nekkhamme, *as in* § 11. *See* § 17.

13. 'And so, brethren, Khanda the rāja's son and Tissa the chaplain's son obtained retreat and ordination under Vipassi, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme. Them did Vipassi instruct, arouse, incite and gladden with religious discourse, making clear the danger, the vanity and the corruption of component things, and the advantage in Nirvana. And they thus instructed, aroused, incited and gladdened by his discourse, their hearts ere long, being void of grasping, were set free from the Intoxicants.

14. 'Assosi kho bhikkhave Bandhumatiyā rāja-dhāniyā mahā-jana-kāyo caturāsīti-pāṇa-sahassāni: "Vipassī kira bhagavā arahaṃ arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho Bandhumatiṃ rāja-dhāniṃ anuppatto Kheme miga-dāye viharati. Khaṇḍo ca kira rāja-putto Tisso ca purohita-putto Vipassissa bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa santike kesa-massuṃ ohāretvā kāsāyāni vatthāni acchādetvā agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajitā ti." Sutvāna tesaṃ[1] etad ahosi : "Na hi[2] nūna so orako dhamma-vinayo na sā crikā pabbajjā, yattha Khaṇḍo ca rāja-putto Tisso ca purohita-putto kesa-massuṃ ohāretvā kāsāyāni vatthāni acchādetvā agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajitā. Khaṇḍo ca hi nāma rājaputto, Tisso ca purohita-putto Vipassissa bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa santike kesa-massuṃ ohāretva kāsāyāni vatthāni acchādetvā agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajissanti, kim aṅga pana na mayan ti ?"

'Atha kho so bhikkhave mahā-jana-kāyo caturāsiti-pāṇa-sahassāni Bandhumatiyā rāja-dhāniyā nikkhamitvā yena Khemo miga-dāyo yena Vipassī bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho ten' upakamiṃsu, upasaṃkamitvā Vipassiṃ bhagavantaṃ arahantaṃ sammā-sambuddhaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdiṃsu.

14. 'Now a great multitude, brethren, of the inhabitants of Bandhumatī—some 84,000 souls—heard that Vipassi, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, had come to Bandhumatī and was staying at the Sanctuary (Khema), in the deer-preserve;

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1. B^m K nesaṃ.
2. SS ha. *See p.* 30, § 2 16. B^m hi.

and how Khanda the rāja's son and Tissa the chaplain's son, had actually at his instigation shaved their heads and put on the yellow robe, and had gone forth from the House into the Homeless state. And hearing it they thought:— "Surely this is no ordinary religious rule, this is no common going forth, in that the rāja's son and the chaplain's son have had their heads shaved, have donned the yellow robe and gone forth from the House into the Homeless state. Khanda and Tissa have indeed done this ; why then should not we ?"

'So all that multitude came out from Bandhumatī to see Vipassi, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, and when they were in his presence they saluted him and sat down by him.

15. 'Tesaṃ Vipassī bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho ānupubbi-kathaṃ kathesi, seyyathîdaṃ dāna-kathaṃ sīla-kathaṃ sagga- kathaṃ kāmānaṃ ādīnavaṃ okāraṃ saṃkilesaṃ nekkhaṃme ānisaṅsaṃ pakāsesi. Yadā te bhagavā aññāsi kalla-citte mudu-citte vinīvaraṇa-citte udagga-citte pasanna-citte, atha, atha yā Buddhānaṃ sāmuk-kaṅsikā dhamma-desanā taṃ pakāsesi dukkhaṃ samudayaṃ nirodhaṃ maggaṃ. Seyyathā pi nāma suddhaṃ vatthaṃ apagata-kāḷakaṃ sammad eva rajanaṃ paṭigaṇheyya, evam eva tesaṃ caturāsīti-pāṇa-sahassānaṃ tasmiṃ yeva āsane virajaṃ vītamalaṃ dhamma-cakkhuṃ udapādi: "Yaṃ kiñci mamudaya-dhammaṃ sabban taṃ nirodha-dhamman ti."

15. 'And to them Vipassi discoursed, even as he had discoursed to Khanda and Tissa . . . . he gave them illustrative talk on generosity, on right conduct, on heaven, on the danger, the Vanity and the defilement of lusts, on heaven, on the danger, the vanity and the defilement of lusts, on the advantages of renunciation, when the blessed one saw that they had become prepared softened, unprejudiced, upraised and believing in heart then he proclaimed that truth which the Buddhas alone have won; that is to say, the doctrine of sorrow, of its origin, of its cessation, and the path. And just as a clean cloth, from which all stain has been washed aneay, will readily take the dye, just even so did khanda and Tissa obtain, and they knew :— ^^ what o ever has a beginings in that is also in herest the vecessity od passing away.

16. 'Te diṭṭha-dhammā patta-dhammā vidita-dhammā

pariyogāḷha-dhammā tiṇṇa-vicikicchā vigata-kathaṃ-kathā vesārajja-ppattā apara-ppaccayā satthu sāsane Vipassiṃ bhagavantaṃ arahantaṃ sammā-sambuddhaṃ etad avocuṃ:

' "Abhikkantaṃ bhante, abhikkantaṃ bhante ! Seyyathā pi bhante nikkujjitaṃ vā ukujjeyya, paṭicchannaṃ vā vivareyya, mūḷhassa vā maggaṃ ācikkheyya, andhakāre vā tela-pajjotaṃ dhāreyya 'cakkhumanto rūpāni dakkhintîti,' evam eva Bhagavatā aneka-pariyāyena dhammo pakāsito. Ete mayaṃ bhante Bhagacantaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāma dhammañ ca.[1] Labheyyāma mayaṃ bhante Bhagavato santike pabbajjaṃ, labheyyāma upasampadan ti."

16. 'And they too as those . . . who have gained full confidence and become dependent on none other for the teaching of the Master, addressed Vipassi even as Khanda'a and Tissa had done, asking that they might obtain ordination.

17. 'Alatthuṃ kho bhikkhave tāni caturāsīti-pāṇa-sahassāni Vipassissa bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa santike pabajjaṃ, alathuṃ upasampadaṃ. Te Vipassī bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho dhammiyā kathāya sandassesi samādapesi samuttejesi sampahaṃsesi, saṃkhārānaṃ ādīna-vaṃ okāraṃ saṃkilesaṃ nibbāne[2] ānisaṃsaṃ pakāsesi. Tasaṃ Vipassinā bhagavatā arahatā sammā-sambuddhena dhammiyā kathāya sandassiyamānānaṃ samādapiyamānā-naṃ samuttejiyamānānaṃ sampahaṅsiyamānānaṃ na cirass eva anupādāya āsavehi cittāni vimucciṃsu.

17. 'And so, brethren, those 84,000 souls obtained retreat and ordination under Vipassi the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme. Them did Vipassi instruct, arouse, incite and gladden with religious discourse, making clear the danger, the vanity and the corruption of component things, and the advantages in Nirvana. They thus instructed, aroused, incited and gladdened by his discourse, their hearts ere long, being void of grasping, were set free from the Intoxicants.

18. 'Assosuṃ kho bhikkhave tāni purimāni caturāsī-

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1. S^{d} *adds* bhikkhu-saṃghañ ca. *See* § 20. *So* K B^{m} *here, and in* § 20, *but not in* § 12. *Comp.* Vin. i. 15.
2. K *in note* nekkhamme ti pi pāṭhena bhavitabbaṃ.

tiṃ[1] pabbajita-sahassāni : "Vipassī kira bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho Bandhumatiṃ rāja-dhāniṃ anuppatto Kheme miga-dāye viharati, dhammañ ca kira desetîti." Atha kho bhikkhave tāni caturāsīti pabbajita-sahassāni yena Bandhumati rāja-dhānī yena Khemo miga-dāyo yena Vipassī bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho ten' upasaṃkamiṃsu, upasaṃkamitvā Vipassiṃ bhagavantaṃ arahantaṃ sammā-sambuddhaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nissīdiṃsu.

18. 'Now a great multitude, brethren, of recluses-some 84,000—heard from the former multitude of Vipassi's visitation. And they, too, went out from Bandhumatī to see him.

19. 'Tesaṃ Vipassī bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho ānupubbi-kathaṃ kathesi, seyyathîdaṃ dāna-kathaṃ sīla-kathaṃ sagga-kathaṃ kāmānaṃ ādīnavaṃ okāraṃ saṃkilesaṃ nekkhamme ānisaṃsaṃ pakāsesi. Yadā te bhagavā aññāsi kalla-citte mudu-citte vinīvaraṇa-citte udagga-citte pasanna-citte atha yā Buddhānaṃ sāmukkaṅsikā dhamma-desanā, taṃ pakāsesi dukkhaṃ samudayaṃ nirodhaṃ maggaṃ. Seyyathā pi nāma suddhaṃ vatthaṃ apagata-kāḷakaṃ sammad eva rajanaṃ paṭigaṇheyya, evam eva[2] tesaṃ caturāsītiṃ[3] pabbajita-sahassānaṃ tasmiṃ yeva āsane virajaṃ vītamalaṃ dhamma-cakkhuṃ udapādi: "Yaṃ kiñci samudaya-dhammaṃ sabban aṃ nirodha-dhamman ti."

19. 'And to them did Vipassi likewise discourse, and it happened even so with them.

20. 'Te diṭṭha-dhammā patta-dhammā vidita-dhammā pariyogāḷha-dhammā tiṇṇa-vicikicchā vigata-kathaṃ-kathā vesārajja-ppattā apara-ppaccayā satthu sāsane Vipassiṃ bhagavantaṃ sammā-sambuddhaṃ etad avocuṃ :

"Abhikkantaṃ bhante, abhikkantaṃ bhante ! Sey-yathā pi bhante nikkujjaitaṃ vā ukujjeyya, paṭicchannaṃ vā vivareyya, mūḷhassa vā maggaṃ ācikkheyya, andhakāre vā tela-pajjotaṃ dhāreyya "cakkhumanto rūpāni dakkhintîti," evam eva Bhagavatā aneka-pariyāyena dhammo pakāsito. Ete

1. *So* SS. Bm K-sīti.
2. *So* SS. *See* § 15.
3. Bm K -sīti.

mayaṃ bhante Bhagavantaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāma dhammañ ca bhikkhu-saṃghañ ca.[1] Labheyyāma mayaṃ bhante Bhagavato santike pabbajjaṃ, labheyyāma upasampadan ti."

21. 'Alatthuṃ kho bhikkhave tāni caturāsītiṃ pabbajita-sahassāni Vipassissa bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa santike pabbajjaṃ, alatthuṃ upasampadaṃ. To Vipassī bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho dhammiyā kathāya sandassesi samādapesi samuttejesi sampahaṅ-sesi, saṃkhārānaṃ ādīnavaṃ okāraṃ saṃkilesaṃ nibbāne[1] ānisaṃsaṃ pakāsesi. Tesaṃ Vipassinā bhagavatā arahatā sammā-sambuddhena dhammiyā kathāya sandassiyamānānaṃ samādapiyamānānaṃ samuttejiyamānānaṃ sampahaṅsiyamānānaṃ na cirass' eva anupādāya āsavehi cittāni vimuccimsu.

20. 21. '. . . and their hearts too ere long were set free from the Intoxicants.

22. 'Tena kho pana bhikkhave samayena Bandhumatiyā rāja-dhāniyā mahā-bhikku-saṃgho paṭivasati aṭṭvasati aṭṭha-saṭṭhiṃ[2] bhikkhu-sata-sahassaṃ.[3] Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa raho-gatassa paṭisallīnassa evaṃ cetaso parivitakko udapādi:

"Mahā kho etarahi bhikkhu-saṃgho Badhumatiyā rāja-dhāniyā paṭivasati aṭṭha-saṭṭhiṃ bhikkhu-sata-sahas-sam. Yannūnâhaṃ bhikkhū anujāneyyaṃ:[4] 'Caratha bhikkhave cārikaṃ bahujana-hitāya bahujana-sukhāya lokânukampāya[5] atthāya hitāya sukhāya devamanus-sānaṃ. Mā ekena dve agamittha,[6] desetha bhikkhave dhammaṃ ādi-kalyāṇaṃ majjhe kalyāṇaṃ pariyo-sāna-kalyāṇaṃ sâttham savyañja-naṃ kevala-paripuṇṇaṃ parisuddham brahmacariyaṃ pakāsetha. Santi[7]

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1. S^c *omits.*
2. K nekkhamme.
2. B^m K saṭṭhi-
3. *So* SS, B^m K. *See below.*
4. *See* S. i. 105 = Vin. i. 21.
5. SS -pakāya.
6. SS *all five times* agamattha.
7. K santîdha *throughout.*
8. Attha-satthiṁ sata-sahassam— 6,800,000—is the literal figure given Seep p. 39.

sattā appa-rajakkha-jātikā assavanatā dhammassa parihāyanti, bhavissanti dhammassa aññātāro. Api ca channaṃ channaṃ vassānaṃ accayena Bandhumatī rāja-dhānī upasaṃkemitabbā pātimokkhuddesāyâti.' "

22. 'Now at that time, brethren, a vast company of bhikkhus[8] was staying at Bandhumatī. And to Vipassi the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, as he meditated in solitude, this idea arose in his mind:— "There is now a vast company of bhikkhus dwelling at Bandhumatī. What if I were now to grant leave to the bhikkhus and say :— 'Fare ye forth, brethren, on the mission that is for the good of the many, for the happiness of the many, to take compassion on the world, to work profit and good and happiness to gods and men. Go not singly; go in pairs; teach ye, brethren, the Truth, lovely in its origin, lovely in its progress, lovely in its consummation, both in the spirit and in the letter, proclaim ye the higher life in all its fullness and in all its purity. Beings there are whose eyes are hardly dimmed with dust, perishing because they hear not the Truth. Moreover after every six years have passed come ye to Bandhumatī, the royal residence, there to recite the summary of the Rules of the Order[1].' "

23. 'Atha kho bhikkhave aññataro Mahā-brahmā Vipassissa bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa cetasā ceto-parivitakkam aññāya, seyyathā pi nāma balavā puriso sammiñjitaṃ[2] vā bāhaṃ pasāreyya, pasāritaṃ vā bāhaṃ sammaiñjeyya, evam eva Brahma-loke antarahito Vipassissa bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa purato pātur ahosi. Atha kho bhikkhave Mahā-brahmā ekaṃsaṃ uttarâsaṅgaṃ karitvā yena Vipassī bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho ten' añjalim paṇāmetvā Vipassiṃ bhagavantaṃ arahantaṃ sammā-sambuddhaṃ etad avoca:

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1. Pātimokkha, literally the Disburdenment. The text as we have it (translated in 'Vinaya Texts,' Vol. I) dates only from the times of early Buddhism, and it is not likely that this technical name used as the title was much older.
2. B^{m} *throughout* samiñj.

' "Evam etaṃ Bhagavā evam etaṃ Sugata ! Mahā kho bhante etarahi bhikkhu-saṃgho Bandhumatiyā rāja-dhāniyā paṭivasati aṭṭha-saṭṭhiṃ[1] bhikkhu-saka-sahassaṃ, anujānātu bhante Bhagavā bhikkhū: 'Caratha bhikkhave cārikaṃ bahujana-hitāya bahujana-sukhāya lokânukam pāya atthāya hitāya sukhāya deva-manussānaṃ. Mā ekena dve agamittha, desetha bhikkhave dhammaṃ ādikalyāṇaṃ majjhe kalyāṇaṃ pariyosāṇa-kalyānaṃ sâtthaṃ savyañjanaṃ kevala-paripuṇṇaṃ parisuddhaṃ brahma-cariyaṃ pakāsetha. Santi sattā appa-rajakkha-jātikā, assavantā dhammassa parihāyanti, bhavissanti dhammassa aññātāro'. Api ca bhante mayaṃ tathā karissāma yathā bhikkhū channaṃ channaṃ vassānaṃ accayena Bandhumatiṃ rāja-dhāniṃ upasaṃ-kamissanti pātimokkhuddesāyâti."

'Idam avoca bhikkhave so Mahā-brahmā. Idaṃ vatvā Vipassiṃ bhagavantaṃ arahantaṃ sammā-sambuddhaṃ abhivādetvā padakkhinaṃ katvā tatth' ev' antaradhāyi.

23. 'Now one of the Great Brahmās, brethren, when he became aware in thought of the thoughts of Vipassi, like a strong man stretching his bent arm out, or drawing back his outstretched arm, vanished from the Brahma-world and appeared in the presence of Vipassi the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme. Then, draping his outer robe over one shoulder, he raised his joined hands towards the Exalted One, saying:— "Even so, O Exalted One! Even so, O Welcome One! Let the Exalted One thus grant leave to this great company of bhikkhus, as he has a mind to do ... Moreover we too, lord, will do even as the bhikkhus after every six years have passed; we will come to Bandhumati there to recite the Pāti-mokkha."

'Thus, brethren, spake that Great Brahma. And bowing down before the Exalted One, he passed round by the left, and forthwith disappeared.

24. 'Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassī bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho sāyaṇha-samaye aṭisallāṇā vuṭṭhito bhikkhū āmantesi :

' "Idha mayahaṃ bhikkhave raho-gatassa paṭisallīṇassa evaṃ cetaso parivitakko udapādi: 'Mahā-kho-eterahi bhikkhu-

1. B^m K saṭṭhi.

saṃgho Bandhumatiyā rāja-dhāniyā pat vasati aṭṭha-saṭṭhiṃ bhikkhu-sata-sahassaṃ. Yannūn haṃ bhikkhu anujāneyyaṃ : "Caratha bhikkhave cārihaṃ bahujana-hitāya bahujana-sukhāya lokânukampāya att- ya hitāya sukhāya deva-manussānaṃ. Ma ekena dre agamitta, desetha bhikkhave dhammam ādi-kayāṇaṃ majjhe kalyāṇaṃ pariyosāna-kalyāṇaṃ tthaṃ savyañ-janaṃ kevala-paripuṇṇaṃ parisuddhaṃ brahmacariyaṃ pakāsetha. Santi sattā appa-rajakkha-jātikā, assavanatā, dhammassa parihāyanti, bhavissanti dhammassa aññātāro. Api ca channaṃ channaṃ vassānaṃ accayena Bandhumatī rāja- upasaṃkakitabbā pātimokkhuddesā-yâti." '

25. ' "Atha kho bhikkhave aññataro Mahā-brahma mama cetaso ceto-parivitakkam aññāya, seyyathā pi nāma balavā puriso sammiñjitaṃ vā bāhaṃ pasāreyya, pasā-ritaṃ vā bāhaṃ sammiñjeyya, evam eva. Brahma-loke antarahito mama purato pātur ahosi. Atha kho so bhikkhave Mahā-brahmā ekaṃsaṃ uttarâsaṅgaṃ karitvā yenâhaṃ ten' añjalim paṇāmettvā maṃ etad avoca: 'Evaṃ etaṃ Bhagavā, evam etaṃ Sugata ! Mahā kho bhaute etarahi bhikkhu-saṃgho Bandhumatiyā raja-dhāniyā paṭi-vasati aṭṭha saṭṭhiṃ bhikkhu-sata-sahassaṃ, anujānātu, bhante Bhagavā bhikkhū: "Caratha bhikkhave cārikaṃ bahujana-hitāya bahujana-sukhāya lokânukampāya atthāya hitāya sukhāya deva-manussānaṃ. Mā ekena dve agamittha, desetha bhikkhave dhammaṃ ādi-kalyāṇaṃ majjhe kalyāṇaṃ pariyosāna-kayāṇaṃ sâthhaṃ savyañ-janaṃ kevala-paripuṇṇaṃ parisuddhaṃ brahmacariyaṃ pakāsetha. Santi sattā appa-rajakkha-jātika, assavanatā dhammassa parihāyanti, bhavissanti, bhavissanti dhammassa aññātāron Api ca bhante mayaṃ tathā karissāma, yathā bhikkhū channaṃ channaṃ vassānaṃ accayena Bandhumatiṃ rāja-dhāniṃ upasaṃkamissanti pātimokkhuddesāyâti.' Idam avoca so bhikkhave Mahā-brahmā. Idaṃ vatvā maṃ abhivādetvā padakkhinaṃ katvā tatth' ev' antara-dhāyi.

24, 25. [47] 'Then Vipassi, brethren, arose towards even-tide from his meditations and told the bhikkhus [of what he had deliberated and of the visitation of the Great Brahmā].

26. ' "Anujānāmi bhikkhave ! Caratha cārikaṃ bahu-jana-hitāya bahujana-sukhāya lokânukampāya atthāya hitāya sukhāya deva-manussānaṃ. Mā ekena dve agamittha, desetha bhikkhave dhammaṃ ādi-kalyāṇaṃ majjhe kalyāṇaṃ pariyosāṇa-kalyāṇaṃ sâtthaṃ savyañ-janaṃ kevala-paripuṇ-ṇaṃ parisuddhaṃ brahmacariyaṃ pakāsetha. Santi sattā apparajakkha-jātikā, assavanatā dhammassa parihāyanti, bhavissanti dhammassa aññātāro. Api ca[1] bhikkhave channaṃ channaṃ vassānaṃ accayena Bandhumatī rāja-dhānī upasaṃkamitabbā pātimokkh-yddesāyâti."

'Atha kho te[2] bhikkhave bhikkhū yebhuyyena ekāhen' eva janapada-cārikaṃ pakkamiṃsu.

26. "I grant ye leave, brethren ! Fare ye forth on the mission that is for the good of the many, for the happiness of the many, to take compassion on the world and to work profit and good and happiness to gods and men. Go not singly but in pairs; teach ye, brethren, the Truth, lovely in its origin, lovely in its progress, lovely in its consummation, both in the spirit and in the letter ; proclaim ye the higher life in all its fullness and in all its purity. Beings there are whose eyes are hardly dimmed with dust, perishing because they hear not the Truth ; they will become knowers of the Truth. Moreover, brethren, after every six years have passed come ye to Bandhumatī, there to recite the Pātimokkha."

'Then those bhikkhus, brethren, for the most part on that very day, set forth on their mission among the people.

27. 'Tena kho pana bhikkhave samayena Jambudīpe caturāsītiṃ āvāsa-sahassāni honti. Ekamhi vasse nikkhante devatā saddam anussāvesuṃ: "Nikkhantaṃ kho mārisā ekaṃ vassaṃ, pañca dāni vassāni sesāni. Pañcannaṃ vassānaṃ accayena Bandhumatī rāja-dhānī upasaṃ-kamitabbā pātimokkhuddesāyâti."

[3]Dvīsu vassesu nikkhantesu devatā saddam anussā-vesuṃ: "Nikkhantāni kho mārisā dve vassāni, cattāri dāni

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1. K mayaṃ tathā karissāma yathā channaṃ ect.
2. S[c] B[m] K *omit.*
3. B[m] dvīsu vassesu nikkhantesu, tīsu vassesu nikkhantesu, catūsu vassesu nikkhantesu, pañcasy vassesu nikkhantesu devatā. *etc., as below.*

vassāni sesāni. Catunnaṃ vassānaṃ accayena Bandhumatī raja-dhānī upasaṃkamitabbā pātimokkh-uddesāyâti.

Tīsu vassesu nikkhantesu devatā saddam anussāvesuṃ: "Nikkhantāni kho mārisā tīṇi vassāni, tīṇi dāni vassāni sesāni. Tiṇṇaṃ vassānaṃ accayena Bandhumatī rājadhānī upasaṃ-kamitabbā pātimokkhuddesāyâti."

'Catusu vassesu nikkhantesu devatā saddam anussāve-suṃ : "Nikkhantāni kho mārisā cattāri vassāni, dve dāni vassāni sesāni. Dvinnaṃ vassānaṃ accayena Bandhumatī rāja-dhānī upasaṃkamitabbā pātimokkhuddesāyâti."

'Pañcasu vassesu nikkhantesu devatā saddam anussāve-suṃ: "Nikkhantāni kho mārisā pañca vassāni, ekaṃ dāni vassaṃ sesaṃ sesaṃ. Ekassa vassassa accayena Bandhu-mati rāja-dhānī upasaṃkamitabbā pātimokkhuddesāyâti."

'Chasu vassesu nikkhantesu devatā saddam anussāve-suṃ: "Nikkhantāni kho mārisā cha vassāni,[1] samayo dāni Bandhumatiṃ[2] rāja-dhāniṃ[3] upasaṃkaṃkamitum[4] pātimok-khuddesāyâti."

'Atha kho te bhikkhave bhikkhū, app ekacce saken' eva[5] iddhânubhāvena app ekacce devānaṃ[6] iddhânubhā-vena, ekāhen' eva Bandhumatiṃ rāja-dhāniṃ upasaṃkamiṃsu pātimokkhuddesāyâti.[7]

27. 'Now at that time, brethren, there was a very great number of religious dwellings in Jambudīpa— some 84,000. As one year was drawing to a close the angels proclaimed the news:— "Ho, friends ! one year is ending; now five years remain. At the end of five years we have to go to Bandhumatī to recite the Pātirnokkha."

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1. B^m K chabbassāni.
2. S^{dt} K -matī.
3. S^{dt} K -dhānī.
4. K -tabbā.
5. B^m K sakena.
6. B^m K devatānaṃ.
7. *So* SS, B^m.

'And [this they did at the close of each remaining year, proclaiming] at the end of the sixth year :— "Ho, friends ! The six years are at an end. Now is the time for us to go to Bandhumatī to recite the Pātimokkha." Then, brethren, those bhikkhus, some by their own magic power, some by the magic power of the gods, on that very day came to Bandhumatī to recite the Pātimokkha.

28. 'Tatra sudaṃ bhikkhave Vipassī bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho bhikkhu-saṃghe evaṃ pātimokkhaṃ uddisati[1] :

[2] **' "Khantī paramaṃ tapo titikkhā[3]**
Nibbānaṃ paramaṃ vadanti Buddhā.
Na ni pabbajito parûpaghāti.
[4] **Samano hoti paraṃ viheṭhayanto.**
' " Sabba-pāpassa akaraṇaṃ, kusalassa upasampadā,
Sacitta-pariyodapanaṃ, etaṃ Buddhâna sāsanaṃ.
' " Anupavādo[5] anupaghāto[6] pātimokkhe ca saṃvaro,
Mattaññutā ca bhattattasmiṃ pantañ ca sayanâsanaṃ,
Adhicitte ca āyogo, etaṃ Buddhâna sāsanan" ti.

28. 'Then verily, brethren, did Vipassi, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, thus rehearse a Pātimokkha :—

"How may ye best the flesh subdue ?
Be patient, brethren, be forbearing.
What is the highest, what the best ?
Nirvana, brethren, say the Buddhas.
For he 's no Wanderer who harms
His fellow man ; he 's no recluse
Who works his neighbour injury.
Work ye no evil; give yourselves to good;
Cleanse ye your hearts,—so runs the Buddhas' word.
Blame not, strike not, restrain self in the Law,

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1. B^{m} K uddissati.
2. Dhp. 184, 183, 185.
3. K tīt^{o}.
4. B^{m} *inserts* na: *so also* Sum (*perhaps*). SS *and* K *omit.*
5. S^{c} K anūp^{o}; S^{t} anūvādo.
6. S^{c} K anūp^{o}.

With temperance eat, lonely seek rest and sleep,
Given to thoughts sublime,—so runs the Buddhas' word[1]."

29. 'Ekam idâhaṃ bhikkhave samayaṃ Ukkaṭṭhāyaṃ viharāmi Subhaga[2]-vane sāla-rāja-mūle. Tassa mayhaṃ bhikkhave rahogatassa paṭisallīnassa[3] evaṃ cetaso parivitakko udapādi: "Na kho so[4] sattâvāso[5] sulabha-rūpo yo[6] mayā anāvuttha[7]-pubbo iminā dīghena addhunā aññatra Suddhâvasehi devehi. Yan nūnâhaṃ yena Suddhâvāsā devā ten' upasaṃkameyyan ti."

'Atha kho ahaṃ[8] bhikkave seyyathā pi nāma balavā puriso sammiñjitaṃ vā bāhaṃ pasāreyya, pasāritaṃ vā bāhaṃ sammiñjeyya, evam eva Ukkaṭṭhāyaṃ Subhaga-vane sāla-rāja-mūle antarahito Avihesu[9] devesu pātur ahosiṃ[10] Tasmiṃ[11] bhikkhave deva-nikāye 'nekāni[12] devatā-sahassāni yenâhaṃ ten' upasaṃkamiṃsu, upasaṃka mitvā maṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhaṃsu. Ekamantaṃ ṭhitā kho bhikkhave tā devatā maṃ etad avocuṃ:

' "Ito so mārisa eka-navute[13] kappe yaṃ Vipassī bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho loke udapādi. Vipassī mārisa bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho Khattiyo jātiyā ahosi, Khattiya-kule udapādi. Vipassī mārisa bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sumbuddho Koṇḍañño gottena ahosi. Vipassissa·

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1. These verses, except lines 8 and 9, have been included in the Dhammapada 184-6.
2. K Subha, *and so below, but see* M. i. 326, ii. 200, Kathā-Vatthu 559.
3. Bm paṭisallinassa.
4. Bm na so kho.
5. SS sattavāso.
6. Scd so.
7. Bm anacchāvuṭṭha.
8. K 'haṃ.
9. M. i. 289.
10. SS Bm ahosi.
11. K *adds* yeva kho.
12. Bm K aneko. K *inserts* devatāsatāni anekāni.
13. *So* SS *See* 1. 4. Bm navuti.

mārisa bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa asīti-vassa-sahassāni āyuppamāṇaṃ ahosi. Vipassī mārisa bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho pāṭa-liyā mūle abhisambuddho. Vipassissa bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa Khaṇḍa-Tissaṃ nāma sāvaka-yugaṃ ahosi aggaṃ bhadda-yugaṃ. Vipassissa mārisa bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa tayo sāvakānaṃ sannipātā ahesuṃ, eko sāvakānaṃ sannipāto ahosi aṭṭha-saṭṭhi-bhikkhu-sata-sahassaṃ, eko sāvakānaṃ sannipāto ahosi bhikkhu-sata-sahassaṃ, eko sāvakānaṃ sannipāto ahosi asīti-bhikkhu-sata-sahassāni. Vipassissa mārisa bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa ime tayo sāva-kānaṃ sannipātā ahesuṃ sabbesaṃ yeva khīṇâsavānaṃ. Vipassissa mārisa bhagavato arahato sammā-sambud-dhassa Asoko nāma bhikkhu upaṭṭhāko ahosi aggupaṭṭhā-ko. Vipassissa mārisa bhagavato arahato sammā-sam-buddhassa Bandhumānāma rājā pitā ahosi, Bandhumatī nāma devī mātā ahosi janettī, Bandhumassa rañño Bandhumatī nāma rāja[1]-nagaraṃ rājadhānī ahosi. Vipassissa mārisa bhagavato arhato sammā-sambud-dhassa evaṃ abhinikkhamanaṃ ahosi, evaṃ pabbajjā, evaṃ padhānaṃ, abhisambodhi, evaṃ dhamma-cakka-pavattanaṃ. Te mayaṃ mārisa Vipassimhi bhagavati brahmacariyaṃ caritvā kāmesu kāmacchandaṃ virājetvā idh' uppannā[2] ti."

29. 'At one time I, brethren, was dwelling at Ukkatthā, in the Delectable Wood, beneath a giant sāl tree. Now to me as I meditated in solitude this idea arose in my mind :— "There is but one abode of beings easily accessible that I have not dwelt in for a very long time, and that is among the gods of the Pure Mansions[3]. What if I were now to repair thither ? Then, brethren,

1. B^{m} K *omit.*
2. B^{m} K ūpapannā, *and so in* § 30.
3. The Suddhāvāsā devā comprise the five highest spheres of celestials in the so-called Rûpa loka, i.e. the universe of Form, the five being named successively in the text. Beyond these five heavens were yet four spheres of the Formless. The following paragraphs develop the assertion on p. 7 : 'And gods also have revealed these matters to him.' . . .

as a strong man stretching his bent arm out, or drawing back his outstretched arm, so did I vanish from beneath the giant sāl tree in the Delectable Wood at Ukkatthā and appear among the gods of the Aviha heaven. In that group of gods, brethren, several thousands of them came up to me, and saluting me, stood by and spake thus :—

' "Friend, it is now ninety-one aeons since Vipassi the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, arose in the world. Vipassi, friend, was of the noble class and was born in a noble family. Vipassi, friend, was by family a Kondañña. . . . The span of life in his time, friend, was 80,000 years. He attained enlightenment, friend, under a trumpet-flower tree. His chief disciples, friend, were a pair named, Khanda and Tissa. [51] He had. friend, three companies of disciples, sixty-eight lacs, one lac, and eighty thousand in number. His special attendant, friend, was named Asoka. His father was the rāja Bandhuman, whose ranee, Bandhumatī, was his mother, and whose seat was the town of Bandhumatī. His leaving the world, his becoming a recluse, his travail, his enlightenment, his setting the Wheel of Truth a-rolling, were each on such and such wise. And we being of those who have lived the holy life under Vipassi our Exalted One, and purged the lusts of the flesh, have been reborn here."

30. 'Tasmiṃ yeva kho bhikkhave deva-nikāye 'nekāni[1] devatā-sahassāni . . . pe[2] . . . ' nekāni devatā-satāni[3] yenâhaṃ ten' upasaṃkamiṃsu, upasaṃkamitvā maṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhaṃsu. Ekamantaṃ ṭhitā kho bhikkhave tā devatā maṃ etad avocuṃ[4]:

' "Imasmiṃ yeva kho mārisa bhadda-kappe bhagavā etarah[5] arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho loke uppanno. Bhagavā

1. B^m anekāni, *and below.* K anekāni devatā-satāni inekāni. etc.
2. Bm K *omit.*
3. S^c devatāni, B^m devatā-sata-sahassāni.
4. K *inserts* Ito so mārisa ekatiṃso kappoyaṃ Sikhī bhagavā . . . pe. . . . te mayaṃ mārisa Sikhimhi Bhagavati . . . pe . . . Tasmiṃ *etc., as in* B^m § 32 pe; *and at* imasmiṃ yeva *etc.* = 30.
5. S^c *omits.*

mārisa Khattiyo jātuyā[1] Khattiya-kule uppanno. Bhagavā mārisa Gotamo gottena. Bhagavato mārisa appakaṃ āyuppamāṇaṃ parittaṃ lahusaṃ,[2] yo ciraṃ jīvati so vassa-sataṃ appaṃ vā bhiyyo. Bhagavā mārisa assatthassa mūle abhisambuddho. Bhagavato mārisa Sāriputta-Moggallānā[3] sāvaka-yugaṃ[4] aggaṃ bhadda-yugaṃ. Bhagavato mārisa eko sāvakānaṃ sannipāto ahosi aḍḍhateḷasāni bhikkhu-satāni. Bhagavato mārisa ayaṃ eko sāvakānaṃ sannipāto ahosi sabbesaṃ yeva khīṇâsavānaṃ. Bhagavato mārisa Ānando[5] bhikkhu upaṭṭhāko ahosi[6] aggupaṭṭhāko. Bhagavato mārisa Suddhodano rājā pitā, Māyā[7] devī mātā janettī, Kapila-vatthu-nagaraṃ rājadhānī. Bhagavato mārisa evaṃ abhinikkhamanaṃ ahosi, evaṃ pabbajjā, evaṃ padhānaṃ, evaṃ abhisambodhi, evaṃ dhammacakka-pavattanaṃ. Te mayaṃ mārisa Bhagavati brahmacariyaṃ caritvā kāmesu kāmacchandaṃ virājetvā idh' uppannā ti."

30. 'And again, brethren, in that group of gods, several thousands of them . . .[8]. And again, brethren, several hundreds of them came up to me, and saluted, and stood on one side, and said :— "Friend! in this fortunate aeon the Exalted One has now arisen in the world as an Arahant, Buddha Supreme. The Exalted One, friend, is of noble birth, born in a clan of nobles, in a family with Gotama for surname. Small, friend, is the span of life in the Exalted One's time, [sa] brief and soon past; he who is longlived lives a hundred years more or less. The Exalted One,

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1. S[d] *inserts* ahosi *but omits it in repetition.*
2. *So* SS, B[m] lahukaṃ.
3. S[d] *-na ; so* SS *in the repelition;* B[m] K Moggallānaṃ; K *adds* nāma.
4. K *adds* ahosi.
5. K *adds* nāma.
6. *So* B[m]; SS K *omit.*
7. K *adds* nāma.
8. The text here is greatly abbreviated. It is intended that numbers of the gods claim to have been, in a previous birth, the followers of each successive Buddha; and § 29 is to be understood, in full, for each Buddha. The full text is given, as usual, for the first and last cases only.

friend, became a Buddha under an aspen tree. He has, friend, two chief disciples, Sāriputta and Moggallāna, a glorious pair. He has had one assembly, friend, of disciples, 1250 in number, and in this company all are arahants. He has for attendant, friend, for chief attendant, one named Ānanda. His father, friend, is the rāja Suddho-dana, whose wife Māyā is his mother, and whose seat is the town of Kapilavatthu. His leaving the world, his becoming a recluse, his travail, his enlightenment, his setting the Wheel of Truth a-rolling, were each on such and such wise. And we, friend, being of those who lived the holy life under our Exalted One, and purged the lusts of the flesh, have been reborn here."

31. 'Atha kho' haṃ bhikkhave Avihehi devehi saddhiṃ yena Atappā devā ten' upasamkamiṃ[1] Atha khvâhaṃ[2] bhikkhave Avihehi[3] ca devehi Atappehi ca devehi saddhiṃ yena Sudassā devā ten' upasaṃkamiṃ. Atha khvâhaṃ bhikkhave Avihehi ca devehi Atappehi ca devehi[4] Sudas-sehi ca devehi saddhiṃ yena Sudassī devā ten' upasam-kamiṃ. Atha khvâhaṃ bhikkhave Avihehi ca devehi Atappehi ca devehi Sudassehi ca devehi Sudassīhi ca devehi saddhiṃ yena Akaniṭṭhā devā ten' upasaṃkamiṃ. Tasmiṃ[5] bhikkhave deva-nikāye nekā[6] devatā- sahassāni[7] yenâhaṃ ten' upasaṃka-miṃsu, upasaṃ-kamitvā maṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhaṃsu. Kkamantaṃ ṭhitā kho bhikkhave tā devatā maṃ etad avocuṃ:

' "Ito so mārisa [8]eka-navute kappe[8] yaṃ Vipassī bhagavā arahaṃ sammā sambuddho loke udapādi . . .

pe[9]

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1. B[m] *inserts* pa.
2. K *as before* kho 'haṃ.
3. S[c] avī°.
4. S[ct] *insert* saddhiṃ.
5. K *inserts* yeva kho.
6. B[m] anekāni.
7. B[m] *adds* anekāni devatā sata-sahassāni; K anekāni devatā-satāni anekāni *etc.*

8-8. *So* SS. *See ante,* § 29. B[m] eka-navuti kappe; K ekanavuto kappo.

9. *Not in* SS; *here repeat as in* § 29, *down to* idh' up-pannā ti.

32. 'Tasmiṃ yeva kho bhikkhave deva-nikāye[1] nekāni devatā-sahassāni . . . pe[2] . . . nekāni devata satāni[3] yenâhaṃ ten' upasaṃkamiṃsu, upasaṃkamitvā maṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhaṃsu. Ekamantaṃ ṭhitā kho bhikkhave tā devatā maṃ etad avocum[4]:

' "Imasmiṃ yeva kho mārisa bhadda-kappe bhagavā etarahi arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho loke uppanno. pe.[5]

31, 32. 'Thereafter, brethren, I resorted, not only to the Aviha gods, but also to the home of the Cool gods; and so, including both the Aviha gods and the Cool gods[6], I came to the home of the Fair gods[7]. Then on, including thus the Aviha and Cool and Fair gods, I came to the home of the Wellseeing gods.[8] And yet on, including thus Aviha and Cool and Fair and Wellseeing gods, till I came to the home of the Senior gods. [And in each of these heavens numbers of the gods accosted me and told me of their previous birth under Vipassi and the following Buddhas down to the present one, myself.]

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1. K *inscrts* anekāni devatā satāni.
2. Bm K *omit.*
3. Bm sata-sahassāni. K *omits this clause.*
4. Bm Ito kho mārisa ekatiṃse (K-so) kappe (K-po) yaṃ Sikhi bhagavā . . . pa . . . Te mayaṃ mārisa Sikhimhi bhagavati . . . pa . . . Tasmiṃ yeva kho mārisa ekatiṃse kappe Vessabhū bhagavā . . . pa . . . Te mayaṃ mārisa Vessabhumhi bhagavati . . . pe . . . Imasmiṃ yeva kho mārisa bhadda-kappe Kakusandho, Koṇāgamano, Kassapo bhagavā . . . pe . . . Te mayaṃ mārisa Kakusandhamhi, Koṇāgamanamhi, Kassapamhi bhagavati brāhmacariyaṃ caritvā kāmesu kāmacchandaṃ virājetvā idhûpapannā ti. Tasmiṃ yeva kho bhikkhave (*as at beginning of* § 32).
5. *Not in* SS ; *repeat as in* § 30.
6. The Cy. interprets as active:—na kañci sattaṁ tapentīti—they torment no one.
7. Paraphrased as 'lovely to look at, beautiful, charming.'
8. Paraphrased as 'because they see vividly the beautiful vision of the former.'

33. 'Iti kho bhikkhave Tathāgatass' ev' esā[1] dhamma-dhātu suppaṭividdhā yassā yassā dhamma-dhatuyā suppaṭividdhattā Tathāgato atīte Buddhe parinibbute chinna-papañce chinna-vaṭume pariyādiṇṇa-vaṭṭe sabba-dukkha-vītivatte jātito pi anussarati, nāmato pi anussarati gottato pi anussarati, āyuppamāṇato pi anussarati, sāvaka-yugato pi anussarati, sāvaka-sannipātato pi anussarati: "Evāṃ-jaccā te Bhagavanto ahesuṃ iti pi, evaṃ-nāmā evaṃ-gottā evaṃ-sīlā evaṃ-dhammā evaṃ-paññā evaṃ-vihārī evaṃ-vimuttā te Bhagavanto ahesuṃ iti pîti." '[2]

Idam avoca Bhagavā. Attamanā te bhikkhū Bhagavato bhāsitaṃ abhinandun ti.

33. 'Thus, brethren, through his clear discernment of that principle of the Truth, is the Tathāgata able to remember the Buddhas of old, who attained final completion, who cut off obstacles, who cut down barriers, who have ended the cycle., who have escaped from all sorrow,—so that he can remember as to their birth, their names, their families, the span of life usual in their time, their pair of disciples, and their congregations of disciples, and can say:— "Of such was the birth of those Exalted Ones, such were their names, their families, such were their morals, their doctrines, their wisdom ; how they lived and how they gained emancipation." '

Thus spake the Exalted One. And the brethren, pleased at heart, rejoiced at the word of the Exalted One.

Mahâpadāna-suttanṭaṃ samattaṃ.[3]

Here endeth the Mahâpadāna-Suttanṭaṃ

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1. B^{m} Sum eva sā.
2. B^{m} K *add* : Devatā pi Tathāgatassa etam atthaṃ ārocesuṃ, yena Tathāgato atīte pubbe[4] parinibbute chinna-papañce chinna-vaṭume pariyādiṇṇa-vaṭṭe sabba-dukkha-vītivatte jātito pi anussarati, nāmato pi anussarati, gottato pi anussarati, āyuppamāṇato pi anussarati, sāvaka-yugato pi anussarati, sāvaka-sannipātato pi anussarati: "Evaṃ jaccāte Bhagavanto ahesuṃ iti pi, evaṃ-nāmā, evaṃ-gottā, evaṃ-sīlā, evaṃ-dhammā, evaṃ-paññā evaṃ-vihārī, evaṃ-vimuttā te Bhagavanto ahesuṃ iti pîti.
3. So S^{t}; S^{cd} Mahā-Padhāna; S^{d} (*by accident*) Mahā-Nidāna; B^{m} Mahā-Padhāna-suttaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ. K Mahāpadāna - Suttaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ paṭhamaṃ. Old. *Buddha* p. 418, Mahāpadhāna, *referring to* Jāt. i. 59 *which has* Mahāpadāna.
4. K Buddhe.

INTRODUCTION
TO THE
Mahā-Nidāna Sutta

The Mahānidāna Sutta explains fully the doctrine of paṭiccasamuppāda (dependent origination) and discusses Soul, seven kinds of beings, and kind of vimokkhas[1]. Besides, it treats of cause of jāti (birth), Jarā (old age) and maraṇa (death). In this Sutta, Ven. Ānanda said to the Blessed One, "It is strange that the Dhamma (Dharma) which is deep and profound oppears to me to be very easy". Buddha told Ānanda not to say so and said that on account of ignorance and non-realisation of his Dharma, people were entangled in this word and could not overcome hell.

In this Sutta the doctrine of Paṭiccasamuppāda or dependent Origination finds the fullest exposition accorded to it throughout the pitakas. The Dīghabhāṇakas (reciters of long discourse) excluded the first two of the twelve nidānas (chapters), viz., avijja (ignorance) and Saṁkhāra (congections) and that in the Paccayākāra-vibhaṅga of the Abhidhamma Pitaka the formula is reiterated and analysed with greater variety of presentation. But in this Sutta the doctrinal contents are more fully worked out. Although the formula as expounded in this Sutta ends in the usual way- 'Such is the uprising of the whole body of III' the burden of the dialogue is in no way directly concerned with III, pain or sorrow. In certain other passages where the nidāna chain occurs, dukkha occupies the foreground.

1. The eight vimokkhas or stages of emanication are the following:— the condition of rūpa, arūpa, Saññi (rūpi is nearly always combined and constrasted with arūpi formless, incorporeal) recognition of subha, realisation of ākāsānañcayatana (infinity of space), of viññānānañcāyatana (infinitude of life force or mind matter) of ākiñcaññāyatana (realm or sphere of nothengness), of neva - Saññāasññāyatana (nither perception nor non-Perception), of Saññavedayitavirodha (Consation of consciousness and sensation).

XV. Mahā-Nidāna Sutta

(The great Discourse on Causation)

1. Evam me sutaṃ. Ekaṃ samayaṃ Bhagavā kurūsu viharati Kammāssa-dhammaṃ[1] nāma Kurūnaṃ nigamo. Atha kho āyasmā Ānando yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. Ekamantaṃ nisinno kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca :

'Acchariyaṃ bhante abbhutaṃ bhante yāva gambhīro câyaṃ bhante paṭicca-samuppādo gambhīrâvabhāso ca. Atha ca pana me uttānakuttānako viya khāyatîti.'

Mā h'evem Ānanda avaca, mā h'evaṃ Ānanda avaca. Gambhīro câyaṃ Ānanda[2] paṭicca-samuppādo gambhīrāvabhāso ca. Etassa Ānanda dhammassa ananubodhā appaṭivedhā evam eyaṃ pajā tantâkulaka-jatā gulā-guṇṭhika-jātā[3] muñja-babbaja[4]-bhūtā apāyaṃ duggatiṃ vinipātaṃ saṃsāraṃ nātivattati.

1. Thus have I heard. The Exalted One was once dwelling among the Kurus[5]. Now a township of that country is named Kammāssadnmma. And the venerable Ānanda came to where the Exalted One was, bowed in salutation before him, and

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1. SS *and* Sum Kammāssa- ; B[m] K Kammāsa- . S[t] Sum B[m] *and* K *in note* -dham°; S[cd] K -dam°. *See* M. i. 532; S. ii. 92, 107; A. v. 29; Thig. A. 87, 89; Divy. 515.
2. K *omits.*
3. B[m] kulā-; K guṇa-ganṭhika-jātā.
4. S[d] B[m] pabbaja; K (*text*) pabbaja ; *note,* bab°.
5. The Kurus occupied the country of which Indraprastha, close to the modern Delhi, was the capital. See Rh. D. 'Buddhist India,' p. 27.

took a seat on one side. And so seated he said to the Exalted One:— 'Wonderful, lord, and marvellous it is, that whereas this doctrine of events as arising from causes is so deep and looks so deep[1], to me it seems as clear as clear can be !'

'Say not so, Ānanda, say not so! Deep is this doctrine of events as arising from causes, and it looks deep too. It is through not understanding this doctrine, through not penetrating it, that this generacion[2] has become a tangled skein, a matted ball of thread[3], like to munja-grass and rushes[4], unable to overpass the doom of the Waste[5]. the Woeful Way, the Downfall, the Constant Round [of transmigration][6].

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1. Water, muses the Cy., may be shallow and look deep like a pool black with the rotten leaves beneath the surface; it may be deep and look shallow, like the jewel-like translucence of Ganges water; it may be and look shallow, like the contents of a basin; it may be and look deep, like the ocean at the foot of Mount Sineru. But this doctrine is ever and only deep both in substance and appearance.
2. The Greek γέννημα of the Gospels has much the same vague meaning as pajā—offspring, here rendered 'generation.'
3. A more literal rendering than Warren's picturesque 'entangled warp . . . ensnarled web.' The similes are drawn from weaving cloth and making nets. The tangle is due to bad workmanship or the teeth of mice; the matting, to grease (kañjiyasuttaṁ), the ball resembling a bird's nest. Both similes are to illustrate the confused state of the popular mind, lost in fallacies of opinion, prejudice and supersti-tion e.g. among the sixty-two heresies of the first Sutta (Vol. I). Cy.
4. When these are withering and cut in autumn, if gathered up in sheaves wherever they fall, it becomes difficult to extricate stalk from stalk and lay them in parallel order. (Cy.)
5. Apāya. For the concrete meaning see above, Vol. I, p. 125. In the secondary sense the word is often—quite wrongly, rendered 'hell.' There is no hell, i.e. no existence of *unending* torment, in Indian thought.
6. These four terms all refer to a change for the worse in rebirth, i.e. to one or other of the four infra-human grades of existence—purgatory, animal kingdom, shades or ghosts, and asuras or fallen angels.

2. ' "Atthi idappaccayā jarā-maraṇan ti ?" iti puṭṭhena

satā Ānanda, "Atthîti" 'ssa vacanīyaṃ.[1] "Kim paccayā jarā-maraṇam to" ? iti ce vedeyya, "Jāti-paccayā jarā-maraṇan ti" icc assa vacanīyaṃ.

' "Atthi idappaccayā jātîti ?' iti puṭṭhena satā Ānanda, "Atthîti" ssa vacanīyaṃ. "Kim paccayā jātîti ?" iti ce vedeyya, "Bhava-ppaccayā jātîti" icc assa vacanīyaṃ.

' "Atthi idappacayā bhavo ti ?" iti puṭṭhena satā Ānanda, "Atthîti" ssa vacanīyaṃ. "Kim paccayā bhavo ti ?" iti ce vedeyya, "Upādāna-paccayā bhavo ti" icc assa vacanīyaṃ.

' "Atthi idappaccayā upādānan ti ?" iti puṭṭhena satā Ānanda, "Atthîti" 'ssa vacanīyaṃ. "Kim paccayā upādānan ti ?" iti ce vedeyya, "Taṇhā-paccayā upādānan ti" icc assa vacanīyaṃ.

' "Atthi idappaccayā taṇhā ti ?" iti puṭṭhena satā Ānanda, "Atthîti" 'ssa vacanīyaṃ. "Kim paccayā taṇhā ti ?" iti ce vedeyya, "Vedanā-paccayā taṇhā ti" icc assa vacanīyaṃ.

' "Atthi idappaccayā vedanā ti ?" iti puṭṭhena satā Ānanda, "Atthîti" 'ssa vacanīyaṃ. "Kim paccayā vedanā ti?" iti ce vedeyya, "Phassa-paccayā vedanā ti" icc assa vacanīyaṃ.

' "Atthi idappaccayā phasso ti ?" iti puṭṭhena satā Ānanda, "Atthîti" 'ssa vacanīyaṃ. "Kim paccayā phasso ti?" iti ce vedeyya, "Nāmarūpa-paccayā[2] phasso ti" icc assa vacanīyaṃ.

' "Atthi idappaccayā nāma-rūpan ti ?" iti puṭṭhena satā Ānanda, "Atthîti" 'ssa vacanīyaṃ. "Kim paccayā nāma-rūpan ti ?" iti ce vedeyya, "Viññāṇa-paccayā nāma-rūpan ti" icc assa vacanīyaṃ.

' "Atthi idappaccayā viññāṇan ti ?" iti puṭṭhena satā Ānanda, "Atthîti" 'ssa vacanīyaṃ. "Kim paccayā viññāṇan ti ?" iti ce vedeyya, "Nāmarūpa-paccayā viññāṇan ti" icc assa vacanīyaṃ.

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1. B^{m} vacaniyaṃ *always* ;S^{d} *often* vacaniyyaṃ.
2. *So* SS B^{m} K Gr *and* Sum *omitting* saḷayatana.

2. ' If 'you, Ānanda, were asked :— "Is old age and death

due to a particular cause ?" you should say :— "It is." And to the question :— "From what cause is old age and death ?" you should say :— "Birth is the cause of old age and death."

'If you, Ānanda, were asked :— "Is birth due to a particular cause ?" [56] you should say :— "It is." And to the question:— "From what cause is birth ?" you should say :— "Becoming[1] is the cause of birth."

'If you, Ānanda, were asked :— "Is becoming due to a particular cause" ? you should say :— "It is." And to the question:— "From what cause is becoming?" you should say : "Grasping is the cause of becoming."

'If you, Ānanda, were asked :— "Is grasping due to a particular cause ?" you should say:— "It is." And if the question:— "From what cause is grasping ?" you should say :— "Craving is the cause of grasping?"

'If you, Ānanda, were asked : "Is craving due to a particular cause ?" you should say :— "It is." And to the question :— "From what cause is craving ?" you should say :— "Sensation is the cause of craving."

'If you, Ānanda, were asked :— "Is sensation due to a particular cause?" you should say:— "It is." And to the question:— "From what cause is sensation?" you should say :— "Contact is the cause of sensation."

'If you, Ānanda, were asked :— "Is contact due to a particular cause?" you should say:—"It is." And to the question :— "From what cause is contact ?" you should say:— "Name-and-form is the cause of contact."

'If you, Ānanda, were asked :— "Is name-and-form due to a particular cause ?" you should say :— "It is." And to the question:— "From what cause is name-and-form ?" you should say :— "Cognition is the cause of name-and-form."

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1. The Cy. is at no pains to explain here the staple terms in the chain of causation, the author having expounded them after his fashion in the Visuddhi Magga.

3. 'Iti kho Ānanda nāmarūpa-paccayā viññāṇaṃ, viññāṇa-paccayā nāmarūpaṃ, nāmarūpa-paccayā phasso, phassa-paccayā vedanā, vedanā-paccayā taṇhā, taṇhā-paccayā upādānaṃ, upādāna-paccayā bhavo, bhava-paccayā jāti, jāti-paccayā jarā-maraṇaṃ, jarā-maraṇa-paccayā[1] soka-parideva-dukkha-domanassupāyāsā sambhavanti, Evam etassa kevalassa dukkhakkhandhassa samudayo hoti.

3. 'Thus then is it, Ānanda, that cognition, with name-and-form as its cause ; name-and-form, with cognition as its cause ; contact, with name-and-form as its cause ; sensation with contact as its cause ; craving, with sensation as its cause ; grasping, with craving as its cause; becoming, with grasping as its cause ; birth, with becoming as its cause ; old age and death, with birth as its cause ; grief, lamentation, ill, sorrow and despair, all come into being. Such is the coming to pass of this whole body of Ill.

4. ' "Jāti-paccayā jarā-maraṇan ti" iti kho pan' etaṃ vuttaṃ, tad Ānanda iminā p' etaṃ pariyāyena veditabbaṃ yathā jāti-paccayā jarā-maraṇaṃ. Jāti va hi[2] Ānanda nâbhavissa[3] sabbena sabbaṃ sabbathā sabbaṃ kassaci kimhici, seyyathîdaṃ devānaṃ vā devattāya, gandhabbānaṃ vā gandhabbattāya, yakkhānaṃ vā yakkhattāya, bhūtānaṃ vā bhūtattāya, manussānaṃ vā manussattāya, catuppadānam vā catuppadattāya, pakkhīnaṃ vā pakkhattāya, siriṃsapānaṃ vā siriṃsapattāya,[4] tesaṃ tesaṃ va[5] hi Ānanda sattānaṃ tathattāya jāti nâbhavissa, sabbaso jātiyā asati jāti-nirodhā api nu kho jarā-maraṇaṃ paññāyethâti ?'

'No h' etaṃ bhante.'

'Tasmāt ih' Ānanda es' eva hetu etaṃ nidanaṃ esa samudayo esa paccayo jarā-maraṇassa, yadidaṃ jāti.

4. 'I have said that birth is the cause of old age and death. Now in what way that is so, Ānanda, is to be understood after

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1. Bm K Gr *omit.*
2. Bm K Gr jāti ca hi *throughout, and so* Sd *sometimes.*
3. Sd *frequently* na bhavissa.
4. Bm sarisapānaṃ vā sarisapattāya; Gr sīrisapānaṃ vā sīrisapo.
5. Bm K ca *throughout.*

this manner. Were there no birth of any sort or kind whatever of any one anywhere —that is to say, of gods to godhood, of Gandharvas[1] after their kind, of Yakshas after their kind, of goblins[2] after their kind, of humans to humanity, of quadrupeds to the animal kingdom, of birds to winged things, or of insects to the insect-world—were there no birth after the several kind of every one of these classes of beings, then, there being no birth whatever, would there, owing to this cessation of birth, be any appearance of old age and death?'

'There would not, lord.'

'Wherefore, Ānanda, just that is the ground, that is the basis, that is the genesis, that is the cause of old age and death, to wit, birth.

5. ' "Bhava-paccayā jatîti" iti kho pan' etaṃ vuttaṃ, tad Ānanda iminā p' etaṃ pariyāyena veditabbaṃ yathā bhava-paccayā jāti. Bhavo va hi Ānanda nâbhavissa sabbena sabbaṃ sabbathā sabbaṃ kassaci kimhici, seyya-thîdaṃ kāma-bhavo rūpa-bhavo arūpa-bhavo vā,[3] sabbaso bhave asati bhava-nirodhā api nu kho jāti paññāyethâti ?'

'No h'etaṃ bhante.'

'Tasmāt ih' Ānanda es' eva hetu etaṃ nidānaṃ esa samudayo esa paccayo jātiyā, yadidaṃ bhavo.

5. 'I have said that becoming[4] is the cause of birth. Now in what way that is so, Ānanda, is to be understood after this

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1. The Cy., following S. III, 250, speaks of these beings as fairies residing in the perfumes given out by roots and other parts of trees and flowers, saying nothing of their 'celestial musicianship' (see Hardy, 'Manual of Buddhism,' 43), or of Sakka as their king (see Jāt. VI, 260).
2. Bhūtā.
3. B^{m} K *hare* vā *after each* bhavo.
4. Tattha bhavatīti bhavo. 'Here bhavo means one becomes' (so the Vis. Mag. opens its comment)—not atthi, one is. Burnouf, Oldenberg, Warren all choose 'existence.' Winternitz ('Religionsgeschichtliches Lesebuch,' p. 236) has *Dasein.* But the mobile, plastic, evolutionary thing, ever in progress, that life appears as conceived by the Indian, fits ills in the more rigid Western

manner. Were there no becoming of any sort or kind whatever of any one anywhere, that is to say, no coming to be of any sentient, formed, or formless being[1], then there being no becoming whatever, would there, owing to this cessation of becoming, be any appearance of birth ?'

'There would not, lord.'

'Wherefore, Ānanda, just that is the ground, that is the basis, the genesis, the cause of birth, to wit, becoming.

6. ' "Upādāna-paccayā bhavo ti" iti kho pan' etaṃ vuttaṃ, tad Ānanda iminā p' etaṃ pariyāyena veditabbaṃ yathā upādāna-paccayā bhavo. Upādānaṃ va hi Ānanda nâbhavissa sabbena sabbaṃ sabbathā sabbaṃ kassaci kimhici, seyyathîdaṃ kāmûpādānaṃ[2] vā diṭṭhûpādānaṃ vā sīlabbatûpādānaṃ vā attavādûpādānaṃ vā, sabbaso upādāne asati upādāna-nirodhā api nu kho bhavo paññāyethâti ?'

'No h' etaṃ bhante.'

'Tasmāt ih' Ānanda es' eva hetu etaṃ nidānaṃ esa samudayo esa paccayo bhavassa, yadidaṃ upādānaṃ.

6. 'I have said that grasping[3] is the cause of becoming. Now in what way that is so, Ānanda, is to be understood after this manner. Were there no grasping of any sort or kind whatever by any one at anything— that is to say, no grasping at the

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metaphysic of Being. As Buddhist sponsors, possibly also as philosophers, we lost much when we dropped *weorthan* for *becumen*, and may envy our German colleagues with their *Werden* (see Mrs. Rh. D. in 'Buddhism,' March, 1904, pp. 389, 390; Rangoon). Moreover, according to the Vibhanga (p. 137) the bhava which is the cause of birth is not only uppattibhavo,—the becoming which is 'coming into sentient being' of some sort—but also kammabhavo, or the generating of effective actions, effective in good or bad results, or in result which is 'beyond good and bad,' viz. meritorious activity, demeritorious activity, and 'unmoved' or 'static activity' (āneñjabhi-sankhāro). 'Existence' fits here still worse.

1. These three exhausted, for the Buddhist, the living universe. See Dh. S., §§ 1281-6 (Trans., p. 334).
2. S[dt] B[m] Gr kāmup[o], diṭṭhup[o], etc.
3. Upādāna. See preceding Sutta, II, 18, and the note there.

things of sense, no grasping through speculative opinions, no grasping after mere rule and ritual, no grasping through theories of soul—then there being no grasping whatever, would there, owing to this cessation of grasping, be any appearance of becoming ?'

'There would not, lord.'

'Wherefore, Ānanda, just that is the ground, the basis, the genesis, the cause of becoming, to wit, grasping.

7. ' "Taṇhā-paccayā upādānan ti" iti kho pan' etaṃ vuttaṃ, tad Ānanda iminā p' etaṃ pariyāyena veditabbaṃ yathā taṇhā-paccayā upādānaṃ. Taṇhā va hi Ānanda nâbhavissa sabbena sabbaṃ sabbathā sabbaṃ kassaci kimhici, seyyathîdaṃ rūpa-taṇhā sadda-taṇhā gandha-taṇhā rasa-taṇhā phoṭṭhabba-taṇhā dhamma-taṇha, sabbaso taṇhāya asati taṇhā-nirodhā api nu kho upādānaṃ paññāyethâti ?'

'No h' etaṃ bhante.'

'Tasmāt ih' Ānanda es' eva hetu etaṃ nidānaṃ esa samudayo esa paccayo upādānassa, yadidaṃ taṇhā.

7. 'I have said that craving[1] is the cause of grasping. Now in what way that is so, Ānanda, is to be understood after this manner. Were there no craving of any sort or kind whatever by any one for anything—that is to say, no craving for sights, sounds, odours, tastes, tangibles or ideas—then there being no craving whatever, would there, owing to this cessation of craving, be any appearance of grasping ?'

'There would not, lord.'

'Wherefore, Ānanda, just that is the ground, that is the basis, the genesis, the cause of grasping, to wit, craving.

8. ' "Vedanā-paccayā taṇhā ti" iti kho pan' etaṃ vuttaṃ, tad Ānanda iminā iminā p' etaṃ pariyāyena veditabbaṃ yathā vedanā-paccayā taṇhā. Vedanā va hi Ānanda nâbhavissa sabbena sabbaṃ sabbatthā sabbaṃ kassaci kimhici, seyyathîdaṃ cakkhu-samphassajā vedanā, sota-samphassajā

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1. Tanhā. Usually translated 'thirst,' but not used to express *physical* thirst in the Pitakas. Dr. Neumann sometimes uses the equivalent (to craving)—*Begier.* Winternitz has *Gier.*

vedanā ghāna-samphassajā vedanā jivhā-samphassajā vedanā kāya-samphassajā vedanā mano-samphassajā vedanā, sabbaso vedanāya asati vedanā-nirodhā api nu kho taṇhā paññā-yethâti?'

'No h' etaṃ bhante.'

'Tasmāt ih' Ananda es' eva hetu etaṃ nidānaṃ esa samudayo esa paccayo taṇhāya, yadidaṃ vedanā.

8. 'I have said that sensation[1] is the cause of craving. Now in what way that is so, Ānanda, is to be understood after this manner. Were there no sensation of any sort or kind whatever in any one for anything, that is to say, no sensations born of impressions received by way of sight, hearing, smell, taste, touch, or imagination,—then there being no sensation whatever, would there, owing to this cessation of sensation, be any appearance of craving ?'

'There would not, lord.'

'Wherefore, Ānanda, just that is the ground, the basis, the genesis, the cause of craving, to wit, sensation.'

9. **'Iti kho[2] Ānanda vedanaṃ paṭicca taṇhā, taṇhaṃ paṭicca pariyesanā, pariyesanaṃ paṭicca lābho, lābhaṃ paṭicca vinicchayo, vinicchayaṃ paṭicca chanda-rāgo, chanda-rāgaṃ paṭicca ajjhosānaṃ, ajjhosānaṃ paṭicca pariggaho, pariggahaṃ paṭicca macchariyaṃ, macchariyaṃ paṭicca**

1. Vedanā, which is usually, in the Pitakas, resolved into feeling, pleasurable, painful, neutral, is here explained in terms of sense-reaction to contact. Now the term 'feeling,' in its widest psychological meaning (namely, as consisting essentially in our *bring affected* or *acted upon*), is able to bear this connotation as well as the more emotional aspect. But since we have the alternative term 'sensation,' since Buddhaghosa himself emphasizes the different aspect: dvārato vedanā vuttā ('the vedanā mentioned refers to sense,' Vis. Mag.),—and since other translators are unanimous in using 'sensation,' this rendering is followed here. In Sum. Vil., Buddhaghosa characterizes the term in this passage as vipāka-vedanā, 'resultant vedanā.'
2. B^m Gr K *and* pan' etaṃ.

ārakkho,[1] ārakkhâdhikaraṇaṃ daṇḍâdāna-satthâ-dāna-kalaha-viggaha-vivāda-tuvaṃtuva-pesuñña-musāvādā aneke pāpakā akusalā dhammā sambhavanti.

9. 'Thus it is. Ānanda, that craving[2] conies into being because of sensation, pursuit because of craving, gain because of pursuit, decision[3] because of gain, desire and passion[4] because of decision, tenacity because of desire and passion, possession because of tenacity, avarice[5] because of possession, watch and ward because of avarice, and many a bad and wicked state of things arising from keeping watch and ward over possessions:—blows and wounds, strife, contradiction and retort, quarrelling[6], slander and lies.

10. ' "Ārakkâdhikaraṇaṃ daṇḍâdāna-satthâdāna-kalaha-viggaha-vivāda-tuvaṃtuva-pesuñña-musā-vādā aneke pāpakā akusalā dhammā sambhavantîti" iti kho pan' etaṃ vuttaṃ, tad Ānanda iminā p' etaṃ pariyāyena veditabbaṃ, yathā ārakkhâdhikaraṇaṃ daṇḍâdāna-satthâdāna-kalaha-viggaha-vivāda-tuvaṃtuva-pesuñña-musā-vādā aneme pāpakā akusalā dhammā sambhavanti. Ārakkho va hi Ānanda nâbhavissa sabbena sabbaṃ sabbathā sabbaṃ kassaci,

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1. K *adds* ārakkhaṃ paticca. *and runs on as at* 10, *omitting all the first passage.*
2. This and the nine following sections constitute a digression in the exposition of the chain which is thus explained by the Cy. Craving may be considered under two aspects:—There is the primordial craving which is the root or base of transmigration (vatta-mūla-bhūtā purima-tanhā), and there is craving as manifested in conduct (samudācāra-tanhā). The former, with the remaining links, is now put aside, 'as if one were putting a clamorous person out of the road, hitting him on the back and seizing his hair.' And the latter is discussed under the twofold subdivision of craving in the quest, and craving in the found quarry—seeking and gloating over.
3. Vinicchayo, explained as deciding what to do with one's gains.
4. Chandarāgo. From these selfish considerations volitions both weak and strong arise. Chando is weak passion (or lust, rāgo).
5. Macchariram; the not suffering others to share.
6. On tuvamtuvam, see E. Müller, 'Pali Grammar,' p. 38.

sabbaso ārakkhe asati ārakkha-nirodhā api nu kho daṇḍâdāna-satthâdāna-kalaha0viggaha-vivāda-tuvaṃtuva-pesuñña-musāvādā aneke pāpakā akusalā dhammā sambhaveyyun ti ?'

'No h' etaṃ bhante.'

'Tasmāt ih' Ānanda es' eva hetu etaṃ nidānaṃ esa samudayo esa paccayo daṇḍâdāna-satthâdāna-kalaha-viggaha-vivāda-tuvaṃtuva-pesuñña-musāvādānaṃ anekesaṃ pāpakā-naṃ akusalānaṃ dhammānaṃ sambhavāya, yadidaṃ ārakkho.

10. 'I have said that many a bad and wicked state of things arising from keeping watch and ward over possessions, blows and wounds, quarrelling and the like, come into being. Now in what way that is so, Ānanda, is to be understood after this manner. Were there no watch and ward of any sort or kind whatever by any one over anything, then there being no watch and ward whatever, would there, owing to this cessation of watch and ward, be any coming into being of those many bad and wicked states of things ?

' There would not, lord.'

'Wherefore, Ānanda, just that is the ground, the basis, the genesis, the cause of blows and wounds, of strife, contradiction and retort, of quarrelling, slander and lies, to wit, the. guarding of property.

11. "Macchariyaṃ paṭicca ārakkho ti" iti kho pan' etaṃ vuttaṃ, tad Ānanda iminā p' etaṃ pariyāyena veditabbaṃ, tad Ānanda iminā p' etaṃ pariyāyena veditabbaṃ, yathā macchariyaṃ paṭicca ārakkho. Macchariyaṃ va hi Ānanda nâbhavissa sabbena sabbaṃ sabbathā sabbaṃ kassaci kimhici, sabbaso macchariye asati macchariya-nirodhā api nu kho ārakkho paññā-yethâti ?'

'No h' etaṃ bhante.'

'Tasmāt ih[1] Ānanda es' eva hetu etaṃ nidānaṃ esa samudayo esa paccayo ārakkhassa, yadidaṃ macchariyaṃ.

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1. S[d] tvaṃtva.

11. 'I have said that watch and ward is because of avarice. Now in what way that is so, Ānanda, is to be understood after this manner. Were there no avarice of any sort or kind whatever in any one about anything, then there being no avarice whatever, would there, owing to this cessation of avarice, be any appearance of watch and ward ?'

'There would not, lord.'

'Wherefore, Ānanda, just that is the ground, the basis, the genesis, the cause of watch and ward, to wit, avarice.

12. "Pariggahaṃ paṭicca macchariyan ti" iti kho pan' etaṃ vuttaṃ, tad Ānanda iminā p' etaṃ pariyāyena veditabbaṃ, yathā pariggahaṃ paṭicca macchariyaṃ. Pariggaho va hi Ānanda nâbhavissa sabbena sabbaṃ sabbathā sabbaṃ kassaci kimhici, sabbaso pariggahe asati pariggaha-nirodhā api nu kho macchariyaṃ paññā-yethâti ?'

'No h' etaṃ bhante.'

'Tasmāt ih' Ānanda es' eva hetu etaṃ nidānaṃ esa samudayo esa paccayo macchariyassa, yadidaṃ pariggaho.

12. 'I have said that avarice is because of possession. Now in what way that is so, Ānanda, is to be understood after this manner, Were there no possession of any sort or kind whatever by any one of anything, then there being no possessing whatever, would there, owing to this cessation of possession, be any appearance of avarice ?'

'There would not, lord.'

'Wherefore, Ānanda, just that is the ground, the basis, the genesis, the cause of avarice, to wit, possession.

13. ' " Ajjhosānaṃ paṭicca pariggaho ti" iti kho pan' etaṃ vuttaṃ, ta Ānanda iminā p' etaṃ pariyāyena vedi-tabbaṃ, yathā ajjhosānaṃ paṭicca pariggaho. Ajjhosānaṃ va[1] hi Ānanda nâbhavissa sabbena sabbaṃ sabbathā sabbaṃ kassaci kimhici, sabbaso ajjhosāne asati ajjhosāna-nirodhā api nu kho pariggaho paññāyethâti ?'

'No h' etaṃ bhante.'

1. S[cd] Gr *omit* va ; B[m] ca; K -nañ ca.

'Tasmāt ih' Ānanda es' eva hetu etaṃ nidānaṃ esa samudayo esa paccayo pariggahassa, yadidaṃ ajjhosānaṃ.

13. 'I have said that tenacity is the cause of possession. Now in what way that is so, Ānanda, is to be understood after this manner. Were there no tenacity of any sort or kind whatever shown by any one with respect to anything, then there being no tenacity whatever, would there, owing to this cessation of tenacity, be any appearance of possession ?'

'There would not, lord.'

'Wherefore, Ānanda, just that is the ground, the basis, the genesis, the cause of possession, to wit, tenacity.

14. ' "Chanda-rāgaṃ paṭicca ajjhosānan ti" iti kho pan' etaṃ vuttaṃ, tad Ānanda iminā p' etaṃ pariyāyena veditabbaṃ, yathā chanda-rāgaṃ paṭicca ajjhosānaṃ. Chanda-rāgo va hi Ānanda nâbhavissa sabbena sabbaṃ sabbathā sabbaṃ kassaci kimhici, sabbaso chanda-rāge asati chanda-rāga-nirodhā api nu kho ajjhosānaṃ paññā-yethâti?'

'No h' etaṃ bhante.'

'Tasmāt ih' Ānanda es' eva hetu etaṃ nidānaṃ esa samudayo esa paccayo ajjhosānassa, yadidaṃ chanda-rāgo.

14. 'I have said that tenacity is because of desire and passion. Now in what way that is so, Ānanda, is to be understood after this manner. Were there no passion or desire of any sort or kind whatever in any one for anything, then there being no passion or desire whatever, would there, owing to this cessation of passion and desire, be any appearance of tenacity ?'

'There would not, lord.'

'Wherefore, Ānanda, just that is the ground, the basis, the genesis, the cause of tenacity, to wit, desire and passion.

15. ' "Vinicchayaṃ paṭicca chanda-rāgo ti" iti kho pan' etaṃ vuttaṃ, tad Ānanda iminā p' etaṃ pariyāyena veditabbaṃ, yathā vinicchayaṃ paṭicca chanda-rāgo. Vīnicchayo va[1] hi Ānanda nâbhavissa sabbena sabbaṃ sabbathā sabbaṃ kassaci kimhici, sabbaso vinicchaye asati vinicchaya-nirodhā api nu kho chando-rāgo paññā-yethāti ?'

1. B^m Gr K ca.

'No h' etaṃ bhante'.

'Tasmāt ih' Ānanda es' eva hetu etaṃ nidānaṃ esa samudayo esa paccayo chanda-rāgassa, yadidaṃ vinicchayo.

15. 'I have said that passion and desire is because of decision. Now in what way that is so, Ānanda, is to be understood after this manner. Were there no purpose of any sort or kind whatever devised by any one for anything, then there being no purpose whatever, would there, owing to this cessation of purpose, be any appearance of passion and desire ?'

'There would not, lord.'

'Wherefore, Ānanda, just that is the ground, the basis, the genesis, the cause of passion and desire, to wit, decision.

16. ' "Lābhaṃ paṭicca vinicchayo ti" iti kho pan' etaṃ vuttaṃ, tad Ānanda iminā p' etaṃ pariyāyena veditabbaṃ, yathā lābhaṃ paṭicca vinicchayo. Lābho va hi Ānanda nâbhavissa sabbena sabbaṃ sabbathā sabbaṃ kassaci kimhici, sabbaso lābhe asati lābha-nirodhā api nu kho vinicchayo paññāyethâti ?'

'No h' etaṃ bhante.'

'Tasmāt ih' Ānanda es' eva hetu etaṃ nidānaṃ esa samudayo esa paccayo vinicchayassa, yadidaṃ lābho.

16. 'I have said that decision is because of gain. Now in what way that is so, Ānanda, is to be understood after this manner. Were there no gain of any sort or kind whatever by any one of anything, then, there being no gain whatever, would there, owing to this cessation of gain, be any appearance of decision ?'

'There would not, lord.'

'Wherefore, Ānanda, just that is the ground, the basis, the genesis, the cause of decision, to wit, gain.

17. ' "Pariyesanaṃ paṭicca lābho ti" iti kho pan' etaṃ vuttaṃ, tad Ānanda iminā p' etaṃ pariyāyena veditabbaṃ, yathā pariyesanaṃ paṭicca lābho. pariyesanā va hi Ānanda nâbhavissa sabbena sabbaṃ sabbathā sabbaṃ kassaci kimhici, sabbaso pariyesanāya asati pariyesanā-nirodhā api nu kho lābho paññāyethâti ?'

'No h' etaṃ bhante.'

'Tasmāt ih' Ānanda es' eva hetu etaṃ nidānaṃ esa samudayo esa paccayo lābhassa, yadidaṃ pariyesanā.

17. 'I have said that gain is because of pursuit. Now in what way that is so, Ānanda, is to be understood after this manner. Were there no pursuit of any sort or kind whatever by any one after anything, then there being no pursuit whatever, would there, owing to this cessation of pursuit, be any appearance of gain ?'

'There would not, lord.'

'Wherefore, Ānanda, just that is the ground, the basis, the genesis, the cause of gain, to wit, pursuit.

18. ' "Taṇhaṃ paṭicca pariyesanā ti" kho pan' etaṃ vuttaṃ, tad Ānanda iminā p' etaṃ pariyāyena veditabbaṃ, yathā tanhaṃ paṭicca pariyesanā. Taṇhā va hi Ānanda nâbhavissa sabbena sabbaṃ sabbathā sabbaṃ kassaci kimhici, seyyathîdaṃ kāma-taṇhā bhava-taṇhā vibhava-taṇhā, sabbaso taṇhāya asati taṇhā-nirodhā api nu kho pariyesanā paññāyethâti ?'

'No h' etaṃ bhante.'

'Tasmāt ih' Ānanda es' eva hetu etaṃ nidānaṃ esa samudayo esa paccayo pariyesanāya, yadidaṃ taṇhā.

'Iti kho Ānanda ime dve[1] dhammā dvayena[2] vedanāya eka-samosaraṇā[3] bhavanti.

18. 'I have said that pursuit is because of craving. Now in what way that is so, Ānanda, is to be understood after this manner. Were there no craving of any sort or kind whatever by any one for anything— that is to say the lust of the flesh, the lust of life eternal and the lust of the life that now is[4] —then, there

1. B^m *omits.*
2. S^c *corrected from* dveyena ; S^dt dveyena.
3. S^c-ṇaṃ.
4. See Rh. D. 'Buddhist Suttas,' p. 148, *n.* 4. On the three kinds the Cy. remarks, that the first, kāmatanhā, means craving for the five classes of sense-objects, the second is the passion characterizing Eternalism; the third, that characterizing Nihilism (see 'Dialogues,' I, pp. 27, 46).

being no craving whatever, would there, owing to this cessation of craving, be any appearance of pursuit ?'

'There would not, lord.'

'Wherefore, Ānanda, just that is the ground, the basis, the genesis, the cause of pursuit, to wit, craving.

'So now, Ānanda, these two aspects [of craving] from being dual become united through the sensation [which conditions them][1].'

19. ' "Phassa-paccayā vedanā ti" iti kho pan' etaṃ vuttaṃ, tad Ānanda iminā p' etaṃ pariyāyena veditabbaṃ, yathā phassa-paccayā vedanā. Phasso va hi Ānanda nâbhavissa sabbena sabbaṃ sabbathā sabbaṃ kassaci kimhici, seyyathîdaṃ cakkhu-samphasso sota-samphasso ghāna-samphasso jivaḥ-samphasso kāya-samphasso mano-samphasso, sabbaso phasse asati phassa-nirodhā api nu kho vedanā paññāyethâti ?'

'No h' etam bhante.'

'Tasmāt ih' Ānanda es' eva hetu etaṃ nidānaṃ esa samudayo esa paccayo vedanāy yadidaṃ phasso.

19. 'I have said that contact is the cause of sensation. Now in what way that is so, Ānanda, is to be understood after this manner. Were there no contact of any sort or kind whatever between any one and anything whatever,—that is to say, no re-action[2] of sight, hearing, smell, taste, touch or imagination—then, there being no contact whatever, would there, owing to this cessation of contact, be any appearance of sensation ?

'There would not, lord.'

'Wherefore, Ānanda, just that is the ground, the basis, the genesis, the cause of sensation, to wit, contact.

20. ' "Nāmarūpa-paccayā phosso ti" iti kho pan' etaṃ vuttaṃ, tad Ānanda iminā p' etaṃ pariyāyena veditabbaṃ, yathā nāmarūpa-paccayā phasso. Yehi Ānanda ākārehi yehi liṅgehi yehi nimittehi yehi uddesehi nāma-kāyassa paññatti

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1. 'These two aspects' (dhammā), i.e. according to the Cy., the two aspects of craving specified above, p. 55. *n.* 1.
2. Samphasso.

hoti, tesu ākāresu tesu liṅgesu tesu nimittesu tesu uddesesu asati, api nu kho rūpa-kāye abhivacana-samphasso paññāyethâti ?'

'No h' etaṃ bhante.'

'Yehi Ānanda ākārehi yehi liṅgehi yehi nimittehi yehi uddessehi rūpa-kāyassa paññatti hoti, tesū ākāresu tesu liṅgesu tesu nimittesu tesu uddesesu asati, api nu kho nāma-kāye paṭigha-samphasso paññāyethâti ?'

'No h' etaṃ bhante.'

'Yehi Ānanda ākārehi yehi liṅgehi yehi nimittehi yehi uddessehi nāma-kāyassa ca rūpa-kāyassa ca paññatti hoti, tesu ākāresu tesu liṅgesu tesu nimittesu tesu uddesesu asati, api nu kho adhivacana-samphasso vā paṭigha-samphasso vā paññāyethâti ?'

'No h' etaṃ bhante.'

'Yehi Ānandā ākārehi yehi liṅgehi yehi nimittehi yehi uddessehi nāma-rūpassa paññatti hoti, tesu ākāresu tesu liṅgesu tesu nimittesu tesu uddesesu asati, api nu kho phasso paññāyethâti ?'

'No h' etaṃ bhante.'

'Tasmāt ih' Ānanda es' eva hetu etaṃ nidānaṃ esa samudayo esa paccayo phassassa, yadidaṃ nāma-rūpam.

20. 'I have said that name-and-form is the cause of contact. Now in what way that is so, Ānanda, is to be understood after this manner. Those modes, features, characters, exponents, by which the aggregate called 'name' manifests itself,—if all these were absent, would there be any manifestation of a corresponding verbal impression in the aggregate called [bodily] form ?[1]'

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1. Rūpakāye adhivacanasamphasso. This and its complement the patighasamphasso in 'name' (rendered 'impression of sense-reaction') occur in the Vibhanga, p. 6, as two modes of sañña, or perception, the former being described as refined, subtle, delicate, the latter as gross, coarse, thick. If the psychological comments of Buddhaghosa on these two expressions in the Sammoha-Vinodanī and the Sumangala Vilāsinī be a correct guide to the Buddha's

'There would not, lord.

'Those modes, features, characters, exponents, by which the aggregate called [bodily] form manifests itself—if all these were absent, would there be any manifestation of an impression of sense-reaction[1] in the aggregate called name ?

'There would not, lord.'

'And if all those modes, etc., of both kinds were absent, would there be any manifestation of either verbal or sensory impression ?'

'There would not, lord.'

'So that, if all those moods, etc., by which name-and-form manifests itself were absent, there would be no manifestation of contact ?'

'There would not, lord.

'Wherefore, Ānanda, just that is the ground, the basis, the genesis, the cause of contact[2], to wit, name-and-form.

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utterance, then the passage under consideration reveals what would now be called a psycho-physiological standpoint of much interest. The 'modes . . . exponents' of 'name' are not physical expressions, but the processes of subjective consciousness,—feelings, perceptions, etc. The consciousness, bent back upon itself—pitthivattakā hutvā— *refoulée sur soi-méme*—gives the name to what it finds. The modes, etc., of 'form' are the modes of sensation, by which 'form manifests itself to the mind,— 'at the mind-door,' as the Cy. has it.

1. See Dh. S., translation, p. 172, *n.* 1, 183, *n.* 1.
2. i. e. of this twofold contact, as the Cy. points out, of mental object with mind-activity or mind, and of sense-object with sense-organ. Cf. Dh. S., §§ 3-5, and translation, p. 5, *n.* 2. The former mode of contact is there called ceto-samphasso, manoviññānadhātu-samphasso.

The Cy. sums up the relation between nāmarūpa and phasso as follows :—In the channels of the five senses, sight, hearing, etc., by means of visual and other objects, are the 'form,' while the [other four] skandhas, brought into relation therewith, are the 'name.' Thus in a fivefold way is name-and-form the cause of contact. Moreover in the channel of the sixth sense (mano, ideation) its

21. ' "Viññāṇa-paccayā nāma-rūpan ti" iti kho pan' etaṃ vuttaṃ tad Ānanda iminā p' etaṃ pariyāyena veditabbaṃ yathā viññāṇ- paccayā nāma-rūpaṃ. Viññāṇaṃ va hi Ānanda mātu kucchiṃ[1] na okkamissatha, api nu kho nāma-rūpaṃ mātu kucchismiṃ samucchissathâti ?'

'No h' etaṃ bhante.'

'Viññāṇaṃ va hi Ānanda mātu kucchiṃ[2] okkamitvā vokkamissatha, api nu kho nāma-rūpaṃ uttgattāya abhinibbattissathâti ?'

'No h' etaṃ bhante.'

'Viññāṇaṃ va hi Ānanda daharass' eva sato vocchijjissatha kumārassa[3] vā kumārikāya vā, api nu kho nāmarūpam vuddhiṃ[4] virūḷhiṃ vepullaṃ āpajjissa-thâti ?'

'No h' etaṃ bhante.'

'Tasmāt ih' Ānanda es' eva hetu etaṃ nidānaṃ esa samudayo esa paccayo nāma-rūpassa, yadidaṃ viññāṇaṃ.

21. 'I have said that cognition is the cause of name-and form. Now in what way that is so, Ānanda, is to be understood after this manner. Were cognition not to descend[5] into the

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physical basis,— the heart—as well as such corporeal form as becomes its mental object, constitute 'form,' while the related states of consciousness induced, as well as such incorporeal form as becomes its mental object, constitute incorporeal form. Thus in saying that name-and-form is the cause of contact, we must also include contact that is mental (i.e. of ideas). Name-and-form is therefore in many ways the cause of contact. (On the heart, see Dh. S., translation, p. lxxviii; Pras. Up. III, 5.)

1. *So* SS. B^m Gr K kucchismiṃ.
2. B^m Gr K kucchismiṃ.
3. K kumārakassa.
4. K vuḍḍhiṃ.
5. The animistic implication adhering to this term (okkamissatha; ava, down + ✓kram, stride) would of course have no significance for Buddhist doctrine. Accordingly it is, in the Cy., paraphrased as follows :— 'having entered, *so to speak*, and staying (vattamānaṁ = the Latin idiom, *versatum est*), by means of conception, were not to keep going on.' The contradictory term, vokkamissatha,

mother's womb, would name-and-form become constituted therein[1] ?'

'It would not, lord.'

'Were cognition, after having descended into the mother's womb, to become extinct, would name-and-form come to birth in this state of being ?'

'It would not, lord.'

'Were cognition to be extirpated from one yet young, youth or maiden, would name-and-form attain to growth, development, expansion ?'

It would not.Jord.'

'Wherefore, Ānanda, just that is the ground, the basis, the genesis, the cause of name-and-form, to wit, cognition.

22. ' " Nāmarūpa-paccayā viññāṇan ti" iti kho pan' etaṃ vuttaṃ, tad Ānanda iminā p' etaṃ pariyāyena veditabbaṃ, yathā nāmarūpa-paccayā viññāṇaṃ. Viññāṇaṃ va hi Ānanda nāma-rūpe patiṭṭhaṃ nâlabhissatha[2] api nu kho āyati[3] jāti-jarā-maraṇa[4]-dukkha-samudaya[5]-sambhavo paññāyethâti ?'

'become extinct,' rendered by Warren 'go away again,' is paraphrased nirujjhissatha, and only signifies that the advent is in some way annulled. There is no conception of cognition, as a unity, descending from outside into the womb like a ball into a bag. At Samyutta V, 283 we are told of happiness descending on a man, and at Mil. 299 of drowsiness descending into or on to a man. So okkantikā pīti is a standing expression for a particular sort of joy. In each of these cases the bliss, or drowsiness, or joy is supposed to develop from within ; and so also here of cognition.

1. Samucchissatha, derived by Dr. Konow (J.P. T.S., 1908) from sam + ✓murch, to thicken, and by him and Warren rendered 'to be consolidated.' So also Oldenberg ' Buddha[5],' p. 259; and Windisch, Buddha's Geburt,' p. 39. The Cy. has kalalādi-bhāvena . . . missibhūtam hutvā, 'become mixed with the embryo in its different stages.'
2. B[m] na labh[o].
3. B[m] K āyatiṃ.
4. B[m] Gr maraṇaṃ.
5. S[c] Gr samudayo

'No h' etaṃ bhante.'

'Tasmāt ih' Ānanda es' eva hetu etaṃ nidānaṃ esa samudayo esa paccayo viññāṇassa, yadidaṃ nāmarūpaṃ.

'Ettāvatā kho Ānanda jāyetha[1] vā jīyetha[2] vā mīyetha[3] vā cavetha vā uppajjetha[4] vā, ettāvatā[5] adhiva-cana-patho, ettāvatā nirutti- patho, ettāvatā paññatti-patho, ettāvatā paññâvacataṃ, ettāvatā vaṭṭaṃ vaṭṭati itthattaṃ paññāpanāya, yadidaṃ nāma-rūpaṃ saha viññā-ṇena.[6]

22. 'I have said that name-and-form is the cause of cognition. Now in what way that is so, Ānanda, is to be understood after this manner. Were cognition to gain no foothold in name-and-form, would there then, in the coming years, be manifested that concatenation of birth, old age, death and the uprising of Ill?'

'There would not, lord.'

'Wherefore, Ānanda, just that is the ground, the basis, the genesis, the cause of cognition, to wit, name-and-form.

'In so far only, Ānanda, can one be born, or grow old, or die, or dissolve, or reappear, in so far only is there any process[7] of verbal expression, in so far only is there any process of explanation, in so far only is there any process of manifestation, in so far only is there any sphere of knowledge, in so far only do we go round the round of life up to our appearance amid the conditions of this world[8]—in as far as this is, to wit, name-and-form together with cognition.'

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1. S^c jāyatha jāyatha.
2. S^d jīye; B^m jiyetha.
3. B^m miyetha.
4. B^m upapajjetha.
5. K *adds* kho.
6. S^c *adds* aññamaññaṃ paccayatāya vattati ; B^m *adds* aññamañña paccayatā pavattati.
7. Patho, literally, course, path.
8. Itthattam paññāpanāya, lit. for the making manifest thus-ness. Warren's rendering:—'And it is all that is reborn to appear in the present shape,'—is beside the point, as well as free. Barely stated, the summary amounts to this:— 'Only through cognition, language

23. 'Kittāvatā ca Ānanda attānaṃ paññāpento[1] paññāpeti ? Rūpim vā hi Ānanda parittaṃ attānaṃ paññā-pento, paññāpeti "Rūpī me paritto attā ti." Rūpiṃ vā hi Ānanda anantaṃ attānaṃ paññāpento, paññāpeti "Rūpī me ananto attā ti." Arūpiṃ vā hi Ānanda parittaṃ attānaṃ paññāpento, paññpeti "Arūpī me paritto attā ti"; arūpiṃ vā hi Ānanda anantaṃ attānaṃ paññāpento, paññāpeti "Arūpī me ananto attā ti."

23. 'Now with declarations concerning the soul, Ānanda, how many such declarations are there[2]? Either the soul is declared to have form and to be minute, in the words :— "My soul has form and is minute.' Or the soul is declared to have form and to be boundless, in the words :— "My soul has form and is boundless." Or the soul is declared to be formless and minute, in the words :— "My soul is formless and minute." Or the soul is declared to be formless and boundless, in the words :— "My soul is formless and boundless."

24. 'Tatr' Ānanda yo so rūpiṃ parittaṃ attānaṃ paññāpento paññāpeti, etarajo vā so rūpiṃ parittaṃ attā-naṃ paññāpento paññāpeti, tattha[3]-bhāviṃ vā so rūpiṃ parittaṃ attānaṃ paññāpento paññāpeti, "Atathaṃ va pana

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and bodily form do we live and express ourselves.' The little paragraph contains a great part of modern psychology in the germ-state.

1. K pannap° *throughout.*
2. The doctrine of origin by way of cause having now been set forth, the following is, according to the Cy., an illustration of how 'this generation has become a tangled skein,' etc., as asserted above (§ 1). These different impressions as to the nature of the attā (āiman), soul, or mannikin, are, according to the Cy., deductions from Jhāna experience. For instance, in the first 'declaration,' 'he who, on gazing at a particular kasina' (one of ten kinds of objects for inducing meditative rapture), 'gets hold of an after-image where there is no expansion (avaddhitam), and of a consciousness that "it is the soul," declares that it, the soul, has form and is minute' —and so on. Comp. on the whole exposition above Vol. I, pp. 45 foll.
3. K tathā *throughout.*

santaṃ tathattāy upakappessāmîti" iti vā pan' assa hoti. Evaṃ santaṃ kho Ānanda rūpiṃ[1] parittattânudiṭṭhi anusetîti icc alaṃ[2] vacanāya.

'Tatr' Ānanda yo so rūpiṃ anantaṃ attānaṃ paññāpento paññāpeti, etarahi vā so rūpiṃ anantaṃ attānaṃ paññāpento paññapeti, tattha-bhāviṃ vā rūpiṃ anantaṃ attānaṃ paññāpento paññpeti, "Atathaṃ vā pana santaṃ tathattāya upakappessāmîti" iti vā pan' assa hoti. Evaṃ santaṃ kho Ānanda rūpiṃ anantattânudiṭṭh anusetîti icc alaṃ vacanāya.

'Tatr' Anada yo so arūpiṃ parittaṃ attānaṃ paññāpento paññāpeti, etarai vā so arūpim parittaṃ attānaṃ paññāpento paññāpeti, tattha-phāviṃ vā so arūpiṃ parit-taṃ attānaṃ paññāpento paññāpeti.

. . . pe . . . tattha-bhāviṃ vā so arūpiṃ anantaṃ attānaṃ paññāpento paññāpeti, "Atathaṃ vā pana santaṃ tathattāya upakappessāmîti" iti vā pan' assa hoti. Evaṃ santaṃ kho Ānanda arūpiṃ anantattânudiṭṭhi anusetîti icc alaṃ vacanāya.

'Ettāvatā kho Ānanda attānaṃ paññāpento paññāpeti.

24. 'And in each case, Ānanda, he who makes the declaration, makes it with regard either to the present life, or to the next life, or else his idea is :— "My soul not being like that, I will refashion it into that likeness." That being so, Ānanda, we have said enough about the case of one who is given to the theories that the soul has form and is minute, . . . has form and is boundless, and so on.

'In so many ways, Ānanda, are declarations made concerning the soul.

25. 'Kittāvatā ca Ānanda attānaṃ na paññāpento na paññāpeti ? Rūpiṃ vā hi Ānanda parittaṃ attānaṃ na paññāpento na paññāpeti "Rūpī me paritto attā ti" ; rūpiṃ vā hi Ānanda anantaṃ anantaṃ attānaṃ na paññāpento na paññāpeti "Rūpī me ananto attā ti"; arūpiṃ vā hi Ānanda

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1. Bm rūpī (arūpī) *throughout.*
2. Bm K iccâlaṃ *throughout.*

parittaṃ attānaṃ na paññāpento na paññāpeti "Arūpī me paritto attā ti"; arūpiṃ vā hi Ānanda anantaṃ attānaṃ na paññāpento na paññāpeti "Arūpī me ananto attā ti."

25. 'And in how many ways, Ānanda, when no declaration concerning the soul is made[1], is such declaring refrained from ? Either the soul is not declared to have form and to be minute, in the aforesaid formula, or the soul is not declared to have form and to be boundless, in the aforesaid formula, or the soul is not declared to be formless and minute, in the aforesaid formula, or the soul is not declared to be formless and boundless, in the aforesaid formula.

26. 'Tatr' Ānanda yo so rūpiṃ parittaṃ attānaṃ na paññāpento na paññāpeti, etarahi vā so rūpiṃ attānaṃ na paññāpento na paññāpeti, tattha-bhāviṃ vā so rūpiṃ patittaṃ attānaṃ na paññāpento na paññāpeti, "Atathaṃ vā pana santaṃ tathattāya upakappessāmîti" iti vā pan' assa na hoti. Evaṃ santaṃ kho Ānanda rūpiṃ parittattânudiṭṭhi nânusetîti icc alaṃ vacanāya.

'Tatr' Ānanda yo so rūpiṃ parittaṃ attānaṃ na paññāpento na paññāpeti, etarahi vā so rūpiṃ anantaṃ attānaṃ na paññāpento na paññāpeti, tattha-bhāviṃ vā so rūpiṃ patittaṃ attānaṃ na paññāpento na paññāpeti, "Atathaṃ vā pana santaṃ tathattāya upakappessāmîti" iti vā pan' assa na hoti. Evaṃ santaṃ kho Ānanda rūpiṃ anantattânudiṭṭhi nânusetîti icc alaṃ vacanāya.

'Tatr' Ānanda yo so arūpiṃ parittaṃ attānaṃ na paññāpento na paññāpeti, etarahi vā so arūpiṃ parittaṃ attānaṃ na paññāpento na paññāpeti, tattha-bhāviṃ vā so arūpiṃ patittaṃ attānaṃ na paññāpeto na paññāpeti, "Atathaṃ vā pana santaṃ tathattāya upakappessāmîti" iti vā pan' assa na

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1. 'Who are they,' asks the Cy., 'who refrain ? All ariya-puggalā— nòble-minded persons, learned persons:—those who know the Three Pitakas (by heart), or two, or one, or even only one of the Nikāyas, and can discourse thereon, and are of alert insight. These take the kasinas for what they are, and, for them, the constituents of mind (the four khandhas) are such and no more.'

hoti. Evaṃ santaṃ kho Ānanda arūpiṃ parittattânudiṭṭhi nânusetîti icc alaṃ vacanāya.

'Tatr' Ānanda yo so arūpiṃ anantaṃ attānaṃ na paññāpento na paññāpeti, etarahi vā so arūpiṃ anantaṃ attānaṃ na paññāpento na paññāpeti, tattha-bhāviṃ vā so arūpiṃ anantaṃ attānaṃ na paññāpeto na paññāpeti, "Atathaṃ vā pana santaṃ tathattāya upakappessāmîti" iti vā pan' assa na hoti. Evaṃ santaṃ kho Ānanda arūpiṃ anantattânudiṭṭhi nânusetîti icc alaṃ vacanāya.

'Ettāvatā kho Ānanda attānaṃ na paññāpento na paññāpeti.

26. 'And in each case, Ānanda, he who refrains from making the declaration, does not make it with regard either to the present life, or to the next life, nor is it his idea:— "My soul not being like that, I will refashion it into that likeness." That being so, Ānanda, we have said enough about the case of those who are not given to theories respecting the form and dimensions of the soul.

'In so many ways, Ānanda, is there a refraining from declarations concerning the soul.'

27. 'Kittāvatā ca Ānanda attānaṃ samanupassamāno samanupassati ? Vedanaṃ vā hi Ānanda attānaṃ samanupassamāno samanupassati. "Vedanā me attā" ti. "Na h'eva kho me vedanā attā, appaṭisaṃvedano me attā" ti, iti vā hi Ānanda attānaṃ samanupassamāno samanupassati. "Na h'eva kho me vedanā attā, no pi appaṭisaṃvedano me[1] attā, attā me vediyati[2] vedanā-dhammo hi me attā" ti iti vā hi Ānanda attānaṃ samanupassamāno samanupassati.

27. 'And under how many aspects, Ānanda, is the soul regarded ? The soul is regarded[3] either as feeling, in the words:—

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1. S^ct *omit. So Do SS in the repetition,* § 31.
2. K vedayati *throughout.*
3. These three forms of the 'individuality-heresy' amount to an interesting and metaphysically more discriminating statement of the oft-quoted theories identifying the soul or mannikin with one or other of the five Khandhas. (See Vin. I, 13 ('Vin. Texts,' I, 100);

"My soul is feeling"—or the opposite, in the words :— "Nay, my soul is not feeling, my soul is not sentient" ; or again :— "Nay, my soul *is* not feeling, nor is it non-sentient; my soul *has* feelings, it has the property of sentience." Under such aspects as these is the soul regarded.

28. 'Tatr' Ānanda yo so evam āha "Vedanā me attā" ti, so evam assa vacanīyo "Tisso kho imā āvuso vedanā, sukhā vedanā dukkhā vedanā adukkha-m-asukhā vedanā. Imāsaṃ tvaṃ[1] tissannaṃ vedanānaṃ katamaṃ attano samanu-passasîti[2]?"

'Yasmiṃ Ānanda samaye sukhaṃ vedanaṃ vedeti, n'eva tasmiṃ samaye dukkhaṃ vedanaṃ vedeti, na adukkha-m-asukhaṃ vedanaṃ vedeti, sukhaṃ yeva tasmiṃ samaye vedanaṃ vedeti. Yasmiṃ Ānanda samaye duk-khaṃ vedanaṃ vedeti, n'eva tasmiṃ samaye sukhaṃ vedanaṃ vedeti, na adukkha-m-asukhaṃ vedanaṃ vedeti, dukkhaṃ yeva tasmiṃ samaye vedanaṃ vedeti. Yasmiṃ Ānanda samaye adukkha-m-asukhaṃ vedanaṃ vedeti, n'eva tasmiṃ samaye sukhaṃ vedeti, na dukkhaṃ vedanam vedeti, adukkha-m-asukhaṃ yeva tasmiṃ samaye vedanaṃ vedeti.

28. 'Herein, Ānanda, to him who affirms :— "My soul is feeling"—answer should thus be made :— "My friend, feeling is of three kinds. There is happy feeling, painful feeling, neutral feeling. Of these three feelings, look you, which do you consider your soul is ?"

'When you feel a happy feeling, Ānanda, you do not feel a painful feeling, or a neutral feeling ; you feel just a happy feeling. And when you feel a painful feeling, you do not feel a happy feeling, or a neutral feeling, but just a painful feeling. And

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M. I, 138, 300; S. III, 66; IV, 34, etc.) According to the Cy., the second assertion is the identification with the body (rūpakkhandha-vatthukā), which is usually placed first; the third assertion includes identification of the soul with the other three Khandhas—with, let us say, thinking and volition.

1. Bm Gr K imāsaṃ kho tvaṃ; Scd *omit* tvam.
2. Scdt-passatîti.

when you feel a neutral feeling, you do not then feel a happy feeling or a painful feeling ; you feel just a neutral feeling.

29. 'Sukhā pi kho Ānanda vadanā aniccā saṃkhatā paṭiccasamuppannā khaya-dhammā vaya-dhammā virāga-dhammā nirodha-dhammā. Dukkhā pi pho Ānanda vedanā aniccā saṃkhatā paticcasamuppannā khaya-dhammā vaya-dhammā virāga-dhammā nirodha-dhmmā Adukkha-m-asukhā pi kho Ānanda vedanā aniccā saṃkhatā paticcasamu-pannā khaya-dhammā vaya-dhammā virāga-dhammā nirodha-dhammā. Tassa sukhaṃ vedanaṃ vediyamānassa[1] "Eso me attā" ti hoti, tassā yeva sukhāya vedanāya nirodhā "Vyāgā[2] me attā" ti hoti. Dukkhaṃ vedana'ṇ vediyamānassa "Eso me attā ti" hoti, tassā yeva dukkhāya vedanāya nirodhā "Vyāgā me attā" ti hoti. Adukkha-m-asukhaṃ vedanaṃ vediya-mānassa "Eso me attā" ti hoti, tassā yeva adukkha-m-asukhāya vedanāya nirodhā "Vyāgā me attā" ti hoti.

'Iti so diṭṭhe va dhamme aniccaṃ sukha-dukkha-vokiṇṇaṃ uppāda-vaya-dhammaṃ attānaṃ samanupassa-māno samanupassati yo so evam āha "Vedanā me attā" ti. Tasmāt ih' Ānanda etena p' etaṃ nakkhamati "Vedanā me attā" ti samanupassituṃ.

29. 'Moreover, Ānanda, happy feeling is impermanent, a product[3], the result of a cause or causes, liable to perish, to pass away, to become extinct, to cease. So too is painful feeling. So too is neutral feeling. If when experiencing a happy feeling one thinks :— "This is my soul,"—when that same happy feeling ceases, one will also think :— "My soul has departed." So too when the feeling is painful, or neutral. Thus he who says :—

1. K vedaya°.
2. B^m K byāgā.
3. Saṅkhata, con-fected, composite, the resultant of conditions. The soul, according to the then current animism, was considered to be unique, not a product, not causally modifiable through temporal or spatial conditions. The commentary explains saṅkhata as 'that which, having- through such and such causes (lit. doings) come to-gether, is made.

"My soul is feeling,"—regards, as his soul, something which, in this present life, is impermanent, is blended of happiness and pain, and is liable to begin and to end. Wherefore, Ānanda, it follows that this aspect :— "My soul is feeling" —does not commend itself.

30. 'Tatr' Ānanda yo so evam āha "Na h'eva kho me vedanā attā, appaṭisaṃvedano me attā" ti, so evam assa vacanīyo "Yattha pan' āvuso sabbaso vedayitaṃ n'atthi,[1] api nu kho tattha 'Asmîti' siyâti?"

'No h' etaṃ bhante.'[2]

'Tasmāt ih' Ānanda etena p' etaṃ nakkhamati "Na h' eva kho ke[3] vedanā attā, appaṭisaṃvedano me attā" ti samanupassituṃ.

30. 'Herein again, Ānanda, to him who affirms :— "Nay, my soul is not feeling, my soul is not sentient," —answer should thus be made :— "My friend, where there is no feeling of anything, can you there say:— 'I am' ?" '

'You cannot, lord[4].'

'Wherefore, Ānanda, it follows that this aspect:— "Nay, my soul is not feeling, my soul is not sentient,"

—does not commend itself.

31. 'Tatr' Ānanda yo so evam āha "Na n'eva kho me vedanā attā, no pi appaṭisaṃvedano me[5] attā, attā me vediyati, vedanā-dhammo hi me attā" ti, so evam assa vacanīyo "Vedanā va hi āvuso sabbena sabbaṃ sabbathā sabbaṃ aparisesā nirujjheyyuṃ, sabbaso vedanāya asati vedanā-nirodhā api nu kho tattha 'Ayam[6] aham asmîti' siyâti ?"

'No h' etaṃ bhante'

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1. K atthi
2. *So all MSS.* K Sum.
3. S[cd] *omit*
4. All the MSS. agree in putting- this answer in the mouth of Ānanda, instead of in that of the soul-theorist. And it would he quite like him to rush in, in this way, with his opinion. And so also below.
5. SS *omit* (*See* § 27).
6. K *omits* ayam.

'Tasmāt ih' Ānanda etana p' etaṃ nakkhamati "Na h'eva kho me vedanā attā, no pi appaṭisaṃvedano[1] attā, attā me vedivati, vedanā-dhammo hi me attā" ti samanu-passituṃ.

31. 'Herein again, Ānanda, to him who affirms :— "Nay, my soul *is* not feeling, nor is it non sentient; my soul has feelings, it has the property of sentience,"—answer should thus be made :— "My friend, were feeling of every sort or kind to cease absolutely, then there being, owing to the cessation thereof, no feeling whatever, could one then say :— 'I myself am' ?" '

'No, lord, one could not.'

'Wherefore, Ānanda, it follows that this aspect:— "Nay, my soul is not feeling, nor is it non-sentient ; my soul has feelings, it has the property of sentience,"— does not commend itself.

32. 'Yato kho Ānanda bhikkhu n'eva vedanaṃ attānaṃ samanupassati, no pi appaṭisaṃvedanaṃ attānaṃ samanu-passati, no pi "Attā me[2] vediyati, vedanā-dhammo hi me attā" ti samanupassati, so evaṃ asamanupassanto[3] na kiñci loke upādiyati,[5] anupādiyaṃ[6] na paritassati, aparitassaṃ paccat-taṃ yeva parinibbāyati,[7] "Khīṇā jāti, vusitaṃ brahmacari-yaṃ, kataṃ karaṇīyaṃ, nâparaṃ itthattāyâti" pajānāti. Evaṃ-vimutta-cittaṃ,[8] kho Ānanda bhikkhuṃ yo evaṃ vadeyya "Hoti Tathāgato param maraṇā" ti,[9] iti 'ssa[10] diṭṭhîti tad akal-laṃ. "Hoti ca na ca hoti Tathāgato param maraṇā" ti,[9] iti 'ssa diṭṭhîti tad akallaṃ. "N'eva hoti na na hoti Tathāgato param maraṇā"[9] iti 'ssa diṭṭhîti tad akallaṃ. "N'eva

1. B^{m} *inserts* me.
2. *MSS.* K. *omit* me.
3. B^{m} na sam°.
4. S^{t} B^{m} *add* ca.
5. K upādīy°.
6. K -yañ ca.
7. B^{m} -yissati.
8. SS vimuttaṃ ; K *omits* cittaṃ.
9. B^{m} K *omits* ti.
10. K *omits* sā, *and onwards.*

hoti na na hoti Tathāgato param maraṇā" ti, iti 'ssa diṭṭhî ti tad akallaṃ. [1]Taṃ kissa hetu ? Yāvat' Ānanda adhivacanaṃ yāvatā adhivacana-patho,[2] yāvatā nirutti[2] yāvatā nirutti-patho, yāvatā paññatti yāvatā paññatti-patho, yāvatā paññā[3] yavatā paññâvacaraṃ, yāvatā vaṭṭaṃ[4] yāvatā vaṭṭaṃ[5] vaṭṭati,[6] tad abhiññā vimutto bhikkhu, tad abhiññā vimutto bhikkhu[7] na jānāti na passati iti 'ssa diṭṭhîti tad akallaṃ.

32. 'Now when a brother, Ānanda, does not regard soul under these aspects,—either as feeling, or as non-sentient, or as having feeling,—then he, thus refraining from such views, grasps at nothing whatever in the world-, and not grasping he trembles not ; and trembling not, he by himself attains to perfect peace.[8] And he knows that birth is at an end, that the higher life has been fulfilled, that what had to be done had been accomplished, and that after this present world there is no beyond !

'And of such a brother, Ānanda, whose heart is thus set free, if any one should say :— "His creed is that an Arahant[9] goes on after death"—that were absurd. Or : "His creed is that an Arahant does not go on . . . does, and yet does not, go on . . . neither goes on nor goes not on after death"—all that were absurd. Why is that ? Because, Ānanda, whatever verbal expres-

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1. Sd Bm Gr K taṃ kissa.
2-2. K *omits.*
3. K paññāpanaṃ.
4. Sd vaddhaṃ, K *omits* yāv—ṭaṃ.
5. Sc, Bm *omit ;* Sd vaddhaṃ.
6. Sd vaddhati ; K *adds* tāvatā vaṭṭaṃ vaṭṭati.
7. *MSS.* -ttaṃ bhikkhum.
8. Parinibbāyati. Usually rendered 'he attains complete Nirvana' or 'attains Parinirvāna,' or even 'enters Nirvana.' The term is applied to the death of an Arahant, but it is also used to express perfected tranquillity, as in the case of a horse (M. I, 446), or of a man (M. I, 251; S. III, 54). Tradition, as represented by the Cy., did not associate the hour of death with the term, for it says, 'Having thus completely parinibbāna-ed (by extinguishing all evil) he goes on to reflect, "Birth is at an end," ' etc.
9. Tathāgata; perhaps it merely means 'mortal.' See M. I, 542.

sion there is and whatever system of verbal expression, whatever explanation there may be, and whatever system of explanation, whatever communication is possible and whatever system of communication, whatever knowledge there is and whatever sphere of knowledge, whatever round of life and how far the round is traversed,— by mastery over all this that brother is set free. But to say, of a brother who has been so set free by insight :— "He knows not, he sees not" —that were absurd![1]'

33. [2]**'Satta kho imā Ānanda viññāṇaṭṭhitiyo, dve ca āyatanāni. Katamā satta ? Sant' Ānanda sattā nānatta-kāyā nānatta-saññino, seyyathā pi manussā ekacce ca devā ekacce ca vinipātikā. Ayaṃ paṭhamāviññāṇaṭṭhiti.**

'Sant' Ānanda sattā nāntta-kāyā ekatta-saññino, seyyathā pi devā Brahma-kāyikā paṭhamâbhinibbattā.[3] Ayaṃ dutiyā viññāṇaṭṭhiti.

'Sant' Ānanda sattā ekatta-kāyā nānatta-saññino, seyyathā pi devā Ābhassarā. Ayaṃ dutiyā viññāṇaṭṭhiti.

'Sant' Ānanda sattā ekatta-kāyā ekatta-saññino, seyyathā pi devā Subhakiṇṇā.[4] Ayaṃ catutthā[5] viññāṇaṭṭhiti.

'Sant' Ānanda satta sabbaso rūpasaññānaṃ samatikkamā[6] patigha-saññānaṃ atthagamā[7] nānatta-saññānaṃ amanasikārā "Ananto ākāso" ti ākāsânañcâyatanûpagā. Ayaṃ pañcamī viññāṇaṭṭhiti.

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1. The argument in this paragraph seems to have appealed in a special degree to the early Buddhists, for it has been made the basis of a whole Sutta, the Jāliya (which is itself repeated, occurring first as part of the Mahāli, and then again separately). The main point there emphasized is that the converted man will have gone so far beyond them that all such questions will have ceased to interest him. The two other Suttas have been translated in full in Vol. I; but see especially pp. 200-5.
2. *See* A. iv. 39.
3. K *adds* catu-apāyikā sattā ca.
4. K -kiṇhā. *So* A. ii. 233 ; iv. 40 ; -kiṇṇā *at* M. i. 2, 289, 329.
5. Bm -tthī.
6. *So* SS Bm Gr K ; A. iv. 40 -kamma.
7. Bm K A. iv. 40 atthaṅgº (*and below*).

'Sant' Ānanda satta sabbaso ākāsânañcâyatanaṃ samatikkamma[1] "Anataṃ viññāṇan" ti viññāṇañcâyatanûpagā. Ayaṃ chaṭṭhā[2] viññāṇaṭṭhiti.

'Sant' Ānanda sattā sabbaso viññāṇañcâyatanaṃ samatikkamma "N'atthi kiñcîti" ākiñcaññâyatanûpagā. Ayaṃ sattamī[3] viññāṇaṭṭhiti.

'Asaññasattâyatanaṃ[4] nevasaññā-nâsaññâyatanam eva dutiyaṃ.

33. 'There are seven resting-places for Cognition[5], Ānanda, and two Spheres[6]. Which are the seven ?

'There are beings differing in body and differing in intelligence[7], for instance, human beings and certain of the gods and some of those in purgatory. This is the first resting-place for Cognition.

'There are beings differing in body but of uniform intelligence, for instance, the gods of the Brahma-heaven who are

1. *So* SS B^m Gr K.
2. B^m chaṭhī.
3. K -mā.
4. S^dt Gr asaññā°; Kasaññi°, *with* asañña° *in note.*
5. The Saṅgīti Sutta ('Dialogues,' III) and A. IV, 39, 40 also name seven. S. III, 54 gives only four.
6. The Pāli thus rendered is thiti and āyatanam respectively. The Cy. paraphrases the first by 'this is an equivalent for a setting-up (patitthāna) of viññāna.' Patitthānam is the affording of a standing-place, resting-place, *locus standi,* or foothold for. *Thiti* again is the term for the central, static moment in any process, contrasting with two others in the same category, viz. inception and dying-out. 'Rest' is not satisfactory, but no English term suggests itself which exactly meets the requirement. For 'sphere' the paraphrase is simply:— 'nivāsanatthānam,' dwelling-place, . . . 'These are included to exhaust [the contents] of the Cycle (samsāra), for the Cycle goes not on merely by way of viññāna-resting places.'
7. No two human beings, says the Cy., are ever exactly alike; even in twins that are undistinguishable in likeness of appearance and complexion, there will be some difference in look, speech, gait or carriage.

there reborn by means of the First [Jhāna][1]. This is the second resting-place for Cognition.

'There are beings uniform in body and differing in intelligence, for instance, the Luminous Gods[2]. This is the third resting-place for Cognition.

'There are beings uniform in body and of uniform intelligence, for instance, the All-Lustrous Gods[3]. This is the fourth resting-place for Cognition.

'There are beings who, by having passed wholly beyond all consciousness of form, by the dying out of the consciousness of sense-reaction, by having turned the attention away from any consciousness of the manifold, and become conscious only of "space as infinite," are dwellers in the realm of infinite space[4]. This is the fifth resting-place for Cognition.

'There are beings who, by having passed wholly beyond the realm of infinite space, and become conscious only of "cognition as infinite," are dwellers in the realm of infinite cognition. This is the sixth resting-place for Cognition.

'There are beings who, by having passed wholly beyond the realm of infinite cognition, and become conscious only that "there is nothing whatever," are dwellers in the realm of nothingness. This is the seventh resting-place for Cognition.

'The Sphere of beings without consciousness[5].

'Next to that, the Sphere of beings who neither have consciousness nor yet have it not[6].

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1. Cf. Ḍh. S., §§ 160 ff,, 266 ff.; transl., pp. lxxxvii-ix, 43 ff., 72 ff.
2. Ranking sixth in the heavens of Rūpabrahmaloka.
3. Ranking ninth in the same.
4. The Cy. refers the inquirer to the Vis. Mag. for further comment. Cf. next Sutta, and Dh. S., §§ 265-8; trans., pp. 71-5.
5. Saññā, perhaps awareness would be a better rendering.
6. The Cy. here includes cognition with awareness, the extreme tenuity or refinement (sukhumattam) of both being in this sphere such that it is as a zero point between presence and absence of either. See passage last cited in previous note.

34. 'Tatra' Ānanda yâyaṃ paṭhamā viññāṇaṭṭhiti nānatta-kāyā nānatta-saññino, seyyathā pi manussā ekacce ca devā ekacce ca vinipātikā, yo nu kho Ānanda tañ ca panānāti, tassā ca samudayaṃ pajānāti, tassā ca atthagamaṃ pajānāti, tassā ca assādaṃ pajānāti, tassā ca ādīnavaṃ pajānāti, tassā ca nissraṇaṃ pajānāti, kallaṃ nu kho[1] tena tad abhinanditun ti ?'

'No h' etaṃ bhante.'

Tatra . . . . pe[2] . . .

'Tatra' Ānanda yâyaṃ sattamī viññāṇaṭṭhiti sabbaso viññāṇañcâyatanaṃ samatikkamma[3] "N'atthi kiñcîti" ākiñcaññâyatanûpagā, yo nu kho Ānanda tañ ca pajānāti, tassā ca samudayaṃ pajānāti, tassā ca atthagamaṃ pajā-nāti, tassā ca assādaṃ pajānāti, tassā ca ādīnavaṃ pajā-nāti, tassā ca nissaraṇaṃ pajānāti, kallaṃ nu kho[4] tena tad abhinanditun ti ?'

'No h' etaṃ bhante.'

'Tatra' Ānanda yaṃ idaṃ asaññasattâyatanaṃ,[5] yo nu kho Ānanda tañ ca pajānāti, tassa ca samudayaṃ pajānāti, tassa ca atthagamaṃ pajānāti, tassa ca assādaṃ pajānāti, tassa ca ādīnavaṃ pajānāti, tassa ca nissaraṇaṃ pajānāti, kallaṃ nu kho[6] tena tad abhinanditun ti ?'

'No h' etaṃ bhante.'

'Tatra' Ānanda yam idaṃ nevasaññā-nâsaññâyatanaṃ, yo nu kho Ānanda tañ ca pajānāti, tassa ca samudayaṃ pajānāti, tassa ca atthagamaṃ pajānāti, tassa ca assādaṃ pajānāti, tassa ca ādīnavaṃ pajānāti, tassa ca nissaraṇaṃ pajānāti, kallaṃ nu kho[7] tena tad abhinanditun ti ?'

'No h' etaṃ bhante.'

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1. S[ct] K *omit.*
2. B[m] pa *down to* tatr' Ānanda yam idaṃ (*next par*).
3. S[ct] Gr -kamā.
4. SS Gr *omit.*
5. S[d] asaññi°; S[t] Gr asaññā°.
6. SS *omit.*
7. SS K *omit.*

'Yato kho Ānanda bikkhu imāsañ ca sattannaṃ viññāṇaṭṭhitīnaṃ imesañ ca dvinnaṃ āyatanānaṃ samudayañ ca atthagamañ ca assādañ ca ādīnavañ ca nissaraṇañ ca yathābhūtaṃ viditvā anupādā vimutto hoti, ayaṃ vuccati Ānanda[1] bhikkhu paññā-vimutto.

34. 'Now there, Ānanda—in that first resting-place for Cognition, of differing bodies and differing intelligences,—to wit, human beings and certain of the gods and certain of those in purgatory—think you that he who both knows what that state is, and how it comes to be, and how it passes away,—knows too the pleasures of it, and the miseries[2] of it, and the way of escape from it, —think you that it were fitting for such an one to take delight in it ?[3]'

'Nay, lord.'

'And in those other six resting-places for Cognition, and in those two Spheres,—think you that he who both knows them for what they are, how they come to be, and how they pass away, knows too the pleasures of them, and the miseries of them, and the way of escape from them,—think you that it were fitting for such an one to take delight in them ?'

'Nay, lord.'

'But, Ānanda, when once a brother has understood as they really are the coming to be and the passing away, the pleasures and the miseries of, and the way of escape from, these seven resting-places for Cognition, and these two Spheres, that brother,

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1. B^m pa *down to* tatr' Ānanda yam idaṃ (*nest par.*)
2. Or the peril of it (ādînavo), i.e. the thought of its impermanence, changeableness, etc. Cy.
3. This standpoint of insight into the limitations of all sentient experience when estimated according to its emotional or hedonistic values is claimed by the Buddha as a monopoly of his own doctrine, distinguishing it from other ethical systems. See his graphic exposition in the Great Sutta on the Body of Ill; and the passages quoted under Vathābhūtam in the Samyutta Index (vol. vi).

by being purged of grasping, becomes free. And then, Ānanda, he is called Freed-by-Reason[1].'

35. 'Aṭṭha kho ime Ānanda, vimokhā.[2] Katame aṭṭha ? Rūpī rūpāni passati. Ayaṃ paṭhamo vimokho.

'Ajjhattaṃ arūpa-saññī bahiddhā rūpāni passati. Ayaṃ dutiyo vimokho.

'Subhan' t' eva adhimutto hoti. Ayaṃ tatiyo vimokho.

'Sabbaso rūpa-saññānaṃ samatikkamā[3] paṭigha-saññā-naṃ atthagamā nānatta-saññānaṃ amanasikārā "Ananto ākāso" ti ākāsânañcâyatanaṃ upasampajja viharati. Ayaṃ catuttho vimokho.

'Sabbaso ākāsânañcâyatanaṃ samatikkamma "Anan-taṃ viññāṇan" ti viññāṇañcâyatanaṃ upasampajja viharati. Ayaṃ pañcamo vimokho.

'Sabbaso viññāṇañañcâyatanaṃ samatikkamma "N'atthi kiñcîti" ākiñcaññâyatanaṃ upasampajja viharati. Ayaṃ chaṭṭho vimokho.

'Sabbaso ākiñcaññâyatanaṃ samatikkamme nevasa-ññānâsaññâyatanaṃ upasampajja viharati. Ayaṃ sattamo vimokho.

'Sabbaso nevasaññā-nâsaññâyatanaṃ samatikkamma saññā[4]-vedayita[5]-nirodhaṃ upasampajja viharati. Ayaṃ aṭṭhamo vimokho. Ime kho Ānanda aṭṭha vimokhā.

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1. Paññā vimutto, i.e. says the Cy. 'emancipated without the aid of the following eight grades of deliverance' —by native insight. So PP. 14, 73. Here, as throughout, when paññā is rendered by 'rea-son,' it is but a *pis-aller.* Paññā is really intellect as conversant with, engaged upon, general truths, and thus comes out as approximately Kant's *Vernunfl,* and Reason as distinct from Understanding, a distinction very general in English and European philosophy. See Dh. S., transl., p. 17, *n.* 2. By 'emancipated' the Cy. understands 'having effected the non-perpetuity (in rebirths) of name and form.'
2. B^m Gr K vimokkhā, *and throughout;* SS *only* kh. *Cp.* xvi. 3, 33.
3. S^c K-kamma; S^dt Childers, M.P.S. p. 30, B^m Gr-kamā (Gr *in note-*kamma).
4. SS saññaṃ; Child. B^m K saññā.
5. S^t K vedayitaṃ.

35. 'Now these, Ānanda, are the eight stages of Deliverance[1]. Which are they ?

'Having one's self external form, one sees [these] forms. This is the first stage.

'Unaware of one's own external form, one sees forms external to one's self. This is the second stage.

' "Lovely!"—with this thought one becomes intent. This is the third stage.

'Passing wholly beyond[2] perceptions of form, all perceptions of sense-reaction dying away, heedless of all perceptions of the manifold, conscious of space as infinite, one enters into and abides in the sphere of space regarded as infinite. This is the fourth stage.

'Passing wholly beyond the sphere of space regarded as infinite, conscious of reason as infinite, one enters into and abides

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1. Vimokhā. See the following Sutta, p. III of the text; A. IV, 306, 349; Dh. S., §§ 248-50; transl., pp. 63-5. Buddhaghosa's comments on the last citation are approximately the same as those on the first three stages here given. Here, too, he explains Release as deliverance from adverse conditions, so that the attention is sustained with all the detachment and confidence felt by the little child borne on his father's hip, his limbs dangling, and no need felt to clutch. In the first stage, Jhāna is induced by intense concentration on the *colour* of some bodily feature. In the second, the kasina is an object external to one's body. In the third, consciousness of an uprising glamour (around or superseding the kasina) of perfectly pure colour or lustre is meant. The *aesthetic* suffusion was held to quicken the sense of emancipation from *morally* adverse conditions analogously to that perception of ethical rapture induced by the Four Divine or Sublime Moods, described in the Mahā Sudassana Sutta. The Patisambhidāmagga is again referred to by the Cy., viz. II, p. 39, in this connexion. The curious thing is that in reply to the question, "How is there release thus :— "How lovely it is—with this thought he becomes intent ?" '—the reply is simply and solely the Formula of the Four Sublime Moods.
2. The 4th-7th stages were afterwards known as the Four Āruppa Jhānas, or the four Jhānas to be cultivated for attaining to the Formless Heavens (see Dh. S., §§ 265 ff.).

in the sphere of cognition regarded as infinite. This is the fifth stage

'Passing wholly beyond the sphere of reason regarded as infinite, conscious of there being nothing whatever, one enters into and abides in the sphere of nothingness. This is the sixth stage.

'Passing wholly beyond the sphere of nothingness, one enters into and abides in the sphere of "neither-consciousness-nor-unconsciousness." This is the seventh stage.

'Passing wholly beyond the sphere of "neither-ideation-nor-non-ideation," one enters into and abides in a state of suspended perception and feeling. This is the eighth stage.

'These, Ānanda, are the eight stages of Deliverance.

36. 'Yato kho Ānanda bhikkhu ime aṭṭha vimokhe anulomam pi samāpajjati, paṭilomam pi samāpajjati, anu-loma-paṭilomam pi samāpajjati, yatth' icchakaṃ yad icchakaṃ yāvad[1] icchakaṃ samāpajjati pi vuṭṭhāti pi,[2] āsavānañ ca khayā anāsavaṃ cetovimuttiṃ paññ-vimuttiṃ diṭṭhe va dhamme sayaṃ bhiññā bhikkhu ubhato-bhāga-vimutto, imāya ca Ānanda ubhato-bhāga-vimuttiyā aññā ubhato-bhāga-vimutti uttaritarā vā paṇītatarā vā n' atthîti.'

Idam avoca Bhagavā. Attamano āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato bhāsitaṃ abhinandîti.

36. 'Now when once a brother, Ānanda, has mastered these eight stages of Deliverance in order, and has also mastered them in reverse order, and again, in both orders consecutively, so that he is able to lose himself in, as well as to emerge from, any one of them, whenever he chooses, wherever he chooses, and for as long as he chooses—when too, by rooting out the Taints, he enters into and abides in that emancipation of heart, that emancipation of the intellect which he by himself, here in this present world, has come to know and realize—then such a brother,

1. B[m] K yāvat.
2. S[d] samāpajjatīpi uṭṭhātīpi; B[m] vuṭhāya tiṭhati pi.

Ānanda, is called "Free-in-both-ways[1]." And, Ānanda, any other Freedom-in-both-ways higher and loftier than this Freedom-in-both-ways there is not!'

Thus spake the Exalted One. Glad at heart the Venerable Ānanda delighted in his words.

Maha-Nidāna-Sutta[2]

Here endeth the Mahā-Nidāna-Sutta

1. Ubhato-bhāga-vimutto, i.e. freed both by Reason and also by the intellectual discipline of the Eight Stages. According to a scholastic elaboration of the term, emanating from the Giri-vihāra of the great Loha-pāsāda (or Brazen Palace), 'both ways' meant the Four Jhānas and the Āruppa-jhānas. How this can be reconciled with this paragraph—confirmed by PP. 14 and 73 and by M. I, 477-8—is not stated. 'Taints' are the Four Asavas, rendered 'Intoxicants' above, p. 28, *n.* 2.
2. B^m^ *adds* niṭhitam dutiyaṃ ; K- suttaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ dutiyaṃ.

INTRODUCTION
TO THE
Mahā-Parinibbāna-Sutta

The Mahāprinibbāna Sutta is One of the most important suttas as it furnished us with a highly interesting historical narrative of the peregrenation of the Buddha during the last year of his mortal existence. The several sets of the conditions or welfare of a community taught by the Buddha to the mendicants bespeak the developed ideas of perfect organisations, in the history of social, political or religious thought at the time of Gautam Buddha. In the third chapter of the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta, Buddha gives us a description of his visit to vaisālī. The figurative expressions as used by the Buddha, have become a fruitful soil for the outgrown of superstitions and misunderstandings.

The Sixth chapter of the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta records the most important of all events affecting the fate of Buddhism. In it we find the passing away of the founder of the faith. The wailing, described in chapter five, of men and women of countries for and near on hearing that the exalted one would pass away too soon, and the hower with which the relics of the Buddha were received and cairns made over them, as sound in chapter six, get to show how deeply were the people moved by preaching and personality of the Buddha. The last word of the Talhāgata viz., "Decay in inherent in all component things. Work out your salvation with diligence," strikes the key note of the Buddha's philosophy and mission.

This Sutta further deals with Vassakāra Brāhmana visit to the Buddha, seven conditions of welfare of the Bhikkhusaṁgha,

lineage of faith eight causes of earth quakes, eight causes of subduing others, Buddha's visit to cunda, four places of pilgrimage of any faithful householder, efficiency of erecting dhātucaityas, former greatness of kusināra, visit to subhadra to Buddha and his conversation with the Lord, passing away of the Lord, homage of the mallas, cremation of the Buddha's dead body, quarrel over the relics, the amicable distribution of relics by Dona and erecting the stūpas over them. It further narrates the fact that when the Blessed one heard that Ajatasattu of Magadha determined to approach the Vajjians, he remarked that so long as the Vajjians fulfilled the seven conditions of welfare, there would not be any danger for them. The Buddha then went to Ambalaṭṭhikā. Here there were talks about Sīla, Samādhi, etc. The Master then went to Nālandā where he stayed as long as he liked. Sāriputta met him here.

The upāsakas (lay disciples) of Pātaligāma received the Buddha cordially. The Buddha mentioned the five disadvantages for not observing the precepts by householders and also five advantages for observing precepts by householders. The Blessed one accepted the invitation of two ministers of Magadha, Sunīdha and vassakāra, who fed him together with the assembly of monks. He then went to kotigāma and addressed the monks on the four Noble Truths. Further he proceeded to Nādikā where he dwelt at the Ginjakā abode. He then came to vesāli where he accepted the invitation of the famous courtesan, Ambapālī. While the Buddha was passing through vesāli on his way back from alms-seeking, he gazed at vesālī with an elephant look and then addressed venerable Ānanda and said, "This will be the last time that the Tathāgata will behold Vesalī". Buddha then visited velura and the following caityas, Udena, Gatama, Sattambaka, Bahuputtaka, Sāranadada, and Cāpāla. At Bhaṇḍagāma the Buddha delivered a discourse on meditation, emancipation, precepts, wisdom, etc. He spoke of Dhamma and vinaya. The Master dwelt at bhonagara and then at Pāvā. Here at pāvā the Master took shelter in the mango-grove of cunda, the son of a blacksmith. Buddha ac-

cepted the inivitation of Cunda and after having taken food at Cunda's place, he got an attack of dysentery. He then went to kusīnārā, a township of the Mallas where the Buddha passed away between the twin Sāla trees. As narrated before, as soon as the Mallas heard of the news of the death of the Tathāgata, they, both males and females, began to cry and paid homage to the departed. Kassapa saluted the feet of the Buddha whose relics were distributed amongst the Moriyas of Pipphalivans, Ajātasattu of Magadha, licchavis of vaiśāli, Sākyas of kapilavastu, Bulis of Allakappa, koliyas of Rāmagāma, a brahmin of veṭhadīpa[1], Mallas of Pavā and kusīnārā who built stūpas over them.

The Sutta introduced to a renowed religious teacher named Ālāra kālāma who had as his disciple a caravan merchant named Pukkusa, a young Mallian. Pukkusa used to speak highly of the spiritual attainments of his preceptor whose ecstatic trace, as declared by Pukkusa, was so very deep and profound that a long train of heavily laden carts passed by unperceived by him. The Sutta also records that the Buddha described Parisā or assemblies of the gods which were the assembly of the Cātummahārājikas gods, the assembly of the Tāvatimsa gods, the assembly of Māra and the assembly of Brāhma.

1. In Beal's Si Yu-ki Veṭhadīpa has been stated to be situated on the way from Masār in the shahabad district to vaiśalī. It may be assumed that Allakappa belowging to the Bulis by met vary far from Veṭhadīpa.

xvi. Mahā-Parinibbāna-sutta[1]

The Book of the Great Decease

CHAPTER I

1.1. Evam me sutam. Ekaṃ samayaṃ Bhagavā Rājagahe viharati Gijjhakūṭe pabbate. Tena kho pana samayena rājā Māgado Ajātasattu Vedehiputto vajjaī[1] abhiyātu-kāmo hoti. So evam āha : 'Ahañhi' me[2] Vajjī evaṃ-mahiddhike evaṃ-mahānubhāve, uchejjāmi[3] Vajjī[4] vināsessāmi Vajjī[5] anaya-vyasanaṃ āpādessāmi Vajjī[6] ti'.

1.Thus have I heard. The Exalted One was once dwelling in Rājagaha, on the hill called the Vulture's Peak. Now at that time Ajātasattu, the son of the queen-consort of the Videha clan[7], the king of Magadha, had made up his mind to attack the

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1. K Vajjiṃ.
2. B[m] K ahaṃ hi me; SS childers *and* Hardy ahaṃ ime. *Comp.* A.iv.; 17 *note* 16; M.i. 545; Vin. i. 363; J. iv. 395.
3. S[dt] ucchecchāmi; ucchijjāmi (S[c] K *and* Sum ucchej-jami), *here and below.*
4. K Vajjin.
5. Ajātasattu Vedehiputto. The first word is not a personal name but an official epithet, 'he against whom there has arisen no (worthy or equal) foe' (so already in the Rig Veda but Sum. 131 different). The second gives us the maiden family, or tribal (not personal) name of his mother. Her name, according to a Tibetan authority quoted by Rockhill, 'Life of the Buddha,' p. 63, was Vāsavî.

Vajjians; and he said to himself, 'I will strike at these Vajjians, mighty and powerful[1] though they be, I will root out these Vajjians, I will destroy these Vajjians, I will bring these Vajjians to utter ruin !'

2. Atha kho rājā Māgadho Ajātasattu Vedehiputto Vassakāraṃ brāhmaṇaṃ Magadha-mahāmattaṃ āmantesi:

'Ehi tvaṃ brāhmaṇa yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṃkama, upasaṃkamitvā mama vacanena Bhagavato pāde sirasā vandādhi, appābādham appātaṅkaṃ lahuṭṭhānaṃ balaṃ phāsu-vihāraṃ puccha "Rājā bhante Māgadho Ajāta-sattu Vedehiputto Bhagavato pāde sirasā vandati, appâbādhaṃ appâtaṅkaṃ lahuṭṭhānaṃ balaṃ balaṃ phāsu-vihāraṃ pucchatîti," evañ ca vadehi: "Rājā bhante Māgadho Ajātasattu Vedehiputto Vajjī abhiyātu-kāmo. So evam āha: 'Āhañhi' me Vajjī evaṃ-mahiddhike evaṃ-mahânu-bhāve, ucchejjāmi Vajjī vināsessāmi Vajjī anaya-vyasanaṃ āpādessāmi Vajjī ti' " ; yathā ca te Bhagavā vyākaroti taṃ sādhukaṃ uggahetvā mamaṃ āroceyyāsi, na hi Tathāgatā vitathaṃ bhaṇantîti.

2. So he spake to the brahmin Vassakāra (the Rainmaker), prime-minister of Magadha, and said :—

Persons of distinction are scarcely ever mentioned by name in Indian Buddhist books, a rule applying more especially to kings, but extended not unfrequently to private persons. Thus Upatissa, the disciple whom the Buddha himself declared to be 'the second founder of the kingdom of righteousness,' is referred to either as Dhamma-senāpali or as Sāriputta ; epithets of corresponding origin to those in the text. See above, Vol. I, pp. 193-5.

By the Jains Ajātasatiu is called Kūnika or Konika, which again is probably not the name given to him at the rice-eating (the ceremony corresponding to infant baptism), but a nickname acquired in after-life.

1. Evammahiddihike evammahānubhāve. There is nothing magical or supernatural about the iddhi here referred to. Etena tesam samagga-bhāvam kathesi says the commentator simply: thus referring the former adjective to the power of union, as he does the second to the power derived from practice in military tactics (hatthisippādîhi). See above, Vol. I, p. 273.

'Come now, brahmin, do you go to the Exalted One, and bow down in adoration at his feet on my behalf, and inquire in my name whether he is free from illness and suffering, and in the enjoyment of ease and comfort and vigorous health. Then tell him that Ajātasattu, son of the Vedehi, the king of Magadha, in his eagerness to attack the Vajjians, has resolved, "I will strike at these Vajjians, mighty and powerful though they be, I will root out these Vajjians, I will destroy these Vajjians, I will bring these Vajjians to utter ruin!" And bear carefully in mind whatever the Exalted One may predict, and repeat it to me. For the Buddhas speak nothing untrue !'

3. 'Evaṃ bho ti' kho Vassakāro brāhmaṇo Magadha-mahāmatto rañño. Māgadhassa Ajātasattussa Vedehi-puttassa paṭissutvā, bhaddāni bhaddāni yānāni yojāpetvā,[1] bhaddaṃ[2] yānaṃ abhirūhitvā, bhaddehi bhaddehi yānehi Rājagahamhā niyyāsi, yena Gijjhakūṭo pabbato tena pāyāsi, yāvatikā yānassa bhūmi yānena gantvā yānā paccorohitvā pattiko va yena[3] Bhagavā ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Bhagavatā saddhiṃ sammodi, sammodanīyaṃ kathaṃ sārāṇīyaṃ vītisāretvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. Ekamantaṃ nisinno kho Vassakāro brāhmaṇ Magadhamahāmatto Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca:

'Rājā bho Gotama Māgadho Ajātasattu Vededi-putto bhoto Gotamassa pāde sirasā vandati, appâbādham appâtaṅkaṃ lahuṭṭhānaṃ balaṃ bhāsu-vihāraṃ pucchati.[4] Rājā dho Gotama Māgadho Ajātasattu Vedehiputto Vajjī abhiyātu-kāmo. So evam āha: "Āhañhi 'me Vajjī evaṃ-mahiddhike evaṃ-mahānubhāve, ucchejjāmi Vajjī vināsessāmi Vajjī anaya-vyasanaṃ āpādessāmi Vajjī ti."

3. Then the brahmin Vassakāra, the Rainmaker, hearkened to the words of the king, saying, 'Be it as you say.' And ordering a number of state carriages to be made ready, he mounted

1. *So* SS; B^m K yojetvā.
2. B^m K bhaddaṃ bhaddaṃ bhaddaṃ.
3. Hardy *omits from the first* bhaddāni *down* to yena.
4. SS *add evañ* ca vadeti.

one of them, left Rājagaha with his train, and went to the Vulture's Peak, riding as far as the ground was passable for carriages and then alighting and proceeding on foot to the place where the Exalted One was. On arriving there he exchanged with the Exalted One the greetings and compliments of politeness and courtesy, sat down respectfully by his side (and then delivered to him the message even as the king had commanded[1]).

4. Tena kho pana samayena āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato piṭṭhīto ṭhito hoti Bhagavantaṃ vījamāno.[2] Atha kho Bhagavā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi :

'Kin ti te Ānanda sutaṃ, Vajjī abhiṇhaṃ[3] sannipātā sannipāta-bahulāti ?'

'[4]Sutaṃ me taṃ[4] bhante Vajjī abhiṇhaṃ sannipātā sannipāta-bahulāti.'

'Yāvakīvañ[5] ca Ānanda Vajjī abhiṇhaṃ sannipātā sannipāta-bahulā bhavissanti, vuddhi yeva Ānanda Vajjīnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni. Kin ti te Ānanda sutaṃ, Vajjī samaggā sannipatanti samaggā vuṭṭhahanti samaggā Vajjī-karaṇīyāni karontîto?'

'Sutaṃ me taṃ bhante Vajjī samaggā sannipatanti samaggā viṭṭhahanti samaggā Vajjī-karaṇīyāni karontîti.

'Yāvakīvañ ca Ānanda Vajjī samaggā sannipatissanti samaggā vuṭṭhahissanti samaggā Vajjī-karaṇīyāni karissanti, vuddhi yeva Ānanda vijjīnaṃ pāṭikaṇkhā no parihāni. Kin ti te Ānanda sutaṃ Vajjī appaññattạ, na paññāpenti, paññattaṃ na samucchindanti, yathā paññatte parāṇe Vajji-dhamme samādāya vattantîti ?'

'Sutaṃ me taṃ bhante Vajjī appaññattaṃ na paññāpenti, paññattaṃ na samucchindanti, yathā paññatte porāṇe Vajji-dhamme samādāya vattantîti.'

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1. The wording of § 2 is here repeated.
2. B^m vījayamāno ; K vījiyamāno.
3. K abhiṇhā.

4-4. B^m sutam etaṃ, *and below.*

5. B^m-kiv^o, *and below.*

'Yāvakīvañ ca Ānanda Vajjī appaññattaṃ na paññāpessanti, paññattaṃ na samucchindissanti, yathā paññatte porāṇe Vajji-dhamme samādāya vattissanti, vuddhi yeva Ānanda Vajjīnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni. Kin ti te Ānanda sutaṃ Vijjī ya te Vajjīnaṃ Vajjī-mahallakā te sakkaronti garukaronti mānenti pūjenti tesañ ca sotabbaṃ maññantîti?'

'Sutaṃ me taṃ bhante Vajjī ye te Vajjīnaṃ Vajji-mahallakā te sakkaronti garukaronti mānenti pūjenti tesañ ca sotabbaṃ maññantîti.'

'Yāvakīvañ ca Ānanda Vajjī ye te Vajjīnaṃ Vajji-mahallakā te sakkarissanti garukarissanti mānessanti pūjessanti tesañ ca sotabbaṃ maññissanti, vuddhi yeva Ānanda Vajjīnaṃ yā tā kulitthiyo kula-kumāriyo tā na okkassa pasayha vāsentîti ?'

'Sitaṃ me taṃ bhante Vajjī yā tā kulitthiyo kula-kumāriyo tā na okkassa pasayha vāsessanti, vuddhi yeva Ānanda Vajjīnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni. Kin ti te Ānanda sutaṃ Vajjī yāni tāni Vajjīnaṃ Vajji-cetiyāni abbhantarāni c'eva bāhirāni ca tāni sakkaronti garukaronti mānenti pujenti tesañ ca dinna-pubbaṃ kata-pubbaṃ dhammikaṃ no parihāpentîti ?'

'Sutaṃ me taṃ bhante Vajjī yāni tāni Vajjīnaṃ Vajji-cetiyāni, abbhantarāni c'eva bābirāni ca, tāni sakkaronti garukaronti mānenti pūjenti, tesañ ca dinna-pubbaṃ kata-pubbaṃ dhammikaṃ baliṃ no parihāpentîti.

'Yāvakīvañ ca Ānanda Vajjī yāni Vajjīnaṃ Vajji-cetiyāni, abhantarāni c'eva bāhirāni ca, tāni sakkaris-santi garukarissanti mānessanti pūjessanti, tesañ ca dinna-pubbaṃ kata-pubbaṃ dhammikaṃ baliṃ no parihāpessanti, vuddhi yeva Ānanda Vajjīnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni. Kin ti te Ānda sutaṃ Vajjīnaṃ arahantesu dhammikârakkhâvaraṇa-gutti susaṃvihitā, kin ti anāgatā ca arahanto vijitaṃ āgaccheyyuṃ āgatā ca arahanto vijite phāsuṃ[1] vihareyyun ti ?'

'Sutaṃ me taṃ bhante Vajjīnaṃ arahantesu dhammikârakkhâvaraṇa-gutti susaṃvihitā, kin ti anāgatā ca

1. S[d] B[m] -su, *and below.*

arahanto vijitaṃ āgaccheyyuṃ āgatā ca arahanto vijite phāsuṃ vihareyyun ti.'

'Yāvakīvañ ca Ānanda Vajjīnaṃ arahantesu dhammikârakkhâvaraṇa-gutti susaṃvihitā bhavissati,[1] kin' ti anāgatā ca arahanto vijitaṃ āgaccheyyuṃ āgatā ca arahanto vijite phāsuṃ vihareyyun ti, vuddhi yeva Ānanda Vajjīnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihānîti.'

4. Now at that time the venerable Ānanda was standing behind the Exalted One, and fanning him. And the Blessed One said to him :— 'Have you heard, Ānanda, that the Vajjians foregather often and frequent the public meetings of their clan ?'

'Lord, so I have heard,' replied he.

'So long, Ānanda,' rejoined the Blessed One, 'as the Vajjians foregather thus often, and frequent the public meetings of their clan; so long may they be expected not to decline, but to prosper.'

(And in like manner questioning Ānanda, and receiving a similar reply, the Exalted One declared as follows the other conditions which would ensure the welfare of the Vajjian confederacy[2].)

'So long, Ānanda, as the Vajjians meet together in concord, and rise in concord, and carry out their undertakings in concord—so long as they enact nothing not already established, abrogate nothing that has been already enacted, and act in accordance with the ancient institutions of the Vajjians, as established in former days—so long as they honour and esteem and revere and support the Vajjian elders, and hold it a point of duty to hearken to their words—so long as no women or girls belonging to their clans are detained among them by force or abduction—so long as they honour and esteem and revere and support the Vajjian shrines[3] in town or country, and allow not the proper offerings and rites, as formerly given and performed, to fall into desuetude—so long as the rightful protection, defence, and

1. In the text there is a question, answer, and reply with each clause.
2. Cetiyāni, which Sum. Vil. explains as Yakkha-cenyāni.
3. S^{cd} B^{m} -santi.

support shall be fully provided for the Arahants among them, so that Arahants from a distance may enter the realm, and the Arahants therein may live at ease—so long may the Vajjians be expected not to decline, but to prosper.'

5. Atha kho Bhagavā Vassakāraṃ brāhmaṇaṃ Magadha-mahāmattaṃ āmantesi:

'Ekam idâhaṃ brāhmaṇa samayaṃ Vesāliyaṃ vi-harāmi Sārandade cetiye, tatrâhaṃ Vajjīnaṃ ime satta aparihāniye dhamme desesiṃ, yāvakīvañ cà brāhmaṇa ime satta aparihāniyā dhammā Vajjīsu ṭhassanti, imesu ca sattasu aparihāniyesu dhammesu Vajjī sandissanti, vuddhi yeva brāhmaṇa Vajjīnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihānîti.'

Evaṃ vutte Vassakāro Brāhmaṇo Magadha-mahāmatto Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca:

'Ekamekena pi bho Gotama aparihāniyena dhammena samannāgatānaṃ Vajjīnaṃ vuddhi vuddhi yeva pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni, ko pana vādo sattahi aparihāniyehi dhammehi? Akaraṇī va[1] bho Gotama Vajjī raññā Māgadhena Ajāta-sattunā Vedehiputtena yadidaṃ yuddhassa aññatra upalāpa-nāya aññatra mithu-bhedā[2]. Handa ca dāni mayaṃ bho Gotama gacchāma, bahukiccā mayaṃ bahu-karaṇīyā ti.'

'Yassa dāni tvaṃ brāhmaṇa kālaṃ maññasîti.

Atha kho Vassakāro brāhmaṇo Magadha-mahāmatto Bhagavato bhāsitaṃ abhinanditvā anumoditvā uṭṭhāy' āsanā pakkāmi.

5. Then the Exalted One addressed Vassakāra the brahmin and said :—

'When I was once staying, O brahmin, at Vesālī at the Sārandada Shrine[3], I taught the Vajjians these conditions of welfare ; and so long as these conditions shall continue to exist

1. Bm K ca.
2. Bm K -dāya.
3. The commentator adds that this was a vihara erected on the site of a former shrine of the Yakkha Sārandada. The teaching referred to is set out in full at A. IV, 16, but the persons taught are there called Licchavis.

among the Vajjians, so long as the Vajjians shall be well instructed in those conditions, so long may we expect them not to decline, but to prosper.'

'We may expect then,' answered the brahmin, 'the welfare and not the decline of the Vajjians when they are possessed of any one of these conditions of welfare, how much more so when they are possessed of all the seven. So, Gotama, the Vajjians cannot be overcome by the king of Magadha ; that is not in battle, without diplomacy or breaking up their alliance[1]. And now, Gotama, we must go ; we are busy and have much to do.'

'Whatever you think most fitting, O brahmin,' was the reply. And the brahmin Vassakāra, the Rainmaker, delighted and pleased with the words of the Exalted One, rose from his seat, and went his way.

6. Atha kho Bhagavā acira-pakkante Vassa kāre brāhmaṇe Magadha-mahāmatte āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi: 'Gaccha tvaṃ Ānanda yāvatikā bhikkhū Rājagahaṃ upanissāya viharanti, te sabbe upaṭṭhāna sālāyaṃ sannipātethîti.'

'Evaṃ bhante' ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato paṭissutvā yāvatikā bhikkhū Rājagahaṃ upanissāya viharanti te sabbe upaṭṭhāna-sālāyaṃ sannipātetvā yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhāsi, ekamantaṃ ṭhito kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca : 'Sannipatito bhante bhikkhu-saṃgho, yassa dāni bhante Bhagavā kālarṃ maññasîti.'

Atha kho Bhagavā uṭṭhāy' āsanā yena upaṭṭhāna-sālā tem' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā paññatte āsane nisīdi, nisajja kho Bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi:

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1. 'Overcome' is literally 'done' (karanīya), but the word evidently has a similar sense to that which 'done' occasionally has in colloquial English. Upalāpana, which I have only met with here, must mean 'humbug, cajolery, diplomacy;' see the use of the verb upalāpeti, at S. I, 102 ; Vin. II, 119; IV, 139; Jāt. II, 266, 267; IV, 56. Sum. Vil. explains it, at some length, as making an alliance, by gifts, with hostile intent, which comes to much the saṃe thing. The root, I think, is Iī.

[1]'Satta vo bhikkhave aparihāniye dhamme desessāmi,[2] taṃ suṇātha sādhukaṃ manasi-karotha bhāsissāmîti.'

'Evaṃ bhante' ti kho te bhikkhū Bhagavato paccassosuṃ. Bhagavā etad avoca:

'Yāvakīvañ ca[3] bhikkhave bhikkhū abhiṇhaṃ sannipātā sannipāta-bahulā bhavissanti, vuddhi yeva bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni.

'Yāvakīvañ ca bhikkhave bhikkhū samaggā sannipatissanti samaggā vuṭṭhahissanti samaggā saṅgha-karaṇīyāni karissanti, vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni.

'Yāvakīvañ ca bhikkhave bhikkhū appaññattaṃ na paññāpessanti, paññattaṃ na samucchindissanti, yathā-paññattesu sikkhā-padesu samādāya vattissanti, vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni.

'Yāvakīvañ ca bhikkhave bhikkhū ye te bhikkhū therā rataññū cira[4]-pabbajitā saṅgha-pitaro[5] saṅgha-parināyakā te sakkarissanti garukarissanti[6] mānessanti pūjessanti tesañ ca sotabbaṃ maññissanti, vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhāno parihāni.

'Yāvakīvañ ca bhikkhave bhikkhū uppannāya taṇhāya ponobhavikāya[7] na vasaṃ gacchanti,[8] vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni.

'Yāvakīvañ ca bhikkhave bhikkhū āraññakesu[9] senâsanesu sāpekhā bhavissanti, vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni.

"Yāvakīvañ ca bhikkhave bhikkhū paccattaṃ yeva

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1. = A. iv. 21.
2. S[cd] B[m] *sometimes* desissāmi.
3. S[cd] *add* kho.
4. S[c] ciraṃ.
5. B[m] *omits.*
6. B[m] garuṃ kar°.
7. B[m] K ponobbhavikāya.
8. K gacchissanti.
9. S[cd] ar°.

satiṃ upaṭṭhāpessanti,[1] kin ti anāgatā ca pesalā sabrahmacārī āgaccheyyuṃ āgatā ca pesalā sabrahmacārī phāsuṃ[2] vihareyyun ti, vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni.

'Yāvakīvañ ca bhikkhave ime satta aparihāniyā dhammā bhikkhūsu ṭhassanti imesu ca sattasu aparihāniyesu dhammesu bhikkhū sandissanti, vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihani.

6. Now soon after he had gone the Exalted One addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said:— 'Go now, Ānanda, and assemble in the Service Hall such of the brethren[3] as live in the neighbourhood of Rājagaha.'

And he did so; and returned to the Exalted One, and informed him, saying :—

'The company of the brethren, lord, is assembled, let the Exalted One do as seemeth to him fit.'

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1. B^{m} upaṭhap^{o} ; K upaṭṭhap^{o}.
2. B^{m} phāsu.
3. The word translated 'brethren' throughout is in the original bhikkhu, a word most difficult to render adequately by any word which would not, to Christians and in Europe, connote something different from the Buddhist idea. A bhikkhu, literally 'beggar,' was a disciple who had joined Gotama's order; but the word refers to their renunciation of worldly things, rather than to their consequent mendicancy ; and they did not really beg in our modern sense of the word.. Hardy has 'priests;' I have elsewhere used 'monks' and sometimes 'beggars' and 'members of the order.' This last is, I think, the best rendering; but it is too long for constant repetition, as in this passage, and too complex to be a really good version of bhikkhu. The members of the order were not priests, for they had no priestly powers. They were not monks, for they took no vow of obedience, and could leave the order (and constantly did so and do so still) whenever they chose. They were not beggars, for they had none of the mental and moral qualities associated with that word. 'Brethren' connotes very much the position in which they stood to one another; but I wish there were a better word to use in rendering bhikkhu.

And the Exalted One arose, and went to the Service Hall; and when he was seated, he addressed the brethren, and said :—

'I will teach you, O mendicants, seven conditions of the welfare of a community. Listen well and attend, and I will speak.'

'Even so, lord,' said the brethren, in assent, to the Exalted One; and he spake as follows :—

'So long, O mendicants, as the brethren foregather oft, and frequent the formal meetings of their Order— so long as they meet together in concord, and rise in concord, and carry out in concord the duties of the Order—so long as the brethren shall establish nothing that has not been already prescribed, and abrogate nothing that has been already established, and act in accordance with the rules of the Order as now laid down—so long as the brethren honour and esteem and revere and support the elders of experience and long standing, the fathers and leaders of the Order, and hold it a point of duty to hearken to their words— so long as the brethren fall not under the influence of that craving which, springing up within them, would give rise to renewed existence—so long as the brethren delight in a life of solitude— so long as the brethren so train their minds in self-possession that good men among their fellow-disciples shall come to them, and those who have come shall dwell at ease—so long may the brethren *be* expected, not to decline, but to prosper. So long as these seven conditions shall continue to exist among the brethren, so long as they are well-instructed in these conditions, so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.

7. 'Apare pi kho[1] bhikkhave satta aparihāniye dhamme desessāmi, taṃ suṇātha, sādhukaṃ manasi-karotha, bhāsisissāmîti.'

'Evaṃ bhante' ti' kho te bhikkhu Bhagavato paccassouṃ, Bhagavā etad avoca:

[2]Yāvakīvañ ca bhikkhave bhikkhū na kammâmā bhavissanti na kamma-ratā na kammârāmataṃ anuyuttā,

1. K vo; A. iv. 22 satta vo bh° (*so throughout*).
2. A iv. 22; *comp.* iii. 309. 310, 329.

vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhū bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni.

Yāvakīvañ ca bhikkhave bhikkhū na kammâmā bhavissanti na bhassa-ratā na bhassârāmataṃ anuyuttā, vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni.

Yāvakīvañ ca bhikkhave bhikkhū na niddârāmā bhavissanti na niddā-ratā na niddârāmataṃ anuyuttā, vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni.

Yāvakīvañ ca bhikkhave bhikkhū na pāpicchā bhavissanti na pāpikānaṃ icchānaṃ vasaṃ gatā vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni.

Yāvakīvañ ca bhikkhave bhikkhū na pāpa-mittā bhavissanti na pāpa-sahāyā na pāpa-sampavaṅkā,[1] vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni.

Yāvakīvañ ca bhikkhave bhikkhū na oramattakena visesâdhigamena antarā vosānaṃ āpajjissanti, vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni.

Yāvakīvañ ca bhikkhave ime satta aparihāniyā dhammā bhikkhūsu ṭhassanti imesu ca satiasu aparihāyinesu dhammesu bhikkhū sandissanti, vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni.

7. 'Other seven conditions of welfare will I teach you, O brethren. Listen well, and attend, and I will speak."

And on their expressing their assent, he spake as follows:—

'So long as the brethren shall not engage in, or be fond of, or be connected with business—so long as the brethren shall not be in the habit of, or be fond of, or be partakers in idle talk—so long as the brethren shall not be addicted to, or be fond of, or indulge in slothfulness—so long as the brethren shall not frequent, or be fond of, or indulge in society—so long as the brethren shall neither have, nor fall under the influence of, wrong desires[2] —so long as the brethren shall not become the friends,

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1. B^{m} ^{o}vaṅkatā; K ^{o}vaṅkarā.
2. The blundering misstatement that Buddhism teaches the suppression of desire (not of wrong desire) is still occasionally met with. The question is fully discussed in Mrs. Rhys Davids's article on 'The Will in Buddhism' (J.R.A.S., 1898).

companions, or intimates of evildoers—so long as the brethren shall not come to a stop on their way (to Nirvana in Arahantship[1]) because they have attained to any lesser thing—so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.

'So long as these conditions shall continue to exist among the brethren—so long as they are instructed in these conditions—so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.

8. 'Apare pi kho bhikkhave satta aparihāniye dhamme desessāmi, taṃ suṇātha sādhukaṃ manasikarotha, bhāsissāmîti.'

'Evaṃ bhante' ti kho te bhikkhū Bhagavato paccassosuṃ, Bhagavā etad avoca:

[2]'Yāvakīvañ ca bhikkhave bhikkhū saddhā bhavissanti,[3] hirimanā[4] bhavissanti, ottāpī[5] bhavissanti, bahussutā bhavissanti, āraddha-viriyā bhavissanti, upaṭṭhita-satī[6] bhavissanti, paññāvanto[7] bhavissanti, vuddhi yeva bhik-khave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni.

'Yāvakīvañ ca bhikkhave ime satta aparihāniyā dhammā bhikkhūsu ṭhassanti, imesu ca sattasu aparihāniyesu dhammesu bhikkhū sabdussabtum vyddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni.

8. 'Other seven conditions of welfare will I teach you, O brethren. Listen well, and attend, and I will speak.'

And on their expressing their assent, he spake as follows:—

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1. This is an interesting analogue to Philippians iii. 13:— 'I count not myself to have apprehended: but this one thing I do, forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before, I press toward the mark,' &c. See also below, Chap. V, § 68.
2. = A. iv. 23.
3. B^m *adds* pa.
4. S^d hirīmanā ; K. . . pe . . . hirimatā.
5. B^m K ottappī.
6. A. satimanto.
7. B^m KA. paññav^o.

'So long as the brethren shall be full of faith, modest in heart, afraid of wrong doing[1], full of learning, strong in energy, active in mind, and full of wisdom—so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.

'So long as these conditions shall continue to exist among the brethren—so long as they are instructed in these conditions—so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.

9. 'Apare pi kho bhikkhave satta aparihāniye dhamme desessāmi, taṃ suṇātha, sādhukam manasikarotha, bhāsissāmîti.'

'Evaṃ bhante' ti kho te bhikkhū Bhagavato paccassouṃ, Bhagavā etad avoca:

[2] 'Yāvakīvañ ca bhikkhave bhikkhū sati-sambojjhaṅgaṃ bhāvessanti,[3] dhammavicaya-sambojjhaṅgaṃ bhāvessanti, viriya-sambojjhaṅgaṃ bhāvessanti, pīti-sambojjhaṅgaṃ bhāvessanti, passaddhi-sambojjhaṅgaṃ bhāvessanti, sam-ādhi-sambojjhaṅgaṃ bhāvessanti, upekhā - samboj-jhaṅgaṃ[4] bhāvessanti, vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhumaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni.

'Yāvakīvañ ca bhikkhave ime satta aparihāniyā dhammā bhikkhūsu ṭhassanti imesu ca sattasu aparihāniyesu dhammesu bhikkhū sandissanti, vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhāno parihāni.

9. 'Other seven conditions of welfare will I teach you, O brethren. Listen well, and attend, and I will speak.'

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1. The exact distinction between hiri and ottappa is here explained by Buddhaghosa as loathing sin as contrasted with fear of sin. But this is rather a gloss than an exact and exclusive definition. Ahirikā is shamelessness, anotappam frowardness. At Jāt. I, 207 we find hiri described as subjective, and ottappa as objective, modesty of heart as contrasted with decency in outward behaviour. See further Mrs. Rhys Davids in 'Buddhist Psychology,' p. 20.
2. A. iv. 23.
3. B[m] *inserts* pa. K pe.
4. B[m] K apekkhā-

And on their expressing their assent, he spake as follows:—

'So long as the brethren shall exercise themselves in the sevenfold higher wisdom, that is to say, in mental activity, search after truth, energy, joy, peace, earnest contemplation, and equanimity of mind—so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.

'So long as these conditions shall continue to exist among the brethren—so long as they are instructed in these conditions—so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.

10. 'Apare pi kho bhikkhave satta aparihāniye dhamme desessāmi, taṃ suṇātha sādhukaṃ manasikarotha, bhāsissāmîti.'

'Evaṃ bhante' ti kho te bhikkhū Bhagavato paccassosuṃ, Bhagavā etad avoca:

[1] **'Yāvakīvañ ca bhikkhave bhikkhū anicca-saññaṃ bhāvessanti,[2] anatta-saññaṃ bhāvessanti, asubha-saññaṃ bhāvessanti, ādīnava-saññaṃ bhāvessanti, pahāna-saññaṃ bhāvessanti, virāga-saññaṃ bhāvessanti, nirodha-saññaṃ bhāvessanti, vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭi-kaṅkhā no parihāni.**

Yāvakīvañ ca bhikkhave ime satta aparihāniyā dhamma bhikkhūsu ṭhassanti, imesu ca sattasu aparihāniyesu dhammesu bhikkhū sandissanti, vuddhi vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni.

10. 'Other seven conditions of welfare will I teach you, O brethren. Listen well, and attend, and I will speak.'

And on their expressing their assent, he spake as follows:—

'So long as the brethren shall exercise themselves in the realization of the ideas of the impermanency of all phenomena, bodily or mental, the absence [in them of any abiding principle] of any "soul," of corruption, of the danger of wrong thoughts, of the necessity of getting rid of them, of purity of heart, of Nirvana

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1. A iv. 24.
2. B^m *adds* pa: K pe.

—so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.

'So long as these conditions shall continue to exist among the brethren—so long as they are instructed in these conditions—so long may the brethren be expected not to decline but to prosper.

11. 'Cha bhikkhave[1] aparihāniye dhamme desessāmi, taṃ suṇātha sādhukaṃ manasikarotha, bhāsissāmîti.'

'Evaṃ bhante' ti kho te bhikkhū bhagavato paccassosuṃ, Bhagavā etad avoca:

'Yāvakīvañ ca bhikkhave bhikkhū mettaṃ kāya-kammaṃ paccupaṭṭhāpessanti sabrahmaccārīsu āvī[2] c'eva raho ca, cuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūvaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni.

Yāvakīvañca bhikkhave bhikkhūmettaṃ vacī-kammaṃ paccupaṭṭhāpessanti sabrahymacārīsu . . . pe . . . mettaṃ mano-kammaṃ paccupaṭṭhāpessanti sabrahmacārīsu āvī c'eva raho ca, vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭi-kaṅkhā no parihāni.

'Yāvakīvañ ca bhikkhave bhikkhū ye te lābhā dhammikā-dhamma-laddhā antamaso patta-pariyāpanna-mattam pi tathārūpehi lābhehi appṭivibhatta bhogī[3] bhavissanti sīlavantehi sabrahmacārīhi sādhāraṇa-bhogī,[4] vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni.

'Yāvakīvañ ca bhikkhave bhikkhū yāni tāni sīlāni akhaṅdāni acchiddāni asabalāni akammāsāni bhujissāni viññūpasatthāni aparâmaṭṭhāni samādhi-saṃvattanikāni tathārūpesu sīlesu sīla-sāmañña-gatā viharissanti sabrahma-cārīhi āvī c'eva raho ca, vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhū-naṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni.

'Yāvakīvañ ca bhikkhave bhikkhū yā 'yaṃ diṭṭhi ariyā

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1. K apare pi vo bh° cha.
2. S^{cd} K āvi; S^{t} B^{m} āvī.
3. S^{c} bhogī; S^{d} appaṭivittabhogi; B^{m} apaṭi°-bhogi; S^{t} -bhoji; K na appaṭi°. 4.

B^{m} -gi.

niyyānikā niyyāti takkarassa sammā-dukkhakkhayāya[1] tathārūpāya diṭṭhiyā diṭṭhi-sāmañña-gatā viharissanti sabrahmacārīhi āvī c'eva raho ca, vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni.

'Yāvakīvañ ca bhikkhave ime cha aparihāniyā dhammā bhikkhūsu ṭhassanti imesu ca chasu aparihāniyesu dham-mesu bhikkhū sandissanti, vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihānîti.'

11. 'Six conditions of welfare will I teach you, O brethren. Listen well, and attend, and I will speak.'

And on their expressing their assent, he spake as follows:—

'So long as the brethren shall persevere in kindness of action, speech, and thought towards their fellow-disciples, both in public and in private—so long as they shall divide without partiality, and share in common with their upright companions, all such things as they receive in accordance with the just provisions of the Order, down even to the mere contents of a begging-bowl—so long as the brethren shall live among the saints in the practice, both in public and in private, of those virtues which [unbroken, intact, unspotted, unblemished] arc productive of freedom[2], and praised by the wise ; which are untarnished [by the desire of future life, or by the belief in the efficacy of outward acts][3]; and which are conducive to concentration of heart—so long as the brethren shall live among the saints, cherishing, both in public and in private, that noble and saving insight which

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1. S[d] sammādukkakkhayā.
2. Buddhaghosa takes this in a spiritual sense. He says:— 'These virtues are bhujissāni because they bring one to the state of a free man by delivering him from the slavery of craving.'
3. The commentator explains:— 'These virtues are called aparāmatthāni because they are untarnished by craving or delusion, and because no one can say of him who practises them, "you have been already guilty of such and such a fault." Craving is here the hope of a future life in heaven, and delusion the belief in the efficacy of rites and ceremonies (the two nissayas), which are condemned as unworthy inducements to virtue. At A. III, 132 these five qualities are called phāsu-vihārā, states of bliss.

leads to the complete destruction of the sorrow of him who acts according to it—so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.

'So long as these six conditions shall continue to exist among the brethren—so long as they are instructed in these six conditions—so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, bat to prosper.'

12. Tatra sudaṃ Bhagavā Rājagahe viharanto Gijjhukūte pabbate etad eva bhulaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ dhammiṃ kathaṃ karoti: Iti sīlaṃ iti samādhi iti paññā, sīlaparibhāvito samādhi mahappalo hoti mahânisaṃso, samādhi-paribhāvitā paññā mahapphalā hoti mahânisaṃsā, paññā-paribhāvitaṃ cittaṃ sammad eva āsavehi vimuccati, seyyathîdaṃ kāmâsavā bhavâsavā diṭṭhâsavā[1] avijjâsavā ti.

12. Now it was while the Exalted One was staying there at Rājagaha on the Vulture's Peak that he held that comprehensive religious talk with the brethren, saying:— 'Such and such is upright conduct; such and such is earnest contemplation ; such and such is intelligence. Great becomes the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation, when it is set round with upright conduct. Great becomes the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when it is set round with earnest contemplation. The mind set round with intelligence is set quite free from the Intoxications, that is to say, from the Intoxication of Sensuality, from the Intoxication of Becoming, from the Intoxication of Delusion, from the Intoxication of Ignorance[2].'

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1. K *omits, but gives in a not.*

1. This paragraph is spoken of as if it were a well-known summary, and it is constantly repeated below. The word I have here rendered 'earnest contemplation' is samādhi, which occupies in the Five Nikāyas very much the same position as faith does in the New Testament ; and this section shows that the relative importance of samādhi, paññā, and sīla played a part in early Buddhism just as the distinction between faith, reason, and works did afterwards in Western theology. It would be difficult to find a passage in which the Buddhist view of the relation of these conflicting ideas is stated with greater beauty of thought,

13. Atha kho Bhagavā Rājagahe yathâbhirantaṃ viharitvā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi: 'Āyām' Ānanda yena Ambalaṭṭhikā ten' upasaṃkamissāmâti.'

'Evaṃ bhante' ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato paccassosi. Atha kho Bhagavā mahatā bhikkhu-saṃghena saddhiṃ yena Ambalaṭṭhikā tad avasari.

13. Now when the Exalted One had sojourned at Rājagaha as long as he thought fit, he addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said :— 'Come, Ānanda, let us go to Ambalatthikā.'

'So be it, lord!' said Ānanda in assent, and the Exalted One, with a large company of the brethren, proceeded to Ambalatthizikā.

14. Tatra sudaṃ Bhagavā Ambalaṭṭhikāyaṃ viharati Rājâgārake. Tatra pi[1] sudaṃ Bhagavā Ambalaṭṭhikāyaṃ viharanto Rājâgārake etad eva bahulaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ dhammiṃ kathaṃ karoti: Iti sīlaṃ iti samādhi iti paññā, sīla-paribhāvito samādhi mahapphalo hoti mahâni-saṃso, samādhi-paribhāvitā paññā mahapphalā hoti mahânisaṃsā, paññā-paribhāvitaṃ cittaṃ sammad eva āsavehi vimuccati seyyathîdaṃ kāmâsavā bhavâsavā diṭṭhâsavā avijjâsavā ti.

14. There the Exalted One stayed in the king's house and held that comprehensive religious talk with the brethren, saying:— 'Such and such is upright conduct; such and such is earnest contemplation; such and such is intelligence. Great becomes the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation, when it

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or equal succinctness of form. See further Rhys Davids's 'The Yogāvacara's Manual of Indian Mysticism,' pp. xxv foil., and above; Vol. I, p. 156. Also E. W. West, 'Pahlavi Texts,' III, 37 ; Anguttara I, 233 ; Itivuttaka, No. 59.

The expression 'set round with' is in Pāli paribhāvita. In a constantly recurring simile (M. I, 104; S. III, 153) eggs are said to be paribhāvitāni by a brooding hen. In medicine the word means 'charged with, impregnated with.' See Jāt. I, 380; IV, 407 ; and compare Mil. 361, 382, 394. Comp. Bhag. Gītā III, 38 for this simile.

1. S[d] K *omit. See* § 18 *and* p. 91.

is set round with upright conduct. Great becomes the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when it is set round with earnest contemplation. The mind set round with intelligence is set quite free from the Intoxications, that is to say, from the Intoxication of Sensuality, from the Intoxication of Becoming, from the Intoxication of Delusion, from the Intoxication of Ignorance.'

15. Atha kho Bhagavā Ambalaṭṭhikāyaṃ yathâbhirantaṃ viharitvā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi : 'Āyām' Ānanda yena Nāḷandā ten' upasaṃkamissāmâti.'

'Evaṃ bhante' ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato paccassosi. Atha kho Bhagavā mahatā bhikkhu-saṃghena saddhiṃ yena Nāḷandā tad avasari. Tatra sudaṃ Bhagavā Nāḷandāyaṃ viharati Pāvārikambavane.

15. Now when the Exalted One had sojourned at Ambalatthikā as long as he thought fit, he addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said :— 'Come, Ānanda, let us go on to Nālandā[1].'

'So be it, lord!' said Ānanda, in assent, to the Exalted One.

Then the Exalted One proceeded, with a great company of the brethren, to Nālandā; and there, at Nālandā, the Exalted One stayed in the Pāvārika mango grove.

16. Atha kho āyasmā Sāriputto yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. Ekamantaṃ nisinno kho āyasmā Sāriputto Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca :

'Evaṃ-pasanno ahaṃ bhante Bhagavati na câhu na ca bhavissati na c'etarahi vijjati añño samaṇo vā brāmano vā Bhagavatā bhiyyo 'bhiññataro[2] yadidaṃ sambodhiyan' ti.

Ulārā kho te ayaṃ Sāriputta āsabhī[3] vācā bhāsitā, ekaṃso gahito sīha-nādo nadito: "Evaṃ-pasanno ahaṃ bhante Bhagavati na câhu na ca bhavissati na c'etarahi vijjati añño samaṇo vā brāhmaṇo vā Bhagavatā bhiyyo bhiññataro

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1. Afterwards the seat of the famous Buddhist University for so many centuries the centre of learning in India.
2. K bhiyyobhiññātaro.
3. B[m] asambhī, *and below;* K āsahhi-.

yadidaṃ sambodhiyan" ti. Kin nu Sāriputta ye te ahesuṃ atītam addhānaṃ arahanto sammā-sambuddhā, sabbe te Bhagavanto, cetasā ceto paricca viditā "Evaṃ-sīlā te Bhagavanto ahesuṃ iti pi, evaṃ-dhammā evaṃ-paññā evaṃ-vihārī evaṃ-vimuttā te Bhagavanto ahesuṃ iti pîti?" '

'No h' etaṃ bhante.'

'Kiṃ pana Sāriputta ye te bhavissanti anāgatam addhānaṃ arahanto sammā-sambuddhā, sabbe te Bhaga-vanto cetasā ceto paricca viditā "Evaṃ-sīlā te Bhagavanto bhavissanti iti pi, evaṃ-dhammā evaṃ-paññā evaṃ-vihārī evaṃ-vimuttā te Bhagavanto bhavissanti iti pîti ?"

'No h'etaṃ bhante.'

'Kiṃ pana Sāriputta ahaṃ te[1] etarahi arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho cetasā ceto paricca vidito "Evaṃ-sīlo Bhagavā iti pi, evaṃ-dhammo evaṃ-pañño evaṃ-vihārī evaṃ-vimutto Bhagavā iti pîti ?" '

'No h' etaṃ bhante.'

'Etth' eva hi[2] te Sāriputta atītânāgata-paccuppannesu arahantesu sammā-sambuddhesu ceto-pariya[3]-ñāṇaṃ n'atthi. Atha kiñ carahi[4] te ayaṃ Sāriputta uḷārā āsabhī vācā bhāsitā ekaṃso gahito sīha-nādo nadito, "Evaṃ-pasanno ahaṃ bhante Bhagavati na câhu na ca bhavissati na c'etarahi vijjati añño samaṇo vā brāmaṇo vā Bhagavatā bhiyyo 'bhiññataro yadidaṃ sambodhiyan" ti ?'

16. [2]Now the venerable Sāriputta came to the place where the Exalted One was, and having saluted him, took his seat

1. Bm *omits* ; K te ahaṃ.
2. Bm ettha carahi; K ettha ca hi.
3. Bm pariyāya, *and blow;* K -pariññāya.
4. K kiñcetarahi.
5. The following conversation is also given at length in the Sampasadāniya Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya, and a third time in the Satipatthāna Samyutta of the Samyutta Nikāya (S. V, 159). It was evidently a very popular passage, and is quite possibly the one referred to in Asoka's Bhabra Edict as the 'Question of Upatissa,' that is, of Sāriputta.

respectfully at his side, and said :— 'Lord! such faith have I in the Exalted One, that methinks there never, has been, nor will there be, nor is there now any other, whether wanderer or brahmin, who is greater and wiser than the Exalted One, that is to say, as regards the higher wisdom.'

'Grand and bold are the words of thy mouth, Sāriputta : verily, thou hast burst forth into a song of ecstasy! of course then thou hast known all the Exalted Ones who in the long ages of the past have been Able, Awakened Ones[1], comprehending their minds with yours, and aware what their conduct was, what their wisdom, what their mode of life, and what the emancipation they attained to ?'

'Not so, O lord'

'Of course then thou hast perceived all the Exalted Ones who in the long ages of the future shall be Able Awakened Ones comprehending [in the same manner their whole minds with yours] ?'

'Not so, O lord !'

'But at least then, O Sāriputta, thou knowest me as the Able Awakened One now alive, and hast penetrated my mind [in the manner I have mentioned] ?'

'Not even that, O lord !'

'You see then, Sāriputta, that you know not the hearts of the Able Awakened Ones of the past and of the future. Why therefore are your words so grand and bold ? Why do you burst forth into such a song of ecstasy ?'

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1. Arahant Buddhas. The meaning of these words must have Men very present to the minds of those who used them at the time of the rise of what we call Buddhism; and there was little or no difference between the connotation of the two terms. As time went on the two were more and more differentiated, and hardened into technical terms. See Samyutta III, 65 on the difference between the two : and see Samyutta I, 233; III, 160; IV, 175 for very old explanations of Arahā, and Patisambhidā I, 172 for an ancient commentary on the meaning of Buddha.

17. 'Na kho me bhante atītânāgata-paccuppannesu arahantesu sammā-sambuddhesu ceto-pariya-ñānaṃ atthi. Api ca dhammanvayo vidito. Seyyathā pi bhante rañño paccantimaṃ nagaraṃ daḷhuddāpaṃ[1] dalḥa-pākāra-toraṇaṃ eka-dvāraṃ, tatr' assa dovāriko paṇḍito viyatto medhāvī aññātānaṃ nivāretā ñātānaṃ pavesetā. So tassa nagarassa samantā anupariyāya pathaṃ anukkamamāno na passeyya pākāra-sandhiṃ vā pākā-vivaraṃ vā antamaso biḷāra-nissakkana-mattam[2] pi. Tassa evam assa, ye kho keci oḷārikā pāṇā imaṃ nagaraṃ pavisanti vā nikkhamanti vā, sabbe te iminā va[3] dvārena pavisanti vā nikkhamanti vā ti. Evam eva kho me bhante dhammanvayo vidito. Ye te bhante ahesuṃ atītam addhānaṃ arahanto sammā-sambuddhā, sabbe te[4] Bhagavanto pañca nīvaraṇe pahāya cetaso upakkilese paññāya dubbalīkaraṇe[5] catusu[6] satipaṭṭhānesu supatiṭṭhita-cittā satta bojjhaṅge yathābhūtaṃ bhāvetvā anuttaraṃ sammā-sambodhiṃ abhisambujjhiṃsu. Ye pi te bhante bhavissanti anāgataṃ addhānaṃ arahanto sammā-sambuddhā, sabbe te Bhagavato pañca nīvaraṇe pahāya cetaso upakkilese paññāya dubbalīkaraṇe catusu satipaṭṭhānesu supatiṭṭhita-cittā satta bojjhaṅge yathābhūtaṃ bhāvetvā anuttaraṃ sammā-sambodhiṃ abhisambujjhissanti. Bhagavā pi bhante etarahi arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho pañca nīvaraṇe pahāya cetaso upakkilese paññāya dubbalīkaraṇe catusu sati-paṭṭhānesu supatiṭṭhita-citto satta bojjhaṅge yathābhūtaṃ bhāvetvā anuttaraṃ sammā-sambodhiṃ abhisambuddho' ti.

17. 'O lord! I have not the knowledge of the hearts of the Able Awakened Ones that have been, and are to come, and now are. I only know the lineage of the faith.

'Just, lord, as a king might have a border city, strong in its

1. K daḷhadvāraṃ.
2. Bm K nikkhamana.
3. Scd ca ; K *omits.*
4. Bm vata.
5. Sc Bm dubbalik°.
6. Bm K catū°u.

foundations, strong in its ramparts and towers, and with only one gate; and the king might have a watchman there, clever, expert, and wise, to stop all strangers and admit only men well known. And he, on patrolling in his sentry walks over the approaches all round the city, might not so observe all the joints and crevices in the ramparts of that city as to know where even a cat could get out. He might well be satisfied to know that all living things of larger size that entered or left the city, would have to do so by that gate. Thus only is it, lord, that I know the lineage of the faith.

'I know that the Able Awakrned Ones of the past, putting away all hankering after the world, ill-will, sloth, worry and perplexity—those five Hindrances, mental faults which make the understanding weak ;— training their minds in the four kinds of mental activity; thoroughly exercising themselves in the seven-fold higher wisdom, received the full fruition of Enlightenment. And I know that the Able Awakened Ones of the times to come will [do the same]. And I know that the Exalted One, the Able Awakened One of to-day, has [done so] now[1].'

18. Tatra pi[2] sudaṃ Bhagavā Nāḷandāyaṃ viharanto Pāvārikambavane etad eva bahulaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ dhammiṃ kathaṃ karoti: Iti sīlaṃ iti samādhi iti paññā, sīlaparibhāvito

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1. The tertium quid of the comparison is the completeness of the knowledge. Sāriputta acknowledges that he was wrong in jumping to the wide conclusion that his own lord and master was the wisest of all the teachers of the different religious systems that were known to him. So far—after the cross-examination by the Buddha—he admits that his knowledge does not reach. But he maintains that he does know that which is, to him, after all the main thing, namely, that all the Buddhas must have passed through the process here laid down as leading up to the Enlightenment of Arahantship.

   All the details he gives are details, not of Buddhahood, but of Arahantship. He makes no distinction between the two states of attainment. This is most important for the history of that Buddhology, which, in after centuries, was the main factor in the downfall of Buddhism.

2. SS *omit, but* B[m] K *have the* pi *here. See* § 14.

samādhi mahapphalo hoti mahânisaṃso, samādhi-paribhāvitā paññā mahapphalā hoti mahânisaṃsā, paññā-paribhāvitaṃ cittaṃ sammad eva āsavehi vimuccati seyyathîdaṃ kāmâsavā bhavâsavā diṭṭhâsavā avijjâsavā ti.

18. There too at Nālandā in the Pāvārika mango grove the Exalted One held that comprehensive religious talk with the brethren, saying :— 'Such arid such is upright conduct; such and such is earnest contemplation ; such and such is intelligence. Great becomes the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation, when it is set round with upright conduct. Great becomes the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when it is set round with earnest contemplation. The mind set round with intelligence is set quite free from the Intoxications, that is to say, from the Intoxication of Sensuality, from the Intoxication of Becoming, from the Intoxication of Delusion, from the Intoxication of Ignorance.'

19. Atha kho Bhagavā Nāḷandāyaṃ yathâbhirantaṃ viharitvā āyasmantaṃ Anandaṃ āmantesi: 'Āyām' Ānanda yena Pāṭaligāmo ten' upasaṃkamissāmâti.'

'Evaṃ bhante' ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato paccassosi. Atha kho Bhagavā mahatā bhikkhu-saṃghena saddhiṃ yena Pāṭaligāmo tad avasari.

19. Now when the Exalted One had sojourned as long as he thought fit at Nālandā, he addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said :— 'Come, Ānanda, let us go on to Pātaligāma.'

'So be it, lord!' said Ānanda, in assent, to the Exalted One.

Then the Exalted One proceeded, with a great company of the brethren, to Pātaligāma.

20. [1]Assosuṃ kho Pāṭaligamiyā upāsakā 'Bhagavā kira Pāṭaligāmaṃ anuppatto' ti. Atha kho Pāṭaligāmiyā upāsakā yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṃkamiṃsu, upasaṃ-kamitvā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdiṃsu. Ekamantaṃ nisinnā kho Pāṭaligāmiyā upāsakā Bhagavantaṃ etad

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1. *From here to the end of the chapter* = Udāna viii. 6 = Vin. i. 226. *Comp. also* M i. 354; S iv. 183.

avocuṃ: 'Adhivāsetu no[1] bhante Bhagavā āvasathâgāran' ti. Adhivāsesi Bhagavā tuṇhī-bhāvena.

20. Now the disciples at Pātaligāma heard of his arrival there, and they went on to the place where he was, took their seats respectfully beside him, and invited him to their village rest-house. And the Exalted One signified, by silence, his consent.

21. Atha kho Pāṭaligāmiyā upāsakā Bhagavato adhivāsanaṃ viditvā, uṭṭhāy' āsanā, Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā, padakkhinaṃ katvā, yena āvasathâgāraṃ ten' upasaṃkamiṃsu, upasaṃkamitvā sabba-santhariṃ āvasathâgāraṃ santharitvā āsanāni paññāpetvā udaka-maṇiṃ[2] patiṭṭhāpetvā telappadīpaṃ āropetvā yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṃkamiṃsu, upasaṃkamitvā Bhagavantaṃ abhivā-detvā ekamantam aṭṭhaṃsu. Ekamantaṃ ṭhitā kho Pāṭaligāmiyā upāsakā Bhagavantaṃ etad avocuṃ:

'Sabba-santhariṃ santhataṃ bhante āvasathâgāraṃ, āsanāni paññattāni, uaka-maṇiko patiṭṭhāpito, teleppadīpo āropito, yassa dāni bhante Bhagavā kālaṃ maññatîti.'

21. Then the Pātaligāma disciples seeing that he had accepted the invitation, rose from their seats, and went away to the rest-house, bowing to the Exalted One and keeping him on their right as they passed him. On arriving there they strewed all the rest-house with fresh sand, placed seats in it, set up a water-pot, and fixed an oil lamp. Then they returned to the Exalted One, and saluting him they stood beside him. and told him what they had done and said :— 'It is time for you to do what you deem most fit.'

22. Atha kho Bhagavā[3] nivāsetvā patta-cīvaraṃ ādāya saddhiṃ bhikkhu-saṃghena yena āvasathâgāraṃ ten' upasaṃkami, upasamkamitvā pāde pakkhāletvā āvasathâgāraṃ pavisitvā majjhimaṃ thambhaṃ nissāya puratthâ-

1. S^{cd} *omit.*
2. B^{m} K Ud. maṇikaṃ; *cp. below.*
3. B^{m} *adds* sāyaṇha-samaye; K *and* Ud. *add* pubbaṇha-samayaṃ.

bhimukkho[1] nisīdi. Bhikkhu-saṃgho pi kho pāde pakkhāletvā āvasathâgāraṃ pavisitvā pacchimaṃ bhittiṃ nissāya puratthâbhimukho nisīdi Bhagavantaṃ yeva purakkhatvā[2]. Pāṭaligāmiyā pi kho upāsakā pāde pakkhā-letvā āvasathâgāraṃ pavisitvā puratthimaṃ bhittiṃ nissāya pacchâbhimukhā[3] nisīdiṃsu Bhagavantaṃ yeva purakkhatvā.

22. And the Exalted One robed himself, took his bowl and other things, went with the brethren to the rest-house, washed his feet, entered the hall, and took his seat against the centre pillar, with his face towards the east. And the brethren also, after washing their feet, entered the hall, and took their seats round the Exalted One, against the western wall, and facing the east. And the Pātaligāma disciples too, after washing their feet, entered the hall, and took their seats opposite the Exalted One, against the eastern wall, and facing towards the west.

23. Atha kho Bhagavā Pāṭaligāmiye upāsake āmantesi: 'Pañc' ime gahapatayo ādīnavā dussīlassa sīla-vipattiyā. Katame pañca ?

'Idha gahapatayo dussīlo sīla-vipanno pamādâdhikaraṇaṃ mahatiṃ bhoga-jāniṃ nigacchati.[4] Ayaṃ paṭhamo ādīnavo dussīlassa sīla-vipattiyā.

'Puna ca paraṃ gahapatayo dussīlassa sīla-vipannassa pāpako kitti-saddo abbhuggacchati. Ayaṃ dutiyo ādīnavo dussīlassa sīla-vipattiyā.

'Puna ca paraṃ gahapatayo dussīlo sīla-vipanno yaṃ yad eva parisaṃ upasaṃ kamati, yadi khattiya-parisaṃ yadi brāhmaṇa-parisaṃ yadi gahapati-parisaṃ yadi samaṇa-parisam, avisārado uapasaṃkamati maṅku-bhūto. Ayaṃ tatiyo ādīnavo dussīlassa sīla-vipattiyā.

'Puna ca paraṃ gahapatayo dussilo sīla-vipanno sam-mūḷho kālaṃ karoti. Ayaṃ catuttho ādīnavo dussīlassa sīla-vipattiyā.

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1. B^{m} puratthimâbhi^{o}, *and below.*
2. B^{m} -khitvā, *and below.*
3. B^{m} pacchimâbhi^{o}.
4. B^{m} gacchati.

'Puna ca paraṃ gahapatayo dussīlo sīla-vipanno kāyassa bhedā param maraṇā apāyaṃ duggatiṃ vinipātaṃ nirayaṃ uppajjati.[1] Ayaṃ pañcamo ādīnavo dussīlassa sīla-vipattiyā. Ime kho gahapatayo pañca ādīnavā dussīlassa sīla-vipattiyā.

23. Then the Exalted One addressed the Pātaligāma disciples, and said :— 'Fivefold, O householders, is the loss of the wrong-doer through his want of rectitude. In the first place the wrong-doer, devoid of rectitude, falls into great poverty through sloth ; in the next place his evil repute gets noised abroad ; thirdly, whatever society he enters—whether of nobles, brahmins, heads of houses, or men of a religious order—he enters shyly and confused ; fourthly, he is full of anxiety when he dies ; and lastly, on the dissolution of the body, after death, he is reborn into some unhappy state of suffering or woe[2]. This, O householders, is the fivefold loss of the evil-doer!

24. 'Pañc' ime gahapatayo ānisaṃsā sīlavato sīla-sampadāya. Katame pañca ?

'Idha gahapatayo sīlavā sīla-sampanno appamādâdhikaraṇaṃ mahantaṃ bhogakkhandhaṃ adhigacchati. Ayaṃ paṭhamo ānisaṃso sīlavato sīla-sampadāya.

'Puna ca paraṃ gahapatayo sīla-sampannassa kalyāṇo kitti-saddo abbhuggacchati. Ayaṃ dutīyo ānisaṃso sīlavato sīla-sampadāya.

'Puna ca paraṃ gahapatayo sīlavā sīla-sampanno yaṃ yad eva parisaṃ upasaṃkamati, yadi khattiya-parisaṃ yadi brāhmaṇa-parisaṃ yadi gahapati-parisaṃ yadi samaṇa-parisaṃ, visārado upasaṃkamati amaṅku-bhūto. Ayaṃ tatiyo ānisaṃso sīlavato sīla-sampadāya.

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1. B^{m} K Ud. upap^{o}, *and below.*
2. Four such states are mentioned, apāya, duggati, vinipāto, and nirayo, all of which are temporary states. The first three seem to be synonyms. The last is one of the four divisions into which the first is usually divided, and is often translated hell; but not being an eternal state, and not being dependent or consequent upon any judgment, it cannot be accurately so rendered. See p. 51.

'Puna ca paraṃ gahapatayo sīlavā sīla-sampanno asammūḷho kālaṃ karoti. Ayaṃ catuttho ānisaṃso sīlavato sīlasampadāya.

'Puna ca paraṃ gahapatayo sīlavā sīla-sampanno kāyassa bhedā param maraṇā sugatiṃ saggaṃ lokaṃ uppajjati. Ayaṃ pañcamo ānisaṃso sīlavato sīla-sampa-dāya. Ime kho gahapatayo pañca ānisaṃsā sīlavato sīla-sampadāyâti.'

24. 'Fivefold, O householders, is the gain of the well-doer through his practice of rectitude. In the first place the well-doer, strong in rectitude, acquires great wealth through his industry; in the next place, good reports of him are spread abroad ; thirdly, whatever society he enters—whether of nobles, brahmins, heads of houses, or members of a religious order—he enters confident and self-possessed ; fourthly, he dies without anxiety; and lastly, on the dissolution of the body, after death, he is reborn into some happy state in heaven. This, O householders, is the fivefold gain of the well-doer.'

25. Atha kho Bhagavā Pāṭaligāmiye upāsake bahud eva rattiṃ dhammiyā kathāya sandassetvā samādapetvā samuttejetvā sampahaṃsetvā uyyojesi, 'Abhikkantā kho gahapatayo ratti, yassa dāni[1] kālaṃ maññathâti.' 'Evam bhante' ti kho Pāṭaligāmiyā upāsakā Bhagavato patissutvā[2] uṭṭhāya' āsanā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā padak-khiṇaṃ katvā pakkamiṃsu. Atha kho Bhagavā acira pakkantesu Pāṭaligāmiyesu[3] upāsakesu suññâgāraṃ pāvisi.

25. When the Exalted One had thus taught the lay disciples at Pātaligāma, and incited them, and roused them, and gladdened them, far into the night with religious discourse, he dismissed them, saying :— 'The night is far spent, O householders. It is time for you to do what you deem most fit.' 'Even so, lord !' answered the disciples of Pātaligāma, and they rose from

1. B[m] K *add* thumhe.
2. Vin. paṭisuṇitvā
3. B[m] -kesu.

their seats, and bowing to the Exalted One, and keeping him on their right hand as they passed him, they departed thence.

And the Exalted One, not long after the disciples of Pātaligāma had departed thence, entered into his private chamber[1].

26. Tena kho pana samayena Sunīdha[2]-Vassakārā Magadha-mahāmattā Pāṭaligāme nagaraṃ māpenti Vajjīnaṃ paṭibāhāya. Tena kho pana[3] samayena sambahulā devatāyo sagassass' eva Pāṭaligāme vatthūni parigaṇ-hanti.[4] Yamiṃ padese mahesakkhā devatā vatthūni pariganhanti, mahesakkhānaṃ tattha raññaṃ[5] rāja-mahā-mattānaṃ cittāni namanti nivesanāni māpetuṃ. Yas-miṃ padese majjhimā devatā vatthūni pariganhanti, majjhimānaṃ tattha raññaṃ rāja-mahāmattānaṃ cittāni namanti nivesanāni māpetuṃ. Yasmiṃ padese nīcā devatā vatthūni pariganhanti, nīcānaṃ tattha raññaṃ rāja-mahāmattānaṃ cittāni namanti nivesanāni māpetuṃ.

26. At that time Sunīdha and Vassakāra, the chief ministers of Magadha, were building a fortress at Pātaligāma to repel the Vajjians, and there were a number of fairies who haunted in thousands the plots of ground there. Now, wherever ground is so occupied by powerful fairies, they bend the hearts of the most powerful kings and ministers to build dwelling-places there, [and fairies of middling and inferior power bend in a similar way the hearts of middling or inferior kings and ministers[6].]

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1. Compare Vinaya III, 93.
2. K Vin. Sunidha.
3. B^{m} *omits* kho pana. Vin. *omits from* tena *to* parigaṇ-hanti, *and puts the following sentences into* § 27. Ud. *has them in both* §§.
4. B^{m} K parigg^{o} *and below.*
5. Vin. rajūnaṃ *thrice.*
6. The curious popular belief as to good and bad fairies haunting the sites of houses gave rise to a quack science, akin to astrology, called vatthu-vijjā, which Buddhaghosa explains here at some length, and which is frequently condemned elsewhere in the Five Nikāyas. See, for instance, I of the Mahā-silam, translated above, Vol. I, p. 18. The belief is turned to ridicule in the edifying legend, No. 40, in my 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' pp. 326-34.

27. Addasā kho Bhagavā dibbena cakkhunā visuddhena atikkanta-mānusakena[1] tā devatāyo sahassass' eva Pāṭaligāme vatthūni pariganhantiyo. Atha kho Bhagavā rattiyā paccusa-samayaṃ paccuṭṭhāya āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi :

'Ko[2] nu kho Ānanda Pāṭaligāme nagaraṃ māpetîti ?'

'Sunīdha-Vassakārā bhante Magadha-mahāmattā Pāṭaligāme nagaraṃ māpenti Vajjīnaṃ paṭibāhāyâti.'

27. And the Blessed One, with great and clear vision, surpassing that of ordinary men, saw thousands of those fairies haunting Pātaligāma. And he rose up very early in the morning, and said to Ānanda:— 'Who is it then, Ānanda, who is building a fortress at Pātaligāma ?'

'Sunidha and Vassakāra, lord, the chief ministers of Magadha, are building a fortress there to keep back the Vajjians.'

28. 'Seyyathā pi Ānanda devehi Tāvatiṃsehi saddhiṃ mantetvā, evam eva kho Ānanda Sunīdha-Vassakārā Magadha -mahāmattā Pāṭaligāme nagaraṃ māpenti Vaj-jīnaṃ paṭibāhāya. Idhâhaṃ[3] Ānanda addasaṃ dibbena cakkhunā visuddhena atikkanta-mānusakena sambahulā devatāyo sahassass' eva Pāṭaligāme vatthūni pariganhantiyo. Yasmiṃ padese mahesakkhā vathūni pariganhanti, mahesakkhānaṃ tattha raññaṃ rāja-mahāmattānaṃ cittāni namanti nivesanāni māpetuṃ. Yasmiṃ padese majjhimā devatā vatthūni pariganhanti, majjhimānaṃ tattha raññaṃ rāja-mahāmattānaṃ cittāni namanti nivesanāni māpetuṃ. Yasmiṃ padese nīcā devatā vatthūni pariganhanti, nīcānaṃ tattha raññaṃ rāja-mahāmattānaṃ cittāni namanti nivesanāni māpetuṃ. Yāvatā Ānanda ariyam• āyatanaṃ yāvatā vaṇippa-tho[4] idaṃ agga-nagaraṃ bhavissati Pāṭaliputtaṃ Pāṭaliputtaṃ puṭa-bhedanaṃ Pāṭaliputtassa kho Ānanda tayo antarāyā bhavissanti, aggito vā udakato vā mithubhedā[5] va' ti.

1. B^{m} mānuss^{o}.
2. Vin. ke . . . māpentīti.
3. S^{cdt} Childers imāham.
4. S^{d} vanipphato.
5. S^{c} bhedato; S^{d} bhedo; Vin. abbhantarato mithubhedā.

28. 'They act, Ānanda, as if they had consulted with the Tāvatimsa angels.' [And telling him of what he had seen, and of the influence such fairies had, he added]:— 'And as far, Ānanda, as Aryan people resort, as far as merchants travel, this will become the chief city, Pātali-putta, a centre for the interchange of all kinds of wares, But three dangers will hang over Pātali-putta, that of fire, that of water, and that of dissension among friends[1].'

29. Atha kho Sunīdha-Vassakārā Magadha-mahānattā yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṃkamiṃsu, upasaṃkamitvā Bhagavatā saddhiṃ sammodiṃsu, sammodanīyaṃ kathaṃ sāraṇīyaṃ vītisāretvā ckamantaṃ aṭṭhaṃsu. Ekamantaṃ thitā kho Sunīdha-Vassakārā Magadha-mahāmattā Bhagavantaṃ etad avocuṃ : 'Adhivāsetu no bhavaṃ Gotamoajjatanāya bhattaṃ saddhiṃ bhikkhu-saṃghenâti.'Adhivāsesi Bhagavā tuṇhī-bhāvena.

29. Now Sunīdha and Vassakāra, the chief ministers of Magadha, proceeded to the place where the Exalted One was. And when they had come there they exchanged with the Exalted One the greetings and compliments of politeness and courtesy, and stood there respectfully on one side. And, so standing, Sunīdha and Vassakāra, the chief ministers of Magadha, spake thus to the Exalted One :—

'May the venerable Gotarna do us the honour of taking his meal, together with the company of the brethren, at our house today.' And the Exalted One signified, by silence, his consent.

30. Atha kho Sunīdha-Vassakārā Magadha-mahāmattā Bhagavato addivāsanaṃ viditvā[2] yena sako āvasatho ten'

1. This paragraph is of importance to the orthodox Buddhist u proving the Buddha's power of prophecy and the authority of the Buddhist scriptures. To those who conclude that such a passage must have been written after the event that is prophesied (if any), it may be valuable evidence of the age both of the Vinaya and of this Mahā Parinibbāna Sutta. See the note at 'Vinaya Texts,' II. 102.

2. Vin. *omits.*

upasaṃkamiṃsu, upasaṃkamitvā sake āvaathe[1] paṇītaṃ

khādaniyaṃ bhojaniyaṃ patiyadāpetvā Bhagavato kālaṃ ārocāpesuṃ 'Kālo bho Gotama niṭṭhitaṃ bhattan ti.'

Atha kho Bhagavā pubbaṇha-samayaṃ nivāsetvā patta-cīvaram ādāya saddhiṃ bhikkhu-saṃghena yena Sunīdha-Vassakārānaṃ Magadha-mahāmattānaṃ āva-satho[2] ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā paññatte āsane nisīdi.[3] Atha kho Sunīdha-Vassakārā Magadha-mahāmattā Buddha-pamukhaṃ bhikkhu-saṃghaṃ paṇītena khādaniyena bhojaniyena sahatthā santappesuṃ sampavāresuṃ. Atha kho Sunīdha-Vassakārā Magadha-mahāmattā Bhagavantaṃ bhuttāviṃ oṇīta-patta-pāṇiṃ aññataraṃ nīcaṃ āsanaṃ gahetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdiṃsu.

30. Then when Sunīdha and Vassakāra, the chief ministers of Magadha, perceived that he had given his consent, they returned to the place where they dwelt. And on arriving there, they prepared sweet dishes of boiled rice, and cakes ; and informed the Exalted One, saying :—

'The hour of food has come, O Gotama, and all is ready.'

And the Exalted One robed himself early, took his bowl with him, and repaired, with the brethren, to the dwelling-place of Sunīdha and Vassakāra, and sat down on the seat prepared for him. And with their own hands they set the sweet rice and the cakes before the brethren with the Buddha at their head, and waited on them till they had had enough. And when the Exalted One had finished eating his meal, the ministers brought a low seat, and sat down respectfully at his side.

31. Ekamantaṃ nisinne kho Sunīdha - Vassakāre Magadha-mahāmatte Bhagavā imāhi gāthāhi anumodi:

> **Yasmiṃ padese kappeti vāsaṃ paṇṇita-jātiko[4]**
> **Sīlavant' ettha bhojetvā saññate brahmacāraye.[5]**

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1. Vin. *omits.*
2. Vin. parivesanā.
3. Vin. *adds* saddhiṃ bhikkhusaṃghena.
4. B^m K Vin. Ud. -yo.
5. S^d K -riyo; B^m Vin. -riye.

Yā tattha devatā assu[1] tāsaṃ dakkhiṇam ādise,
Tā pūjitā pūjayanti mānitā mānayanti naṃ
Tato naṃ anukampanti[2] mātā puttaṃ va orasaṃ
Devatânukampito poso sadā bhadrāni passatîti.'

Atha kho Bhagavā Sunīdha-Vassakāre Magadha-mahāmatte imāhi gāthāhi anumoditvā uṭṭhāy' āsanā pakkāmi.

31. And when they were thus seated the Exalted One gave thanks in these verses :—

'Wheresoe'er the prudent man shall take up his abode
Let him support the brethren there, good men of self-control,
And give the merit of his gifts to the deities who haunt the spot[3].
Revered, they will revere him: honoured, they honour him again ;
Are gracious to him as a mother to her own, her only son.
And the man who has the grace of the gods, good fortune he beholds.'

32. Tena kho pana samayena Sunīdha-Vassakārā Magadha-mahāmattā Bhagavantaṃ piṭṭhito piṭṭhito anu-baddhā honti, 'Yen' ajja samaṇo Gotamo dvārena nikkhamissati taṃ Gotama-dvāraṃ nāma bhavissati, yena titthena Gaṅgaṃ nadiṃ tarissati taṃ Gotama-titthaṃ bhavissatî.' Atha kho Bhagavā yena dvārena nikkhami taṃ Gotama-dvāraṃ nāma ahosi.

32. And when he had thanked the ministers in these verses he rose from his seat and departed thence. And they followed him as he went, saying, 'The gate the Samana Gotama goes out by to-day shall be called Gotama's gate, and the ferry at which he crosses the river shall be called Gotama's ferry.' And the gate he went out at was called Gdtama's gate.

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1. B^{m} K Vin. Ud. āsum.
2. B^{m} -penti.
3. Tāsam dakkhinam ādise. See Therī Gāthā 307, 311; Mil. 294.

33. Atha kho Bhagavā yena Gaṅgā nadī ten' upasam-kami. Tena kho pana samayena Gaṅgā nadī pūrā hoti samatittikā[1] kākapeyyā. App ekacce manussā[2] nāvaṃ pariyesanti app ekacce uḷumpaṃ pariyesanti app ekacce kullaṃ bandhanti aparâparaṃ[3] gantu-kāmā. Atha kho Bhagavā seyyathā pi nāma balavā puriso sammiñjitaṃ vā bāhaṃ pasāreyya pasāritaṃ vā bāhaṃ sammiñjeyya, evam evaṃ Gaṅgāya nadiyā orima-tīre antarahito pārimatīre[4] paccuṭṭhāsi saddhiṃ bhikkhu saṃghena.

33. But the Exalted One went on to the river. And at that time the river Ganges was brimful and overflowing ; and wishing to cross to the opposite bank, some began to seek for boats, some for rafts of wood, whilst some made rafts of basket-work. Then the Exalted One as instantaneously as a strong man would stretch forth his arm, or draw it back again when he had stretched it forth, vanished from this side of the river, and stood on the further bank with the company of the brethren.

34. Addasā kho Bhagavā te manusse app ekacce nāvaṃ pariyesante app ekacce uḷumpaṃ pariyesante app ekacce kullaṃ bandhante aprâparaṃ pariyesante app ekacce kullaṃ bandhante aparâparaṃ gantu-kāme.[5] Atha kho Bhagavā etam atthaṃ viditvā, tāyaṃ velāyaṃ imaṃ udānaṃ udānesi :

'Ye taranti aṇṇavaṃ[6] saraṃ setuṃ katvāna[7] visajja pallalāni,

Kullaṃ hi jano pabandhati,[8] tiṇṇā[9] medhāvino janā[10]' ti.

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1. S[cd] tiyā; B[m] Vin. -titthikā.
2. Vin. Manussā aññe n.p. aññe u.p. aññe k.b. orā pāraṃ.
3. K pārā pāraṃ, *with* aparāparaṃ *in a note.*
4. K orime t.a. pārime tīre.
5. Vin. *omits this sentence.*
6. S[c] annāvaṃ.
7. B[m] katvā.
8. S[c] sambandhati; K kullam jano ca bandhati; Vin. k.hi.j. bandhati.
9. B[m] nittiṇṇā.
10. S[c] jātā.

34. And the Exalted One beheld the people who wished to cross to the opposite bank looking some of them for boats and some of them for rafts of wood, and some of them for rafts of basket-work ; and as he beheld them he brake forth at that time into this song :—

'They who have crossed the ocean drear
Making a solid path across the pools—
Whilst the vain world ties its basket rafts—
These are the wise, these are the saved indeed![1]'

Paṭhamaka-Bhāṇavāraṃ.[2]

End of the First Portion for Recitation.

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1. That is, those who cross the 'ocean drear' of tanhā, or craving; avoiding by means of the 'dyke' or causeway of the Aryan Path, the 'pools' or shallows of lust, and ignorance, and delusion (comp. Dhp. 91), whilst the vain world looks for salvation from rites, and ceremonies, and gods,— 'these are the wise, these are the saved indeed I'
2. B^{m} K paṭhama-.

CHAPTER II

2.1. Atha kho Bhagavā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi: 'Āyām' Ānanda yena Kaṭigāmo ten' upasaṃkamissāmāti.' 'Evaṃ bhante ti' kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato paccassosi. Atha kho Bhagavā mahatā bhikkhu-saṃ-ghena saddhiṃ yena Koṭigāmo tad avasari. Tatra sudaṃ Bhagavā Koṭigāṃe viharati.

1. Now the Exalted One addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said :— 'Come, Ānanda, let us go on to Kotigāma.'

'So be it, lord !' said Ānanda, in assent, to the Exalted One.

The Exalted One proceeded with a great company of the brethren to Kotigāma ; and there he stayed in the village itself[1].

2. Tatra kho Bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi :

'Catunnaṃ bhikkhave ariya-saccānaṃ ananubodhā appaṭivedhā evam idaṃ dīgham addhānaṃ sandhānaṃ saṃsaritaṃ mamañ c'eva tumhākañ ca. Katamesaṃ catunnaṃ? Dukkhassa bhikkhave ariya-saccassa ananubodhā appaṭivedhā evam idaṃ dīgham addhānaṃ sandhāvitaṃ saṃsaritaṃ mamañ c'eva tumhākañ ca.

'Dukkha-samudayassa bhikkhave ariya-saccassa ananubodhā appaṭivedhā evam idaṃ dīgham addhānaṃ sandhāvitaṃ saṃsaritaṃ mamañ c'eva tumhākañ ca.

'Dukkha-nirodhassa bhikkhave ariya-saccassa . . .

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1. As will be observed from the similar passages that follow, there is a regular sequence of clauses in the set descriptions of the Buddha's movements. The last clause should specify the particular grove or house where the Exalted One stayed ; but it is also (in this and one or two other cases) inserted with due regularity even when it adds nothing positive to the sense.

pe . . . Dukkha-nirodha-gāminiyā paṭipadāya bikkhave ariya-saccassa ananubodhā appaṭivedhā evam idaṃ dīgham addhānaṃ sandhāvitaṃ saṃ mamañ c'eva tumhākañ ca. Tayidaṃ bhikkhave dukkhaṃ ariya-saccaṃ anubuddhaṃ paṭividdhaṃ, dukkha-samudayaṃ ariyasaccaṃ anubuddhaṃ anubuddhaṃ paṭividdhaṃ, dukkha-nirodhaṃ ariya-saccaṃ anubuddhaṃ paṭividdhaṃ, dukkha-nirodhagāminī paṭipadā ariya-saccaṃ anubuddhaṃ paṭviddhaṃ, ucchinnā bhava-taṇhā, khīṇā bhava-netti, n'atthi dāni punabbhavo' ti.

2. And at that place the Exalted One addressed the brethren, and said :— 'It is through not understanding and grasping four Aryan Truths, O brethren, that we have had to run so long, to wander so long in this weary path of transmigration, both you and I !

'And what are these four ?'

'The Aryan truth about sorrow ; the Aryan truth about the cause of sorrow; the Aryan truth about the cessation of sorrow; and the Aryan truth about the path that leads to that cessation. But when these Aryan truths are grasped and known the craving for future life is rooted out, that which leads to renewed becoming is destroyed, and then there is no more birth![1]'

3. Idamavoca Bhagavā, idaṃ vatvā[2] Sugato athâparaṃ etad avoca Satthā:

'Catunnaṃ ariya-saccānaṃ yathānbhūtaṃ adassanā
Saṃsitaṃ[3] dīgham addhānaṃ tāsu tās eva[4] jātisu.
Tāni[5] etāni diṭṭhāni bhava-netti[6] samūhatā
Ucchinnaṃ[7] mūlaṃ dukkhassa n'atthi dāni punabbhavo' ti.[8]

1. Compare below, Chapter IV, §§ 2. 3; p. 131.
2. K vatvāna.
3. B^{m} K saṃsaritaṃ.
4. B^{m} K Feer Old tāsveva.
5. Feer, yāni.
6. S^{d} bhagavanteti; S^{t} bhavanteti.
7. SS ucchinna-.
8. = S v. 431 = Vin. i. 231.

3. Thus spake the Exalted One ; and when the Happy One had thus spoken, then again the Teacher said:—

'By not seeing the Aryan Truths as they really are, Long is the path that is traversed through many a birth ;

When these are grasped, the cause of rebirth is removed,

The root of sorrow uprooted, and then there is no more birth.'

4. Tatra pi sudaṃ Bhagavā Koṭigāmo viharanto etad eva bahulaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ dhammiṃ kathaṃ karoti:[1] Iti sīlaṃ iti samādhi iti paññā, sīla-paribhāvito samādhi mahapphalo hoti mahânisaṃso, samādhi-paribhāvitā paññā mahapphalā hoti mahânisaṃsā, paññā-paribhāvitaṃ cittaṃ sammad eva āsavehi vimuccati seyyathîdaṃ kāmâsavā bhavâ diṭṭhâsavā[2] avijjâsavā ti.

4. There too, while staying at Kotigāma, the Exalted One held that comprehensive religious talk with the brethren, saying:— 'Such and such is upright conduct; such and such is earnest contemplation ; such and such is intelligence. Great becomes the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation, when it is set round with upright conduct. Great becomes the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when it is set round with earnest contemplation. The mind set round with intelligence is set quite free from the Intoxications, that is to say, from the Intoxication of Sensuality, from the Intoxication of Becoming, from the Intoxication of Delusion, from the Intoxication of Ignorance.'

5. Atha kho Bhagavā Koṭigāme yathâbhirantaṃ viharitvā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi :

'Āyām' Ānanda yena Nādikā[3] ten' upasaṃkamis-sāmâti.'

'Evaṃ bhante' ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato paccassosi.

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1. SS *here only* katheti. *Sec* 1. 12; 2. 10, 20.
2. S[t] K *omit.*
3. *So all MSS* K *and* Sum. *See* §§ 6, 7.

Atha kho Bhagavā mahatā bhikkhu-saṃghena saddhiṃ yena Nādikā tad avasari. Tatra[1] sudaṃ Bhagavā Nādike viharati Giñjakâvasathe.

5. Now when the Exalted One had remained as long as he thought fit at Kotigāma, he addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said:— 'Come, Ānanda, let us go on to the Nādikas.'

'So be it, lord! 'said Ānanda, in assent, to the Exalted One.

And the Exalted One proceeded to the Nādikas with a great company of the brethren ; and there, at Nādika, the Exalted One stayed in the Brick Hall[2].

6. Atha kho āyasmī Ānando yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. Ekamantaṃ nisinno kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca:

'Sāḷho nāma bhante bhikkhu Nādike kālakato,[3] tassa kā gati ko abhisamparāyo ?[4] Nandā nāma bhante bhikkhunī Nādike kālakatā, tassā kā gati ko abhisamparāyo ? Sudatto

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1. Bm *adds* pi.
2. At first Nādika is (twice) spoken of in the plural number (a clan-name); but then, thirdly, in the last clause, in the singular (a local name derived from the clan-name). Buddhaghosa explains this by saying that there were two villages of the same name on the shore of the same piece of water. The 'Brick Hall' was the public resting-place for travellers, and the name is noteworthy as almost all buildings, were then of wood.

   The expression used here is an idiomatic phrase descriptive of the arrival of travellers at a place:— 'and there, at X. so and so stayed in Y.' where X. is the name of the town or village, and Y. is the lodging-place the traveller occupies. (See just above in § 1 for a good instance.) The first name, the name X, is always the name of the town, and never an adjective in agreement with the second name. It seems simple enough; but even the best Sanskritists appear sometimes to be unfamiliar with the force of this Pāli idiom.
3. Bm kālaṃ kato, *and onwards.*
4. *Comp.* Vin. i. 293.

nāma bhante upāsako Nādike kālakato, tassa kā gati ko abhisamparāyo ? Sujātā nāma bhante upāsikā Nādike kālakatā, tassā kā gati ko abhisamparāyo ? Kakudho[1] nāma bhante upāsako Nādike kālakato, tassa kā gati ko abhisamparāyo ? Kālingo[2] nāma bhante upāsako . . . pe . . . Nikaṭo nāma bhante upāsako . . . Kaṭissabho nāma bhante upāsako . . . Tuṭṭho nāma bhante upāsako . . . Santuṭṭho nāma bhante upāsako . . . Bhaddo[3] nāma bhate upāsako . . . Subhaddo[4] nāma bhante upāsako Nādike kālakato, tassa kā gati ko abhisamparāyo' ti ?

6. And the venerable Ānanda went to the Exalted One and paid him reverence and took his seat beside him. And when he was seated, he addressed the Exalted One, and said:— 'The brother named Sālha has died at Nādika, lord. Where has he been reborn, and what is his destiny? The sister named Nandā has died, lord, at Nādika. Where is she reborn, and what is her destiny ?' [And in the same terms he inquired concerning the lay disciple Sudatta, and the devout lady Sugata, the lay disciples Kakudha, and Kālinga, and Nikata, and Katissabha, and Tuttha, and Santuttha, and Bhadda, and Subhadda.]

7. 'Sāḷho Ānanda bhikkhu āsavānaṃ khayā anāsavaṃ ceto-vimuttiṃ paññā-vimuttiṃ diṭṭhe 'va dhamme sayaṃ abhiññā sacchikatvā upasampajja vihāsi. Nandā Ānanda bhikkhunī pañcannaṃ orambhāgiyānaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayā opapātikā tattha-parinibbāyinī anāvatti-dhammā tasmā lokā.[5] Sudatto Ānando upāsako tiṇṇaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayā rāga-dosa-mohānaṃ tanuttā sakadāgāmī sakid eva imaṃ lokaṃ āgantvā dukkhass' antaṃ karissati. Sujāta Ānanda upāsikā tiṇṇaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayā sotâpannā

1. S[ct] K Kakudho; S[d] Kakudo *here, but* Kakudho *in* § 7; B[m] Kukkuṭo (*and so below*).
2. B[m] Kālimbo; K Kāraḷimbo (Kāliṅgo *as a various reading*). *So also in* § 7.
3. K Bhaṭo (Bhaddo *as var. read.*).
4. K Subhaṭo (Subhaddo *as var. read.*).
5. S[cdt] *insert* pe.

avinipāta-dhammā niyatā sambodhi-parāyanā. Kakudho Ānanda upāsako pañcannaṃ orambhāgiyānaṃ saṃyojanā-naṃ parikkhayā opapātiko tattha-parinibbāyī anāvatti-dhammo tasmā lokā. Kāliṅgo Ānanda upāsako . . . pe . . . Nikaṭo Ānanda upāsako . . . Kaṭissabho Ānanda upāsako . . . Bhaddo Ānanda upāsako . . . Subhaddo Ānanda upāsako pañcannaṃ orambhāgiyānaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayā opapātiko tattha-parinibbāyaī anāvatti-dhammo tasmā lokā. Paro-paññāsa[1] Ānanda Nādike upāsakā kālakatā pañcannaṃ orambhāgiyānaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayā opapātikā tattha-parinibbāyino anāvatti-dhammā tasmā lokā. Sādhikā navuti Ānanda Nādike upāsakā kālakatā tiṇṇaṃ saṃyojanā-naṃ parikkhayā rāga-dosa-mohānaṃ tanuttā sahalāgāmino sakid eva hnaṃ lokaṃ aguntva dukkhass' antaṃ karissanti, Sâtirekāni[2] Ānanda pañca satāni Nādike upāsakā kālakatā tiṇṇaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayā sotâpannā avinipātā-dhammā niyatā sambodhi-parāyanā.

7. 'The brother named Sālha, Ānanda, by the destruction of the Intoxications has by himself, and in this world, known and realized and attained to Arahantship, to emancipation of heart and to emancipation of mind. The sister named Nandā, Ānanda, has, by the complete destruction of the five bonds that bind people to these lower worlds of lust, become an inheritor of the highest heavens, there to pass entirely away, thence never to return. The devout Sudatta, Ānanda, by the complete destruction of the three bonds, and by the reduction to a minimum of lust, ill-will, and stupidity, has become a Sakadāgāmin, who on his first return to this world will make an end of sorrow. The devout Sugata, Ānanda, by the complete destruction of the three bonds, has become converted, is no longer liable to be reborn in a state of suffering, and is assured of hereafter attaining to the enlightenment [of Arahant-ship][3]. The devout Kakudha, Ānanda, by the

1. B[m] -saṃ.
2. K dasâtir[o].
3. See Rhys Davids's 'Buddhism,' pp. 108-10; above, Vol. I, pp. 190-2; below, at VI, 6, and in the translation of D. II, 201; also Divyāvadāna, pp. 533-4.

complete destruction of the five bonds that bind people to these lower worlds of lust, has become an inheritor of the highest heavens, there to pass entirely away, thence never to return. [The same of Kālinga, Nikata, Katissabha, Tuttha, Santuttha, Bhadda, and Subhadda, and with more than fifty devout men in Nādika.] More than ninety devout men in Nādika, who have died, Ānanda, have by the complete destruction of the three bonds, and by the reduction of lust, ill-will and stupidity, become Sakadāgāmins, who on their first return to this world will make an end of sorrow. More than five hundred devout men of Nādika who have died, Ānanda, have by the complete destruction of the three bonds become converted, are no longer liable to be reborn in a state of suffering, and are assured of hereafter attaining the enlightenment [of Arahantship].

8. 'Anacchariyaṃ kho pan' etaṃ Ānanda yaṃ manussabhūto kālaṃ kareyya, tasmiṃ tasmiṃ ce[1] kālakate Tathāgatam upasaṃkamitvā etam atthaṃ pucchissatha, vihesā v' esā Ānanda Tathāgatassa. Tasmāt ih' Ānanda Dhammâdāsaṃ nāma dhamma-pariyāyaṃ desessāmi yena samannāgato ariya - sāvako ākaṅkhamāno attanā va attānaṃ vyākareyya: "Khīṇa-nirayo 'mhi khīṇa-tiracchāna-yoniyo[2] khīṇa-petti-visayo khīṇâpāya-duggati-vinipāto, satâpanno 'ham asmi avinipāta-dhammo niyato sambodhi-parāyano" ti.

8. 'Now there is nothing strange in this, Ānanda, that a human being should die ; but that as each one does so you should come to me, and inquire about them in this manner, that is wearisome to me. I will, therefore, teach you a way of truth, called the Mirror of Truth, which if a disciple of the noble ones possess he may, if he should so desire, himself predict of himself:— "Purgatory is destroyed for me, and rebirth as an animal, or a ghost, or in any place of woe. I am converted, I am no longer liable to be reborn in a state of suffering, and am assured of hereafter attaining to the enlightenment [of Arahantship]."

1. B^{m} yeva; K kho.
2. B^{m} K yoni, *and below*

9. 'Katamo ca so Ānando Dhammâdāso dhamma-pariyāyo yena samannāgato ariya-sāvako ākaṅkhamāno attanā va attānaṃ vyākareyya "Khiṇa-nirayo 'mhi khīṇa-tiracchāna-yoniyo khīṇa-petti-visayo khīṇâpāya-duggati-vinipāto, sotâpanno 'ham asmi avinipāta-dhammo niyato sambodhi-parāyano" ti? Idh' Ānanda ariya-sāvako Buddhe aveccappasādena samannāgato hoti : "Iti pi so Bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho vijjā-caraṇa-sampanno sugato loka-vidū anuttaro purisa-damma-sārathi satthā deva-manussānaṃ Buddho Bhagavā" ti. Dhamme aveccappasādena samannāgato hoti: "Svākkhāto Bhagavatā dhammo sandiṭṭhiko akāliko ehi-passiko opanayiko paccattaṃ veditabbo viññūhîti." Saṃghe aveccappasā dena samannāgato hoti: "Supaṭipanno Bhagavato sāvaka-saṃgho, uju-paṭipanno Bhagavato sāvaka-saṃgho, ñāya-paṭipanno Bhagavato sāvaka-saṃgho, samīci-paṭipanno[1] Bhagavato sāvaka-saṃgho, yadidaṃ cattāri purisa-yugāni aṭṭha purisa-puggalā esa Bhagavato sāvaka-saṃgho āhuneyyo pāhuṇeyyo[2] dakkhiṇeyyo añjali-karaṇīyo anut-taraṃ puññakkhettaṃ lokassâti." Ariya-kantehi sīlehi samannāgato hoti akhaṇḍehi[3] acchiddehi asabalehi akammāsehi bhujisschi[4] viññuppasatthehi[5] aparâ-maṭṭhehi samādhi-saṃvattanikehi.

'Ayaṃ kho so Ānanda dhammadāso dhamma-pariyāyo yena samannāgato ariya-sāvako ākaṅkhamāno attanā va attānaṃ vyākareyya "Khīṇa-nirayo'mhi, khīṇa-tiracchāna-yoniyo,[6] khīṇa-petti-visayo, khīṇâpāya-duggati- vinipāto, sotâpanno 'haṃ asmi avinipāta-dhammo niyato sambodhi-patāyano" ' ti.

9. 'What then, Ānanda, is this Mirror of Truth ? [It is the consciousness that] the disciple of the Arahants is in this world

1. B^m sāmici-.
2. S^t K pāhun°.
3. K akkh°.
4. B^m bhūj°.
5. B^m pasaṭhehi; K viññūpasatthehi.
6. B^m K yoni.

possessed of faith in the Buddha—believing the Exalted One to be the Arahant, the Fully-enlightened One, Wise, Upright, Happy, World-knowing, Supreme, the Bridler of men's wayward hearts, the Teacher of gods and men, the Exalted and Awakened One. And that he [the disciple] is possessed of faith in the Truth—believing the Truth to have been proclaimed by the Exalted One, of advantage in this world, passing not away, welcoming all, leading to salvation, and to be attained to by the wise, each one for himself. And that he [the disciple] is possessed of faith in the Order—believing the multitude of the disciples of the Exalted One who are walking in the four stages of the noble eightfold path, the righteous, the upright, the just, the law-abiding— believing this church of the Exalted One to be worthy of honour, of hospitality, of gifts, and of reverence ; to be the supreme sowing ground of merit for the world; to be possessed of the virtues beloved by the good, virtues unbroken, intact, unspotted, unblemished, virtues which make men truly free, virtues which are praised by the wise, are untarnished by the desire of future life or by the belief in the efficacy of outward acts, and are conducive to concentration of heart[1].

'This, Ānanda, is the way, the Mirror of Truth, which if a disciple of the noble ones possess he may, if he should so desire, himself predict of himself:—"Purgatory is destroyed for me; and rebirth as an animal, or a ghost, or in any place of woe. I am converted ; I am no longer liable to be reborn in a state of suffering, and am assured of finally attaining to the enlightenment [of Arahantship]."

10. Tatra[2] sudaṃ Bhagavā Nidike[3] viharanto Giñjakâvasathe[4] eted eva bahulaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ dhammiṃ kathaṃ karoti: Iti sīlaṃ iti samādhi iti paññā . . . pe . . . seyyathîdaṃ kāmâsavā bhavâsavā diṭṭhâsavā[5] avijjâsavā ti.

1. See above, I, 11.
2. B^m K *insert* pi.
3. B^m Nātike.
4. S^d Gijjhak°; S^t Gijjhañjak°.
5. S^t K *om.*

10. There, too, at the Brick Hall at Nādika the Exalted One held that comprehensive religious talk with the brethren, saying:— 'Such and such is upright conduct; such and such is earnest contemplation ; such and such is intelligence. Great becomes the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation, when it is set round with upright conduct. Great becomes the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when it is set round with earnest contemplation. The mind set round with intelligence is set quite free from the Intoxications, that is to say, from the Intoxication of Sensuality, from the Intoxication of Becoming, from the Intoxication of Delusion, from the Intoxication of Ignorance.'

11. Atha kho Bhagavā Nādike yathâbhirantaṃ viharitvā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi : 'Āyām' Ānanda yena Vesāli ten' upasaṃkamissâti.

'Evaṃ bhante' ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato paccassosi.

Atha kho Bhagavā mahatā bhikkhu-saṃghena saddhiṃ yena Vesāli tad avasari. Tatra sudaṃ Bhagavā Vesāliyaṃ viharati Ambapāli-vane.

11. Now when the Exalted One had remained as long as he wished at Nādika, he addressed Ānanda, and said :— 'Come, Ānanda, let us go on to Vesālī.'

So be it, lord!' said Ānanda, in assent, to the Exalted One.

Then the Exalted One proceeded, with a great company of the brethren, to Vesālī; and there at Vesālī the Exalted One stayed at Ambapāli's grove.

12. Tatra kho Bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi:

'Sato bhikkhave bhikkhu vihareyya sampajāno, ayaṃ Vo[1] amhākaṃ anusāsanī.

'Kathañ ca bhikkhave bhikkhu sato hoti ? Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu kāye kāyânupassī viharati ātāpī sampajāno satimā vineyya loke abhijjhā-domanassaṃ vedanāsu . . . pe . . . citte . . . pe . . . dhammesu dhammânupassī viharati, ātāpī sampajāno satimā vineyya loke abhijjā domanassaṃ, evaṃ kho bhikkhave bhikkhu sato hoti.

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1. S[cdt] kho; K te.

12. Now there the Exalted One addressed the brethren, and said :— 'Let a brother, O mendicants, be mindful and self-possessed ; this is our instruction to you[1].

'And how does a brother become mindful ?

'Herein, O mendicants, a brother continues as to the body, so to look upon the body that he remains strenuous, self-possessed, and mindful, having overcome both the hankering and the dejection common in the world. [And in the same way as to feelings, moods, or ideas, he continues so to look upon each] that he remains strenuous, self-possessed, and mindful, having overcome both the hankering and the dejection common in the world.

13. 'Kathañ ca bhikkhave bhikku sampajāno hoti ? Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu abhikkante paṭikkante sampajāna-kārī hoti, alokite vilokite sampajāna-kārī hoti, sammiñjite pasārite sampajāna-kārī hoti, saṃghāṭi-patta-cīvara-dhāraṇe sampajāna-kārī hoti, asite pīte khāyite sāyite sampajāna-kārī hoti, uccāra-passāva-kamme sampajāna-kārī hoti, gate ṭhite nisinne sutte jāgarite bhāsite tuṇhī-bhāve sampajāna-kārī hoti. Evaṃ kho bhikkhave bhikkhu sampajāno hoti. Sato bhikkhave bhikkhu vihareyya sampajāno, ayaṃ vo[2] amhākaṃ anusāsanī' ti.

13. 'And how does a brother become self-possessed?

'He acts, O mendicants, in full presence of mind whatever he may do, in going out or coming in, in looking forward or in looking round, in bending in his arm or in stretching it forth, in wearing his robes or in carrying his bowl, in eating or drinking, in masticating or swallowing, in obeying the calls of nature, in walking or standing or sitting, in sleeping or waking, in talking and in being silent.

'Thus let a brother, O mendicants, be mindful and self-possessed; this is our instruction to you[3].'

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1. Quoted Mil. 378.
2. Sctd kho: K te.
3. This doctrine of being 'mindful and self-possessed' is one of the lessons most frequently inculcated in the Pāli Pitakas, and is one

14. Assosi kho Ambapālī gaṇikā 'Bhagavā kira Vesāliyaṃ[1] anuppatto Vesāliyaṃ viharati mayhaṃ amba-vane' ti. Atha kho Ambapālī gaṇikā bhaddāni bhaddāni yānāni yojāpetvā, bhaddaṃ[2] yānaṃ abhirūhitvā bhaddehi bhad-dehi yānehi Vesāliyā niyyāsi, yena sako ārāmo tena pāyāsi. Yāvatikā yānassa bhūmi yānena gantvā yānā paccorohitvā pattikā va yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. Ekamantaṃ nisinnaṃ kho Ambapāliṃ gaṇikaṃ Bhagavā dhammiyā kathāya sandassesi samādapesi samuttejesi sampahṃsesi.

Atha kho Ampabāli-gaṇikā Bhagavatā dhammiyā kathāya sandassitā samādapitā samuttejitā sampahaṃsitā Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca:

'Adhivāsetu me bhante Bhagavā svātanāya bhattaṃ saddhiṃ bhikkhu-saṃghenāti.'

Adhivāsesi Bhagavā tuṇhī-bhāvena. Atha kho Ambapāli-gaṇikā Bhagavato adhivāsanaṃ viditvā uṭṭhay' āsanā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā padakkhiṇaṃ katvā pakkāmi.

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of the 'Seven Jewels of the Law.' It is fully treated of in each of the Nikāyas, forming the subject of the Maha Satippatthāna Sutta in the Dīgha Nikāya, and the Satippatthāna Sutta of the Majjhima Nikāya, and the Satippatthāna Samyutta of the Samyutta Nikāya, as well as of various passages in the Anguttara Nikāya, and of the vibhaṅga. See above, Vol. I, pp. 80, 81; and the translation, below, of pp. 290 foll. of the text. The point is there discussed in detail.

Buddhaghosa has no comment here on the subject itself, reserving what he has to say for the comment on the Suttas devoted entirely to it; but he observes in passing that the reason why the Exalted One laid stress, at this particular time and place, on the necessity of being 'mindful and thoughtful,' was because of the imminent approach of the beautiful courtezan in whose grove they were staying. The use of the phrase sati upatthāpetabbā below, Chap. V, 9 (text, p. 141), in reference to the way in which women should be treated, is quite in accordance with this explanation. But see the next note.

1. B[m] K Vesāliṃ, *against* S[cdt] *and* Ch.
2. B[m] K *add* bhaddaṃ.

14. [1]Now the courtezan Ambapāli heard that the Exalted One had arrived at Vesālī, and was staying there at her mango grove. And ordering a number of state vehicles to be made ready, she mounted one of them, and went forth with her train from Vesālī towards her garden. She went in the carriage as far as the ground was passable for carriages ; there she alighted ; and she proceeded on foot to the place where the Exalted One was, and took her seat respectfully on one side. And when she was thus seated the Exalted One instructed, aroused, incited, and gladdened her with religious discourse.

Then she—instructed, aroused, incited, and gladdened with his words—addressed the Exalted One and said :—

'May the Exalted One do me the honour of taking his meal, together with the brethren, at my house tomorrow?'

And the Exalted One gave, by silence, his consent. Then when Ambapāli the courtezan saw that the Exalted One had consented, she rose from her seat and bowed down before him, and keeping him on her right hand as she passed him, she departed thence.

15. Assosuṃ kho Vesālikā Licchavī 'Bhagavā kira Vesāliṃ[2] anuppatto Vesāliyaṃ viharati Ambapāli-vane' ti. Atha kho te Licchavī bhaddāni bhaddāni yānāni yojāpetvā bhaddaṃ[3] yānaṃ abhirūhitvā bhaddehi bhaddehi yānehi Vesāliyā niyyiṃsu.[4] Tatr' ekacce Licchavī nīlā honti nīla-vaṇṇā

1. From this point down to the words 'he rose from his seat,' in II, 24 is, with a few unimportant variations, word for word the same as Vinaya, Vol. I, pp. 231-3. But the passage there follows immediately after the verses translated above, I, 34, so that the events here (in §§ 14-18) localized at Vesālī, are there localized at Kotigāma. Our section II, 5 is then inserted between our sections II, 18 and II, 19; and our section II, n does not occur at all, the Exalted One only reaching Ambapāli's grove when he goes there (as in our section II, 19) to partake of the meal to which he had been invited. Buddha-ghosa passes over this apparent discrepancy in silence.
2. SS Vesāliyaṃ. *Comp.* Vol. i. 87, 111, 127.
3. B^{m} K *add* bhaddaṃ.
4. S^{d} niyyaṃsu; S^{t} niyyumsu; B^{m} niyiṃsu. Vin. i. 231 niyyāsuṃ bhagavantaṃ dassanāya.

nīla-vatthā nīlâlaṅkārā, ekacce Licchavī pītā honti pīta-vaṇṇā pīta-vatthā pītâlaṅkārā, ekacce Licchavī lohitakā[1] honti lohita-vaṇṇā lohita-vatthā lohitâ-laṅkārā, ekacce Licchavī odātā honti odāta-vaṇṇā odāta-vatthā odātâlaṅkārā.

15. Now the Licchavis of Vesālī heard that the Exalted One had arrived at Vesālī, and was staying at Ambapāli's grove. And ordering a number of state carriages to be made ready, they each mounted one of them and went forth with their train from Vesālī. Some of them were dark, dark in colour, and wearing dark clothes and ornaments : some of them were fair, fair in colour, and wearing light clothes and ornaments : some of them were red, ruddy in colour, and wearing red clothes and ornaments : some of them were white, pale in colour, and wearing white clothes and ornaments.

16. Atha kho Ambapāli-gaṇikā daharānaṃ daharānaṃ Licchavīnaṃ akkhena akkhaṃ cakkena cakkaṃ yugena yugaṃ paṭivaṭṭesi.[2] Atha kho Licchavī Ambapāliṃ gaṇikaṃ etad avocuṃ :

'Kiñ je Ambapāli daharānaṃ daharānaṃ Licchavīnaṃ akkhena akkhaṃ cakkena cakkaṃ yugena yugaṃ paṭi-vaṭṭesîti ?'

'Tathā hi pana me ayyaputtā Bhagavā nimantito svātanāya bhattaṃ saddhiṃ bhikkhu-saṃghenâti.'

'Dehi je Ambapāli etaṃ bhattaṃ sata-sahassenâti.

'Sace pi me ayyaputtā Vesāliṃ sāhāraṃ dassatha evaṃ-mahantaṃ bhattaṃ na dassāmîti.'

Atha kho te Licchavī aṅgulī[3] poṭhesuṃ,[4] 'Jit' amhā vata bho ambakāya, vañcit'[5] amhā vata bho ambakāyâti.'

Atha kho te Licchavī yena Ambapāli-vanaṃ tena pāyiṃsu.

16. And Ambapāli drove up against the young Licchavis,

1. B^m -tā.
2. Vin. i. 231, 3 *differs in this and the following clauses.*
3. S^c -ṭhosuṃ.
4. B^m aṅguliṃ, *and so below* § 18.
5. B^m jit.'

axle to axle, wheel to wheel, and yoke to yoke, and the Licchavis said to Ambapāli the courtezan :— 'How is it, Ambapāli, that thou drivest up against us thus ?'

'My lords, I have just invited the Exalted One and his brethren for their morrow's meal,' said she.

'Ambapāli! give up this meal to us for a hundred thousand,' said they.

'My lords, were you to offer all Vesālī with its subject territory, I would not give up so honourable a feast!'

Then the Licchavis cast up their hands, exclaiming :

— 'We are outdone by this mango girl! we are out-reached by this mango girl[1]!' and they went on to Ambapāli's grove.

17. Addasā kho Bhagavā te Licchavī dūrato va āgacchante, disvā bhikkhū āmantesi:

'Yesaṃ bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ devā Tāvatiṃsā adiṭṭhā.[2] oloketha bhikkhave Licchavi[3] -parisaṃ, avaloketha bhikkhave Licchavi-parisaṃ, upasaṃharatha bhikkhave Licchavi-parisaṃ Tāvatiṃsa-parisaṇ' ti.

17. When the Exalted One saw the Licchavis approaching in the distance, he addressed the brethren, and said:—

'O brethren, let those of the brethren who have never seen the Tāvatimsa gods, gaze upon this company of the Licchavis, behold this company of the Licchavis, compare this company of the Licchavis— for they are even as a company of Tāvatimsa gods[4].'

18. Atha kho te Licchavī yāvatikā yānassa bhūmi yānena gantvā yānā paccorohitvā, pattikā va yena Bhagavā ten'

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1. Literally 'by this woman.' But I have tried to reproduce the evident word-play. Ambapāli means mango grower, one who looks after mangoes.
2. K *and* Vin. i. 232, adiṭṭha-pubbā. *Comp.* Mahāvastu i. 262; Sum. i . 310; Rockhill 63.
3. B^{m} -vī *and onwards.*
4. The Tāvatimsa-devā are the gods in the heaven of the Great Thirty-Three, the principal deities of the Vedic Pantheon. See A. III, 239; Sum. I, 310; Mahāvastu I, 262.

upasaṃkamiṃsu, upasaṃkamitvā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdiṃsu. Ekamantaṃ nisinne kho te Licchavī Bhagavā dhammiyā kathāya sandassesi samādapesi samuttejesi sampahaṃsesi.

Atha kho te Licchavī Bhagavatā dhammiyā kathāyā sandassitā samādapitā samuttejitā sampahaṃsitā Bhagavantaṃ etad avocuṃ:

'Adhivāsetu no bhante Bhagavā svātanāya bhattaṃ saddhiṃ bhikkhu-saṃghenâti.'

[1]'Adhivutthaṃ kho me Licchavī svātanāya Ambapāli-gaṇikāya[2] bhattan' ti.

Atha kho te Licchavī aṅgulī poṭhesuṃ : 'Jit' amhā vata bho ambakāya, vañcit' amhā vata bho ambakāyâti.'

Atha kho te Licchavī Bhagavato bhāsitaṃ abhinanditvā anumoditvā uṭṭhāy' āsanā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā padakkhiṇaṃ katvā pakkamiṃsu.

18. And when they had ridden as far as the ground was passable for carriages, the Licchavis alighted there, and then went on foot to the place where the Exalted One was, and took their seats respectfully by his side. And when they were thus seated the Exalted One instructed and roused and incited and gladdened them with religious discourse[3].

Then they—instructed and roused and incited and gladdened with his words—addressed the Exalted One, and said :— 'May the Exalted One do us the honour of taking his meal, together with the brethren, at our house to-morrow ?'

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1. B *inserts* atha kho Bhagavā te Licchavi etad avoca. K *for* adhivutthaṃ *reads* adhivāsitaṃ. Vin. *has* adhivuttho mhi.
2. B[m] -liyā- *throughout.*
3. The Malālaṅkāra-vatthu gives the substance of the discourse on this occasion. 'The princes had come in their finest and richest dress; in their appearance they vied in beauty with the nats (or angels). But foreseeing the ruin and misery that was soon to come upon them all, the Buddha exhorted his disciples to entertain a thorough contempt for things that are dazzling to the eyes, but essentially perishable and unreal in their nature.'—Bigandet, 2nd ed., p. 260.

'O Licchavis, I have promised to dine to-morrow with Ambapāli the courtezan,' was the reply.

Then the Licchavis cast up their hands, exclaiming :— 'We are outdone by this mango girl! we are out-reached by this mango girl' ! And expressing their thanks and approval of the words of the Exalted One, they rose from their seats and bowed down before the Exalted One, and keeping him on their right hand as they passed him, they departed thence.

19. Atha kho Ambapāli-gaṇikā tassā rattiyā accayena sake ārāme paṇīṭaṃ khādaniyaṃ bhojaniyaṃ paṭiyādāpetvā Bhagavato kālaṃ ārocāpesi: 'Kālo bhante niṭṭhi-taṃ bhattan' ti. Atha kho Bhagavā pubbaṇha-samayaṃ nivāsetvā patta-civaraṃ ādāya saddhiṃ bhikkhu-saṃghena yena Ambapāli-gaṇikāya parivesanā[1] ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā paññatte āsane nisīdi. Atha kho Ambapāli-gaṇikā Buddha-pamukhaṃ bhikkhu-saṃghaṃ panītena khādaniyena bhojaniyena sahatthā santappesi sampavā-resi.

Atha kho Ambapāli-gaṇikā Bhagavantaṃ bhuttāviṃ onīta-patta-pāṇiṃ aññataraṃ nīcaṃ āsanaṃ gahetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. Ekamantaṃ nisinnā kho Ambapāli-gaṇikā Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca :

'Imâhaṃ bhante ārāmaṃ[2] Buddha-pamukhassa bhik-khu-saṃghassa dammîti.'

Paṭiggahesi Bhagavā ārāmaṃ. Atha kho Bhagavā Ambapāli-gaṇikaṃ dhammiyā kathāya sandassetvā samā-dapetvā samuttejetvā sampahaṃsetvā uṭṭhāya' āsanā pakkāmi.

19. And at the end of the night Ambapāli the courtezan made ready in her mansion sweet rice and cakes, and announced the time to the Exalted One, saying:— 'The hour, lord, has come, and the meal is ready!'

And the Exalted One who had dressed himself early in the morning, took his bowl, and his robe, and went with the brethren to the place where Ambapāli's mansion was : and when he had

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1. B^{m} nivesanaṃ ; K parivesanaṃ.
2. Vin. i. 233 Ambapālivanaṃ (!).

come there he seated himself on the seat prepared for him. And Ambapāli the courtezan set the sweet rice and cakes before the Order, with the Buddha at their head, and waited upon them till they refused any more.

And when the Blessed One had quite finished his meal, and had cleansed the bowl and his hands, the courtezan had a low stool brought, and sat down at his side, and addressed the Exalted One, and said :— 'Lord, I present this pleasaunce to the order of mendicants, of which the Buddha is the chief.' And the Exalted One accepted the gift; and after instructing, arid rousing, and inciting, and gladdening her with religious discourse, he rose from his seat and departed thence.[1]

20. Tatra pi[2] sudaṃ Bhagavā Vesāliyaṃ viharanto Ambapāli-vane etad eva bahulaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ dhammiṃ kathaṃ karoti: Iti sīlaṃ iti samādhi iti paññā, sīla-paribhāvito samādhi mahapphalo hoti mahânisaṃso, samādhi-paribhāvitā paññā mahapphalā hoti mahāni-saṃsā, paññā-paribhāvitaṃ cittaṃ sammad eva āsavehi vimuccati seyyathîdaṃ kāmâsavā bhavâsavā diṭṭhâsavā[3] avijjâsavā ti.

20. While at Ambapāli's mango grove the Exalted One held that comprehensive religious talk with the brethren, saying:— 'Such and such is upright conduct; such and such is earnest contemplation ; such and such is intelligence. Great becomes the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation, when it is set round with upright conduct. Great becomes the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when it is set round with earnest contemplation. The mind set round with intelligence is

1. Bishop Bigandet says:— 'In recording the conversion of a courtezan named Apapalika, her liberality and gifts to Budha and his disciples, and the preference designedly given to her over princes and nobles, who, humanly speaking, seemed in every respect better entitled to attentions—one is almost reminded of the conversion of 'a woman that was a sinner,' mentioned in the Gospels ('Legend of the Burmese Budha,' 2nd ed., p. 258).
2. S[d] K *om.*
3. K *omits.*

set quite free from the Intoxications, that is to say, from the Intoxication of Sensuality, from the Intoxication of Becoming, from the Intoxication of Delusion, from the Intoxication of Ignorance.'

21. Atha kho Bhagavā Ambapāli-vane yathâbhirantaṃ viharitvā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi:

'Āyām' Ānanda yena Beluva-gāmako[1] ten' upasaṃkamissāmâti.'

'Evaṃ bhante' ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato paccassosi. Atha kho Bhagavā mahatā bhikkhu-saṃghena saddiṃ yena Beluva-gāmako tad avasari. Tatra sudaṃ Bhagavā Beluva-gāmake viharati.

21. Now when the Exalted One had remained so long as he wished at Ambapāli's grove, he addressed Ānanda, and said:— 'Come, Ānanda, let us go on to Beluva[2].'

'So be it, lord.' said Ānanda, in assent, to the Exalted One.

Then the Exalted One proceeded, with a great company of the brethren, to Beluva, and there the Exalted One stayed in the village itself.

22. [3]Tatra kho Bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi:

'Etha tumhe bhikkhave, samantā Vesāliṃ[4] yathā-mittaṃ[5] yathā-sandiṭṭhaṃ yathā-sambhattaṃ vassaṃ upetha, ahaṃ pana idh' eva Beluva-gāmake vassaṃ upagacchāmîti.'

'Evaṃ bhante' ti kho te bhikkhū Bhagavato paṭissutvā samantā Vesāliṃ[6] yathā-mittaṃ yathā-sandiṭṭhaṃ yathā-sambhattaṃ vassaṃ upagañchum,[7] Bhagavā pana tattha'

1. Bm K Veḷuva- (*and below*).
2. The Vinaya (I, 233) says they went to the Great Wood near Vesālī, that is, it skips the context here as far as III, 64. Our sections 27-35 are in the Samyutta V, 152-4.
3. Saṃyutta va. 152-4.
4. Scd -liyaṃ; Feer -liyā.
5. Sc mattaṃ *and below,* Sdt khittaṃ *and below.* K yathāmittam *in text,* yathākhittam *in note.*
6. Sc-liyaṃ *as above.*
7. Bm upagacchiṃsu; K upagacchuṃ.

eva Beluva-gāmake vassaṃ upagañchi.[1]

22. Now the Exalted One there addressed the brethren, and said :— 'O mendicants, do you take up your abode round about Vesālī, each according to the place where his friends, acquaintances, and intimates may live, for the retreat in the rainy season [for vassa]. I shall enter upon the rainy season here at Beluva.'

'So be it, lord!' said those brethren, in assent, to the Exalted One. And they entered upon the rainy season round about Vesālī, each according to the place where his friends, acquaintances, and intimates lived : whilst the Exalted One stayed even there at Beluva.

23. Atha kho Bhagavato vassûpagatassa khara ābādho uppajji, bāḷhā[2] **vedanā vattanti**[3] **māraṇantikā. Tā**[4]**, sudaṃ Bhagavā sato sampajāno adhivāseti**[5] **avihaññamāno.**

Atha kho Bhagavato etad ahosi: "Na kho me taṃ patirūpaṃ yo 'haṃ[6] **anāmantetvā upaṭṭhāke anapaloketvā bhikkhu-saṃghaṃ parinibbāyeyyaṃ. Yan nunâhaṃ imaṃ ābādhaṃ viriyena paṭippaṇāmetvā jīvita-saṃkhāraṃ adhiṭṭhāya vihareyyan 'ti.**

Atha kho Bhagavā taṃ ābādhaṃ viriyena paṭippaṇāmetvā jīvita-saṃkhāraṃ adhiṭṭhāya vihāsi. Atha kho Bhagavato so ābādho paṭippassambhi.[7]

23. Now when the Exalted One had thus entered upon the rainy season, there fell upon him a dire sickness, and sharp pains came upon him, even unto death. But the Exalted One, mindful and self-possessed, bore them without complaint.

Then this thought occurred to the Exalted One:—'It would not be right for me to pass away without addressing the disciples,

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1. Bm K upagacchi.
2. SS pabāḷhā *as at* 4. 20.
3. Bm vattati.
4. St Bm K tatra.
5. Bm K -sesi.
6. Bm yvâhaṃ.
7. *The* Saṃyutta *omits this sentence.*

without taking leave of the Order. Let me now, by a strong effort of the will, bend this sickness down again, and keep my hold on life till the allotted time be come[1].'

And the Exalted One, by a strong effort of the will, bent that sickness down again, and kept his hold on life till the time he fixed upon should come. And the sickness abated upon him.

24. Atha kho Bhagavā gilānā vuṭṭhito acira-vuṭṭhito gelaññā vihārā nikkhamma vihāra-pacchāyāyaṃ[2] paññatte āsane nisīdi. Atha kho āyasmā Ānando yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. Ekamantaṃ nisinno kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca:

'Diṭṭhā[3] me bhante Bhagavato phāsu, diṭṭhaṃ me bhante Bhagavato khamanīyaṃ.[4] Api hi[5] me bhante madhuraka-jāto viya kāyo, disā pi me na pakkhāyanti, dhammā pi maṃ na paṭibhanti Bhagavato gelaññena, api ca me bhante ahosi kācid eva assāsamattā, "na tāva Bhagavā parinibbāyissati na yāva Bhagavā bhikkhu-saṃghaṃ ārabbha kiñcid eva udāharatîti." '

24. Now very soon after the Blessed One began to recover. And when he had quite got rid of the sickness, he came out from his lodging, and sat down in the shadow thereof on a seat spread out there. And the venerable Ānanda went to the place where the Exalted One was, and saluted him, and took a seat respectfully on one side, and-addressed the Exalted One, and said :— 'I have beheld, lord, how the Exalted One was in health, and I have beheld how the Exalted One had to suffer. And though at the sight of the sickness of the Exalted One my body became weak as a creeper, and the horizon became dim to me, and my faculties

1. Compare Divyāvadāna 203.
2. K vihārapp°; Feer, nikkhamitvā vihārapacchā chāy āyaṃ.
3. Bm diṭho. *Both* Bm *and* K *omit* me *both times.*
4. Feer *has* Diṭṭhā bhante khamanīyaṃ, diṭṭhā bhante Bhagavato yāpanīyaṃ.
5. Bm K ca; Feer *omits.*

were no longer clear[1], yet notwithstanding I took some little comfort from the thought that the Exalted One would not pass away until at least he had left instructions as touching the Order.'

25. 'Kim pan' Ānanda bhikkhu-saṃgho mayi paccāsiṃsati ?[2] Desito Ānanda mayā dhammo anantaraṃ abāhiram karitvā, na tatth'[3] Ānanda Tathāgatassa dhammesu ācariya-muṭṭhi. Yassa nūna Ānanda evam assa "Ahaṃ bhikkhu-saṃghaṃ pariharissāmîti" vā "Mam' uddesiko bhikkhu-saṃgho" ti vā, so nūna Ānanda bhikkhu-saṃgho" ti vā, so nūna Ānanda bhikkhu-saṃghaṃ ārabbha kiñcid eva udāhareyya. Tathāgatassa kho Ānanda na evaṃ hoti "Ahaṃ bhikkhu-saṃghaṃ pariharissāmîti vā "Mam' uddesiko bhikkhu-saṃgho' ti vā. Kiṃ[4] Ānanda Tathāgato bhikkhu-saṃghaṃ ārabbha kiñcid eva udāharissati ? Ahaṃ kho pan' Ānanda etarahi[5] jiṇṇo vuddho mahallako addha-gato vayo anuppatto, asītiko me vayo[6] vattati. Seyyathā pi Ānanda jara[7]-sakaṭaṃ vegha[8]-missakena yāpeti, evam eva kho Ānadā vegha-missakena maññe[9] Tathāgatassa kāyo yāpeti. Yasmiṃ Ānanda samaye Tathāgato sabba-nimittānaṃ amanasi-kārā ekaccānaṃ vedanānaṃ hirodhā animittaṃ ceto-samādhiṃ upasampajja viharati, phāsukato[10] Ānanda tasmiṃ samaye Tathāgatassa kāyo hoti.

25. 'What, then, Ānanda ? Does the Order expect that of me ? I have preached the truth without making any distinction between exoteric and esoteric doctrine; for in respect of the truths. Ānanda, the Tathāgata has no such thing as the closed

1. Compare A. III, 69.
2. B^m -sīsati.
3. B^m K Feer, n'atth' *for* na tatth'.
4. K sakiṃ.
5. Feer, Etarahi kho panāham Ānanda.
6. B^m Feer vasso; SS K vayo.
7. S^c jarā; B^m jajjara.
8. B^m vekha; K veḷu; Feer vedha.
9. S^t *inserts* na.
10. B^m K -karo. Feer phāsutaraṃ *and omits* kāyo.

fist of a teacher, who keeps some things back[1]. Surely, Ānanda, should there be any one who harbours the thought, "It is I who will lead the brotherhood," or, 'The Order is dependent upon me," it is he who should lay down instructions in any matter concerning the Order. Now the Tathāgata, Ānanda. thinks not that it is he who should lead the brotherhood, or that the Order is dependent upon him. Why then should he leave instructions in any matter concerning the Order ? I too, O Ānanda, am now grown old, and full of years, my journey is drawing to its close, I have reached my sum of days, I am turning eighty years of age; and just as a worn-out cart, Ānanda, can be kept going only with the help of thongs, so, methinks, the body of the Tathāgata can only be kept going by bandaging it up[2]. It is only. Ānanda, when the Tathāgata, by ceasing to attend to any outward thing, becomes plunged by the cessation of any separate sensation in that concentration of heart which is concerned with no material object—it is only then that the body of the Tathāgata is at ease[3].

26. 'Tasmāt ih' Ānanda atta-dīpā viharatha atta-saraṇā anañña-saraṇā, dhamma-dīpā dhamma-saraṇā anañña-saraṇā. Kathañ c' Ānanda bhikkhu atta-dīpo viharati atta-saraṇo anañña-saraṇo, dhamma-dīpo dhamma-saraṇo anañña-saraṇo ?

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1. Compare Jātaka II, 221, 250; Mil. 144.
2. Vegha-missakena, the meaning of which is not clear. The Malālaṅkāra-vatthu, as rendered by Bigandet, has 'repairs.' The Sumangala Vilāsinī agrees, but in such a way as to throw no light on the derivation of the word. In the Samyutta Nikāya (V. 153) the Burmese Phayre MS. reads vekhamissakena and another Burmese MS. vedha—but SS. all read vegha. The Siamese edition has valu. My Dīgha Nikāya confirms Childers's reading, which no doubt correctly represents the uniform tradition of the Ceylon MSS. On the use of the word missaka at the end of a compound see Jātaka II, 8, 420, 433; and compare M.I, 82; Thera-gāthā 143; Mil. 159; and the discussion in 'J.P.T. S.,' 1884, pp. 97-101.
3. This is very interesting as giving what is, no doubt, the original meaning of animitta as applied to ceto-samādhi. See my 'Yogāvacara's Manual of Indian Mysticism,' p. xxvii.

'Idh' Ānanda bhikkhu kāye kāyânupassī viharati ātāpī sampajāno satimā vineyya loke abhijjā-domanassaṃ, vedanāsu . . . pe . . . citte . . . pe . . ., dhammesu dhammâ-nupassī viharati ātāpī sampajāno satimā vineyya loke abhijjhā-domanassaṃ, evaṃ kho Ānanda bhikkhu atta-dīpo viharati atta-saraṇo anañña-saraṇo, dhamma-dīpo dhamma-saraṇo anañña-saraṇo.

'Ye hi keci Ānanda etarahi vā mamaṃ vā accayena[1] atta-dīpā viharissanti atta-saraṇā anañña-saraṇā, dhamma-dīpā dhamma-saraṇā anañña-saraṇā, tamatagge me te[2] Ānanda bhikkhū bhavissanti ye keci sikkhā-kāma' ti

26. [4]'Therefore, O Ānanda, be ye lamps unto yourselves. Be ye a refuge to yourselves. Betake yourselves to no external refuge. Hold fast to the Truth as a lamp. Hold fast as a refuge to the Truth. Look not for refuge to any one besides yourselves. And how, Ānanda, is a brother to be a lamp unto himself, a refuge to himself, betaking himself to no external refuge, holding fast to the Truth as a lamp, holding fast as a refuge to the Truth, looking not for refuge to any one besides himself?

'Herein, O mendicants, a brother continues, as to the body, so to look upon the body that he remains strenuous, self-possessed, and mindful, having overcome both the hankering and the dejection common in the world. [And in the same way] as to feelings . . . moods . . . ideas, he continues so to look upon each that he remains strenuous, self-possessed, and mindful, having overcome both the hankering and the dejection common in the world.

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1. B^{m} K mama vā accayena: Feer, mamaccayena vā.
2. B^{m} p'ete, *for* me te.
3. B^{m} Dutiya-bhāṇavāro; K Mahā-Parinibbāne Gāma-Kaṇḍaṃ samattaṃ dutiya-bhāṇvāraṃ.
4. This section recurs at S. V, 163, compare III, 42, and the example given at V, 221.

'And whosoever, Ānanda, either now or after I am dead, shall be a lamp unto themselves, and a refuge unto themselves, shall betake themselves to no external refuge, but holding fast to the Truth as their lamp, and holding fast as their refuge to the Truth, shall look not for refuge to any one besides themselves—it is they, Ānanda, among my bhikkhus. who shall reach the very topmost Height !—but they must be anxious to learn[1].'

Dutiyaka-Bhāṇavāraṃ niṭṭhitaṃ.[3]

End of the Second Portion for Recitation.

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1. Buddhaghosa says :— 'Tamatagge is for tamagge. The "t" in the middle is used for euphony. This word means, "These are the most pre-eminent, the very chief." Having, as above stated, broken even bond of darkness (tama), those bhikkhus of mine, Ānanda, will be at the very top, in the highest condition. The)' will be at the very top of whom ? Those bhikkhus who are willing to learn, and those who exercise themselves in the four ways of being mindful and thoughtful, they shall be at the top of all (the rest). Thus does he make Arahant ship the three-peaked height of his discourse' (compare on this last phrase Nibbānena desanākutam ganhāti, Jātaka I, 275, 393, 401; and see also I, 114). Uttama, the highest (scil. bhava, condition), is used absolutely of Arahantship or Nirvana at Jātaka I, 96 ; Aggaphala occurs in the same sense at Jātaka I, 114; and even Phalagga at Mahāvamsa XV, 209. The last words, 'but the) must be anxious to learn,' seem to me to be an afterthought. It is only those who arc-thoroughly determined to work out their own salvation, without looking for safety to any one else, even to the Buddha himself, who will, whilst in the world, enter into and experience Nirvana. But, of course, let there be no mistake, merely to reject the vain baubles of the current superstitious beliefs is not enough. There is plenty to learn and to acquire, of which enough discourse is elsewhere.

CHAPTER III

3. 1. [1]Atha kho Bhagavā pubbaṇha-samayaṃ nivāsetvā patta-cīvaram ādāya Vesāliṃ[2] piṇḍāya pāvisi, Vesāliyaṃ[2] piṇḍāya caritvā[3] pacchābhattaṃ piṇḍāpāta-paṭikkanto āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi :

'Gaṇhāhi Ānanda nisīdanaṃ. Yana Cāpālaṃ cetiyaṃ ten' upasaṃkamissāmi[4] divā-vihārāyâti.'

'Evaṃ bhante' ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato paṭissutvā nisīdanaṃ ādāya Bhagavantaṃ piṭṭhito piṭṭhito anubandhi.

1.[5] Now the Exalted One robed himself early in the morning, and taking his bowl in the robe, went into Vesālī for alms. When, after he had returned from the round for alms, he had finished eating the rice, he addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said :— 'Take up the mat, Ānanda ; I will go and spend the day at the Chāpāla Shrine.'

'So be it, lord!' said the venerable Ānanda, in assent, to the Exalted One. And taking up the mat he followed step for step behind the Exalted One.

2. Atha kho Bhagavā yena Cāpālaṃ cetiyaṃ ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā paññatte āsane nisīdi. Āyasmā pi

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1. *In the* Saṃyutta v. 259 *foll.*; *in the* Aṅguttara iv. 308 *foll., and in the* Udāna vi. *Comp.* Divy. 200-208, *and* Windisch, 'Māra und Buddha', 35 *foll.*
2. S[ct] Ud. -liṃ *both times* ; S[d] Feer Vesāliyaṃ *both times.*
3. *All* MSS. *add* pannatte āsane nisidi. But K *and all the other texts omit.*
4. B[m] K Hardy-ssāma.
5. 1-20 recur in A. IV, 308 foll. ; 1-10 in Udāna VI, I. and S. V, 259 foll. Compare Divy., pp. 200-8.

kho Ānando Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi Ekamantaṃ nisinnaṃ kho āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ Bhagavā etad avoca:

'Ramaṇīyā[1] Ānanda Vesālī, ramaṇīyaṃ Udenaṃ[2] cetiyaṃ, ramaṇīyaṃ Gotamakaṃ cetiyaṃ, ramaṇīyaṃ Sattambakaṃ[3] cetiyaṃ, ramaṇīyaṃ Bahuputtaṃ cetiyaṃ, ramaṇīyaṃ Sārandadaṃ[4] cetiyaṃ, ramaṇīyaṃ Cāpālaṃ cetiyaṃ.

2. So the Exalted One proceeded to the Chāpāla Shrine, and when he had come there he sat down on the mat spread out for him, and the venerable Ānanda took his seat respectfully beside him. Then the Exalted One addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said :— 'How delightful a spot, Ānanda, is Vesālī, and how charming the Udena Shrine, and the Gotamaka Shrine, and the Shrine of the Seven Mangoes, and the Shrine of Many Sons, and the Sārandada Shrine and the Chāpāla Shrine[5]!

3. 'Yassa kassaci Ānanda cattāro iddhipādā bhāvitā bahulī-katā yāni-katā[6] vatthu-katā anuṭṭhitā paricitā susamāraddhā, so akaṅkha māno kappaṃ vā tiṭṭheyya kappâvasesaṃ vā. Tathāgatassa kho Ānanda cattāro iddhipādā bhāvitā bahulī-katā yāni-katā vatthu-katā anuṭṭhitā paricitā susamāraddhā. So[7] ākaṅkhamāno Ānanda Tathāgato kappaṃ vā tiṭṭheyya kappâvasesaṃ vā' ti.

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1. B^m^ rammaṇiyā, *and in* § 5 (*with* mm, *and* i).
2. B^m^ Udena-, Gotamka-, *etc., and so in* § 5.
3. B^m^ Feer Sattamba-, K -baṃ *and so in* § 5.
4. B^m^ Sānandara, *and so in* § 5.
5. Shrines of pre-Buddhistic worship. They were probably trees and harrows; but as no excavations have yet been made at Vesālī the point is uncertain. The Anglo-Indian use of the word Chetiya, as equivalent 10 our Temple, is quite wrong.
6. B^m^ yanī-katā. S. i. 116, Jāt. ii. 61. Mil. 198 *all -ni.*
7. Childers, p. 34, *says this word should be struck out, having crept in from previous sentence ; and so* Windisch, p. 44. S^cd^ B^m^ K *all* have it. Steinthal, Feer, *and* Hardy *omit it. Comp.* 2. 25, *and below* 3. 41.

3. 'Ānanda, whosoever has developed, practised, dwelt on, expanded and ascended to the very heights of the four paths to Iddhi[1], and so mastered them as to be able to use them as a vehicle, and as a basis, he, should he desire it, could remain in the same birth for an aeon or for that portion of the aeon which had yet to run. Now the Tathāgata has thoroughly practised and developed them [in all respects as just more fully described], and he could, therefore, should he desire it, live on yet for an aeon, or for that portion of the aeon which has yet to run.'

4. Evam pi kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavatā oḷārike nimitte kayiramāne oḷārike obhāse kayiramāne nâsakkhi paṭivijjhituṃ, na Bhagavantaṃ yāci: 'Tiṭṭhatu bhante Bhagavā kappaṃ, tiṭṭhatu Sugato kappaṃ bahujana-hitāya bahujana-sukhāya lokânukampāya atthāya hitāya sukhāya deva-manussānan' ti, yathā taṃ Mārena pariyuṭṭhita[2]-citto.

4. But even though a suggestion so evident and a hint so clear were thus given by the Exalted One, the venerable Ānanda was incapable of comprehending them ; and he besought not the Exalted One, saying:— 'Vouchsafe, lord, to remain during the aeon ! Live on through the aeon, O Happy One ! for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, for the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men! 'So far was his heart possessed by the Evil One[3].

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1. Iddhi. The four paths are: —(1) will, (2) effort, (3) thought, and (4) investigation, each united to earnest thought and the struggle against evil. On the Iddhi to be reached by them see above, Vol. I pp. 272, 273; and the translator's 'Buddhism,' pp. 1.74-7. The whole set of participles is used elsewhere of other conditions of mind. So, for instance, of universal love (mettā) at A. V, 342, quoted Jātaka II, 61, Mil. 198. An ancient commentary on them is preserved at Pātis = I, 172.
2. S[d] *here and* S[cd] *below* parivuṭṭhita-.
3. Yathā tam Mārena pariyutthitacitto. Here tam is the indeclinable particle, yathā tam introducing an explanation. My MS. of the Dīgha Nikāya and the Tumour MS. of the Sumangala Vilāsinī read parivutthita, and either spelling is correct. The fact is that the 'y' or 'v' in such cases is even less than euphonic ; it is an assistance

5. Dutiyam pi kho Bhagavā . . . pe . . . Tatiyam pi kho Bhagavā āyasmantam Ānandaṃ āmantesi:

'Ramaṇīyā Ānanda Vesālī, ramaṇīyaṃ Idenaṃ cetiyaṃ ramaṇīyaṃ Gotamakaṃ cetiyaṃ, ramaṇīyaṃ Sattambakaṃ cetiyaṃ, ramaṇīyaṃ Bahuputtaṃ cetiyaṃ, ramaṇīyaṃ Sārandadaṃ cetiyaṃ, ramaṇīyaṃ Cāpālaṃ cetiyaṃ.

'Yassa kassaci Ānanda cattāro iddhipādā bhāvitā bahulī-katā yāni-katā vatthu-katā anuṭṭhitā paricitā susā-māraddhā, so akaṅkhamāno kappaṃ vā tiṭṭheyya kappâ-vasessaṃ vā. Tathāgatassa kho Ānanda cattāro iddhipādā bhāvitā bahulī-katā yāni-katā vatthu-katā anuṭṭhitā paricitā susamāvaddhā, so akaṅkhamāno Ānanda Tathāgato kappaṃ vā tiṭṭheyya kappâvasesaṃ vā' ti.

Evam pi kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavatā oḷārike nimitte kayiramāne oḷārike obhāse kayiramāne nâsakkhi paṭi-vijjhituṃ, na Bhagavantaṃ yāci: 'Tiṭṭhatu bhante Bhagavā kappaṃ, tiṭṭhatu Sugato kappaṃ bahujana-hitāya bahujana-sukhāya lokânukampāya atthāya hitāya sukhāya deva-manussānan' ti, yathā taṃ Mārena pariyuṭṭhitacitto.

5. A second and a third time did the Exalted One [say the

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not to the speaker, but merely to the writer. Thus in the Sinhalese duwanawaâ, 'to run,' the spoken word is duanawaâ, and the 'w' is written only to avoid the awkward use in the middle of a written word of the initial sign for the sound 'a'. That the speakers of Paâli found no difficulty in pronouncing two vowels together is abundantly proved by numerous instances. The writers of Paâli, in those cases in which the second vowel begins a word, use without hesitation the initial sign; but in the middle of the word this would be so ungainly that they naturally prefer to insert a consonantal sign *to carry the vowel sign.* The varying readings I have pointed out are a strong confirmation of the correctness of the pronunciation of modern native scholars (in this case pari-utthita); and we may the more readily adopt it as the question is not really one concerning the pronunciation of Paâli, but concerning the use which modem native copyists make of their own alphabet. I would pronounce therefore pari-utthita-citto. See Windisch, 'Mara und Buddha,' p. 40; M. I, 433-4; Vin. II, 289; IV. 94, 229.

same thing, and a second and a third time was Ānanda's heart thus hardened].

6. Atha kho Bhagavā āyasmantaṃ āmantesi:

'Gaccha tvaṃ Ānanda, yassa dāni kālaṃ maññasîti.'

'Evaṃ bhante' ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato paṭissutvā uṭṭhāya' āsanā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā padakkhiṇaṃ katvā avidūre aññatarasmiṃ rukkha-mūle nisīdi.

6. Then the Exalted One addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said :— 'You may leave me, Ānanda. awhile, and do whatsoever now seemeth to thee fit.'

'So be it, lord !' said the venerable Ānanda, in assent, to the Exalted One, and passing him on the right sat down at the foot of a certain tree not far off thence.

7. Atha kho Māro pāpimā acira-pakkante āyasmante Ānande yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhāsi. Ekamantaṃ ṭhito kho Māro pāpimā Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca:

'Parinibbātu dāni bhante Bhagavā, parinibbātu Sugato, parinibbāna-kālo dāni bhante Bhagavato. Bhasitā kho pan' esā bhante Bhagavatā vācā: "Na tāvâhaṃ pāpima[1] parinibbāyissāmi yāva me bhikkhū na sāvakā bhavissanti viyattā vinītā visāradā[2] bahussutā dhamma-dharā dhammā-nudhamma-paṭipannā sāmīci-paṭipannā anudhamma-cā-rino,[3] sakaṃ ācariyakaṃ uggahetvā ācikkhissanti desessanti[4] paññāpessanti paṭṭhapessanti vivarissanti vibhajissanti uttāni[5]-karissanti, uppannaṃ parappavādaṃ saha dham-mena suniggahītaṃ[6] niggahetvā sappāṭihāriyaṃ dhammaṃ desessantîti."

1. S^c *always*, S^d *twice* pāpimā.
2. Windisch, Hardy, *and* Feet (*who says* BB *omit it*) *add throughout* pattayogakkhemā. Steinthal *has* visāradap-pattā yogakkhemā. Divy. *omits.*
3. Windisch p. 47 *adds* ye.
4. Hardy, Feer, *and* Steinthal, desissanti *throughout* (*but* desenti).
5. B^m -iṃ, *and below,;* K-nī.
6. B^m K -hitam.

7. Now not long after the venerable Ānanda had been

gone, Mara, the Evil One, approached the Exalted One and stood beside him. And so standing there, he addressed the Exalted One in these words :—

'Pass away now, lord ; let the Exalted One now die. Now is the time for the Exalted One to pass away—even according to the word which the Exalted One spoke when he said[1] :—" I shall not die, O Evil One! until the brethren and sisters of the Order, and until the lay-disciples of either sex[2] shall have become true hearers, wise and well trained, ready and learned, carrying the doctrinal books in their memory, masters of the lesser corollaries that follow from the larger doctrine, correct in life, walking according to the precepts—until they, having thus themselves learned the doctrine, shall be able to tell others of it, preach it, make it known, establish it, open it, minutely explain it and make it clear—until they, when others start vain doctrine easy to be refuted by the truth, shall be able in refuting it, to spread the wonder-working[3] truth abroad !"

8. 'Etarahi kho pana bhante[4] bhikkhū Bhagavato sāvakā viyattā vinītā visāradā bahussutā dhamma-dharā dhammânudhamma-paṭipannā sāmīci-paṭipannā anudha-mmācārino sakaṃ ācariyakaṃ uggahetvā ācikkhanti desenti paññāpenti paṭṭhapenti vivaranti vibhajanti uttāni-karonti, uppannaṃ parappavādaṃ saha dhammena suniggahītaṃ niggahetvā sappāṭihāriyaṃ dhammaṃ desenti. Parinib-bātu dātu dāni bhante Bhagavā, parinibbātu Sugato, parinibbāna-kālo dāni bhante Bhagavato.

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1. The words here quoted were spoken by the Buddha. after he had been enjoying the first bliss of Nirvana, under the goatherd's Nigrodha tree (see below, ch. III, § 34).
2. The whole paragraph is repeated, here and below, § 35, for each of these classes of persons.
3. Sappatihātriyam dhammam. (Comp. the opposite idea appatihīrakatam bhāsitam, D.I, 193, 239.) The two ideas are contrasted at KV. 561.
4. Hardy, Etarahi bhante. Feer, Steinthal, Santi kho pana bhante etarahi (*throughout*).

'Bhāsitā kho pan' esā bhante Bhagavatā vācā: "Na tāvâhaṃ pāpima parinibbāyissāmi yāva me bhikkhuniyo na sāvikā bhavissanti viyattā vinitā . . . pe . . . yāva me upāsakā na sāvakā bhavissanti vinītā visāradā bahussutā dhamma-dharā dhammânudhamma-paṭipannā sāmīci-paṭpannā anudhamma-cārino, sakaṃ ācariyakaṃ uggahetvā ācikkhissanti desessanti paññāpessanti paṭṭha-pessanti vivarissanti vibhajissanti uttāni-karissanti, uppannaṃ parappavādaṃ saha dhammena niggahetvā sappāṭihāriyaṃ dhammaṃ desessantîti." Etarahi kho pana bhante upāsakā Bhagavato sāvakā viyattā vinītā visāradā bahussutā dhamma-dharā dhammânudhamma-paṭipannā sāmīci-paṭipannā anudhamma-cārino sakaṃ ācariyakaṃ uggahetvā ācikkhanti desenti paññāpenti paṭṭhapenti vivaranti vibhajanti uttāni-karonti, uppannaṃ parappavādaṃ saha dhammena suniggahītaṃ niggahetvā sai pāṭihāriyaṃ dhammaṃ desenti. Parinibbātu dāni bhante Bhagavā, parinibbātu Sugato, parinibbāna-kālo dāni bhante Bhagavato.

'Bhāsitā kho pan' esā bhante Bhagavatā vācā: "Na tāvâhaṃ pāpima parinibbāyissāmi yāya me upāsikā na sāvikā bhavissanti viyattā vinītā visāradā bhussutā dhamma-dharā dhammânudhamma-paṭipannā sāmīci-paṭi-pannā anudha-mma-cāriniyo, sakaṃ ācariyakam uggahetvā acikkhissanti desessanti paññāpessanti paṭṭhapessanti vivarissanti vibhajissanti uttāni-karissanti, uppannaṃ parappaavādaṃ saha dhammena suniggahītaṃ niggahetvā sappāṭihāriyaṃ dhammaṃ desessantîti." Etarahi kho pana bhante upāsikā Bhagavato sāvikā viyattā vinītā visāradā bahussutā dhamma-dharā dhammânudhamma-paṭipannā samīci-paṭipannā anudhamma-cāriniyo, sakaṃ ācariyakaṃ uggahetvā ācikkhant desenti paññāpent paṭṭhapenti vivaranti vibhajanti uttāni-karonti, uppannaṃ parappavadaṃ saha dhammena suniggahitaṃ niggahetvā sappāṭihāriyaṃ dhammaṃ desenti. Parinibbatu dāni bhante Bhagavā, parinibbātu Sugato, parinibbāna-kālo dāni bhante Bhagavato.

'Bhāsitā kho pan' esā bhante Bhagavatā vācā: "Na

tāvâhaṃ pāvâhaṃ pāpima parinibbāyissāmi yāva me idaṃ[1] brahmacariyaṃ na iddhañ c'eva bhavissati phītañ[2] ca vitthārikaṃ bāhu-jaññaṃ puthu-bhūtaṃ, yāvad eva manussehi[3] suppakāsitan" ti. Etarahi kho pana bhante Bhagavato[4] brahmacariyaṃ iddhañ c' eva phītañ ca vitthārikaṃ bāhujaññaṃ puthu bhūtaṃ yāvad eva manussehi suppakāsitaṃ. Parinibbātu dāni bhante Bhagavā, parinibbātu Sugato, parinibbāna-kālo dāni bhante Bhagavato' ti.

8. 'And now, lord, the brethren and sisters of the order and the lay-disciples of either sex have become [all this], are able to do [all this]. Pass away now therefore, lord; let the Exalted One now die! The time has come for the Exalted One to pass away—even according to the word which he spake when he said, "I shall not die, O Evil One ! until this pure religion of mine shall have become successful, prosperous, wide-spread, and popular in all its full extent—until, in a word, it shall have been well proclaimed among men." And now, lord, this pure religion of thine has become [all this]. Pass away now therefore, lord ; let the Exalted One now die! The time has come for the Exalted One to pass away !'

9. Evaṃ vutte Bhagavā Māraṃ pāpimantaṃ etad avoca: 'Apposukko tvaṃ pāpima hohi, na ciraṃ Tathāgatassa parinibbānaṃ bhavissati, ito tiṇṇaṃ māsānaṃ accayena Tathāgato parinibbāyissatîti.'

9. And when he had thus spoken, the Exalted One addressed Mara, the Evil One, and said :— 'O Evil One ! make thyself happy, the death of the Tathāgata shall take place before long. At the end of three months from this time the Tathāgata will pass away."

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1. B^m Hardy, Feer, *and* Steinthal *and* SS *below* § 36, *etc.* idam; SS *here* imaṃ.
2. S^cd pītañ ; B^m phitañ, *and below.*
3. *So all* MSS. *and* K, *and* Feer *and* Steinthal. Hardy, deva-manussehi. Divy. deva-manuṣyebhyaḥ.
4. K *inserts* imaṃ. Hardy, Etarahi bhante Bh. br. Feer, Tayidaṃ bhante Bh. br. Steinthal = Dīgha.

10. Atha kho Bhagavā Cāpāle cetiye sato sampajāno āyu-saṃkhāraṃ ossaji,[1] ossaṭṭhe ca[2] Bhagavato[3] āyusaṃkhāre mahā-bhūmicālo ahosi bhiṃsanako lomahaṃsano,[4] deva-dundubhiyo ca phaliṃsu.[5] Atha kho Bhagavā etaṃ atthaṃ viditvā tāyaṃ velāyaṃ imam udānaṃ udānesi :

'Tulam atulañ[6] ca sambhavaṃ bhava-saṃkhāram avassajī[7] munī,[8]

Ajjhattarato samāhito abhida[9] kavacam iv' atta-sambhavan' ti.

10. Thus the Exalted One while at the Shrine of Chāpāla deliberately and consciously rejected the rest of his natural term of life[10]. And on his so rejecting it there arose a mighty earthquake, awful and terrible, and the thunders of heaven burst forth. And when the Exalted One beheld this, he broke out at that time into this hymn of exultation :—

'His sum of life the sage renounced,
The cause of life immeasurable or small;

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1. K Ud. *and* Wind. ossajji.
2. Hardy *omits.* Feer, pana.
3. B[m] K Hardy *and* Feer, -tā.
4. B[m] Hardy *and* SS *twice below* salomahaṃso; K, Feer, Steinthal, lomahaṃso, SS *here* lomahaṃsano.
5. Feer, caliṃsu, *and so* S[c] *the second time only.*
6. *So all* MSS. *and* K, A S and Udāna. *But* B[m] *in the* Udāna *has* ū . . . ū. Wind. 50.
7. S[t] oss[o]; S[cd]-khāra ossaji; K Steinthal, avassajji; B[m] Sum. Hardya *and* Feer, avassaji.
8. B[m] K Hardy *and* feer, muni.
9. B[m] abhinda. K Hardy *and* Feer, abhindi.
10. Āyu-samkhāram ossaji. The difficult term Āyu-samkhāra must here have the meaning in which it is used at Majjhima I, pp. 295, 296; Samyutta II, 266 ; Jātaka IV, 215. He renounced those tendencies, potentialities, which in the ordinary course of things, would otherwise have led to the putting together of, the building up of, more life (that is, of course, in this birth. Any more life in a future birth he had already renounced when, under the Wisdom Tree, he attained Nirvana).

With inward joy and calm, he broke,
Like coat of mail, his life's own cause ![1]'

11. Atha kho āyasmato Ānandassa etad ahosi: 'Acchariyaṃ vata bho abbhutaṃ vata mahā vatâyaṃ bhūmi-cālo sumahā vatâyaṃ bhūmi-cālo bhiṃsanako salomahaṃso,[2] deva-bundubhiyo ca phaliṃsu. Ko nu kho hetu ko paccayo mahato bhūmi-cālassa pātubhāvāyâti ?'[3]

11.[4] Now the following thought occurred to the venerable Ānanda:— 'Wonderful indeed and marvellous is it that this mighty earthquake should arise, awful and terrible, and that the thunders of heaven should burst forth ! What may be the proximate, what the remote cause of the appearance of this earthquake ?'

12. Atha kho āyasmā Ānando yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṃ kami, upasaṃkamitvā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. Ekamantaṃ nisinno kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca :

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1. This verse is obscure and possibly corrupt. See Windisch, 'Mara und Buddha,' pp. 37, 72 ; Ud. VI, I ; S. V, 263; Div. 203.
2. S[t] lomahaṃsano; K lomahaṃso.
3. S[cd] pātubhāvāya deva-dundhubhīnañ ca phālitun ti S[t] pātubhāvā deva-dundhubhīnañ ca phālitun.
4. The narrative is now interrupted by the insertion of paragraphs which at first sight seem to be quite out of place. But the connexion, or want of connexion, between them and the main story is very suggesiive as to the way in which the Sutta was put together. The whole chapter is an answer to a possible objection, either from outsiders or from weaker members of the fold, that if the Buddha were really so great why did he die at all. The suggested answer is that he could have lived on if he had so wished; but he did not wish because he had certain kinds of power and insight and self-mastery which prevented him from doing so. For the purpose of this answer these paragraphs, already in existence among the Suttas current in the community, and dealing with these powers, are here repeated without any such connecting argument as we should find under similar circumstances, in a modern (written) book of apologetics. The argument suggested by them follows exactly the same lines as that in the Mahāli Sutta, translated in the former volume (Number VI of the 'Dialogues').

'Acchariyaṃ bhante abbhutaṃ bhante mahā vatâyaṃ bhante bhūmi-cālo sumahā vatâyaṃ bhante bhūmi-cālo bhiṃsanako saloma-haṃso,[1] deva-dundubhiyo ca phaliṃsu. Ko nu kho bhante hetu ko paccayo mahato bhūmi-cālassa pātubhāvāyâti ?'

12. Then the venerable Ānanda went up to the place where the Blessed One was, and did obeisance to the Exalted One, and seated himself respectfully at one side, and said :— 'Wonderful indeed and marvellous is it that this mighty earthquake should arise, awful and terrible, and that the thunders of heaven should burst forth ! What may be the proximate, what the remote cause of the appearance of this earthquake ?'

13. 'Aṭṭha kho[2] ime Ānanda hetū aṭṭha paccayā mahato bhūmi-cālassa pātubhāvāya. Katame aṭṭha ? Ayaṃ Ānanda mahā-paṭhavī udake patiṭṭhitā, udakaṃ vāte patiṭṭhitaṃ, vāto ākāsaṭṭho hoti. So kho[2] Ānando samayo yaṃ mahā-vātā vāyanti, mahā-vātā vāyantā udakaṃ kampenti, udakaṃ kampitaṃ paṭhaviṃ kampeti. Ayaṃ paṭhamo hetu paṭhamo paccayo mahato bhūmi-cālassa pātubhāvāya.

13. 'Eight are the proximate, eight the remote causes, Ānanda, for the appearance of a mighty earthquake. What are the eight ? This great earth, Ānanda, is established on water, the water on wind, and the wind rests upon space. And at such a time, Ānanda, as the mighty winds blow, the waters are shaken by the mighty winds as they blow, and by the moving water the earth is shaken. These are the first causes, proximate and remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake[3].

14. 'Puna ca paraṃ Ānanda samaṇo vā hoti brāhmaṇo vā iddhimā cctovasippatto, devatā[4] vā mahiddhikā[5] mahânu-

1. K lomahaṃso.
2. Aṅg. iv. 312 *omits.*
3. Windisch, 'Mara und Buddha,' 61, adduces a number of interesting parallels, from European writers, to this curious old theory of earthquakes.
4. B^m K devo.
5. B^m K -o.

bhāvā,[1] yassa[2] parittā paṭhavi[3]-saññā bhāvitā hoti appamāṇā āpo-saññā, so imaṃ paṭhaviṃ kampeti saṃkampeti sampakampeti sampavedheti. Ayaṃ dutiyo hetu dutiyo paccayo mahato bhūmi-cālassa pātubhāvāya.

14. 'Again, Ānanda, a recluse or a brahmin of great [intellectual] power, and who has the feelings of his heart well under his control ; or a god or fairy (devatā[4]) of great might and power,—when such a one by intense meditation on the idea of the minutest portion of earth and on the idea of the widest expanse of water [has succeeded in realizing the comparative value of things] he can make this earth move and tremble and be

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1. Bm K -o.
2. Bm Hardy, tassa; *so* K, *with* yassa *in note.*
3. St Bm -vī.
4. Devatā is a fairy, god, genius, or angel. I am at a loss how to render this word without conveying an erroneous impression to those not familiar with ancient ideas, and specially with ancient Indian ideas, of the spirit world. It includes gods of all sorts; tree and river nymphs; the kindly fairies or ghosts who haunt houses (see my 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' Tale 40); spirits in the ground (see above, I, 26); the angels who minister at the great renunciation, the temptation, and the death of the Buddha ; the guardian angels who watch over men, and towns, and countries; and many other similar beings. 'Celestial beings' would be wholly inapplicable, for instance, to the creatures referred to in the curious passage above (I, 26). 'Superhuman being' would be an inaccurate rendering; for all these light and airy shapes come below, and after, man in the Buddhist order of precedence. 'Spirit' being used of the soul inside the human body, and of the human soul after it has left the body, and figuratively of mental faculties—none of which are included under devatā—would suggest ideas inconsistent with that of the Pāli word. As there is therefore no appropriate general word I have chosen, for each passage where the expression occurs, the word used in English of the special class more particularly referred to in the passage of the text. Here all kinds of devatās being referred to, and there being no word in English for them, all, I have ventured to put the word devatā into my version, and to trouble the reader with this note.

shaken violently[1]. These are the second causes, proximate and remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake.

15. 'Puna ca paraṃ Ānanda yadā Bodhisatto Tusitā kāyā cavitvā sato sampajāno mātu-kucchiṃ okkamati, tadā 'yaṃ paṭhavī kampati saṃkampati sampavedhati. Ayaṃ tatiyo hetu tatiyo paccayo mahato bhūmi-cālassa pātubhāvāya.

15. 'Again, Ānanda, when a Bodhisatta consciously and deliberately leaves his [temporary] form in the heaven of delight and descends into his mother's womb, then is this earth made to quake and tremble and is shaken violently. These are the third causes, proximate and remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake[2].

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1. Buddhaghosa here tells a long story how Sangharakkhita Sāmanera, the nephew of Nāga Thera, attained Arahantship on the day of his admission to the order; and at once proceeded to heaven, and standing on the pinnacle of the palace of the king of the gods, shook the whole place with his big toe; to the great consternation and annoyance of the exalted dwellers therein ! There is no doubt a real truth in the idea that deep thought can shake the universe, and make the palaces of the gods to tremble, just as faith is said in Matthew xxi. 21 to be able to remove mountains, and cause them to be cast into the sea. But these figurative expressions have, in Buddhism, become a fruitful soil for the outgrowth of superstitions and misunderstandings. The train of early Buddhist speculation in this field has yet to be elucidated.
2. The Bodhisatta's voluntary incarnation is looked upon by the Buddhists as a great act of renunciation, and curious legends have gathered about it. One is that on the night when she conceived his mother dreamt that a white elephant entered her side. The account will be found at length in my 'Buddhist Birth Stories' (pp. 62-4), and the earthquake is there mentioned in terms identical with those in the text. As I have pointed out in 'Buddhism' (p. 184), the white elephant legend is one of those hallowed sun stories by which half-converted Indians strove to embellish the life-story of the Teacher whose followers they had become. In the Lalita Vistara (Calc. ed., p. 63) the entrance of the elephant into Maya precedes the dream; but though the ignorant may have therefore accepted it as a fact, it is of course only a figure of speech—and I venture to think from

16. 'Puna ca paraṃ Ānanda yadā Bodhisatto sato sampajāno mātu-kucchismā nikkhamati, tadā 'yaṃ paṭhavī kampati saṃkampati sampakampati sampavedhati. Ayaṃ catuttho hetu catuttho paccayo mahato bhūmi-cālassa pātubhāvāya.

16. 'Again, Ānanda, when *a.* Bodhisatta deliberately and consciously quits his mother's womb, then the earth quakes and trembles and is shaken violently. This is the fourth cause, proximate and remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake.

17. 'Puna ca paraṃ Ānanda yadā Tathāgato anuttaraṃ sammā-sambodhiṃ abhisambujjhati, tadā 'yaṃ paṭhavī kampati saṃkampati sampakampati sampavedhati. Ayaṃ pañcamo hetu pañcamo paccayo mahato bhūmi-cālassa pātubhāvāya.

17. 'Again, Ānanda, when a Tathāgata arrives at the supreme and perfect enlightenment, then this earth quakes and trembles and is shaken violently. This is the fifth cause, proximate and remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake.

18. Puna ca paraṃ Ānanda yadā Tathāgato anuttaraṃ dhamma-cakkaṃ pavatteti, tadā 'yaṃ paṭhavī kampati saṃkampati sampakampati sampavedhati. Ayaṃ chaṭṭho hetu chaṭṭho paccayo mahato bhūmi-cālassa pātubhāvāya.

18. 'Again, Ānanda, when a Tathāgata founds the sublime kingdom of righteousness, then this earth quakes and trembles and is shaken violently. This is the sixth cause, proximate and remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake.

19. 'Puna ca paraṃ Ānanda yadā Tathāgato sato sampajāno āyu-saṅkhāraṃ ossajjati, tadā tadā 'yaṃ paṭhavī kampati saṃkampati sampakampati sampavedhati. Ayuṃ sattamo hetu sattamo paccayo mahato bhūmi-cālassa pātubhāvāya.

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the Indian standpoint, a beautiful figure of speech—to express the incarnation of divine mildness and majesty in a human form. The use of such a figure is not confined to India. In one of the Apocryphal Gospels, the Gospel according to the Hebrews, the incarnation of the divine gentleness and love is expressed by saying that a dove from heaven 'entered into' the human form.

19. 'Again, Ānanda, when a Tathāgata consciously and deliberately rejects the remainder of his life, then this earth quakes and trembles and is shaken violently. This is the seventh cause, proximate and remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake.

20. 'Puna ca paraṃ Ānanda yadā Tathāgato anupādisesāya nibbāna-bhātuyā parinibbāyati, tadā 'yaṃ paṭhavī kampati saṃkampati sampakampati sampavedhati. Ayaṃ aṭṭhamo hetu aṭṭhamo paccayo mahato bhūmi-cālassa pātubhāvāya.[1] Ime kho Ānanda aṭṭha hetū aṭṭha paccayā mahato bhūmi-cālassa pātubhāvāyâti.

20. 'Again, Ānanda, when a Tathāgata passes entirely away in that utter passing away in which nothing whatever is left behind, then this earth quakes and trembles and is shaken violently. This is the eighth cause, proximate and remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake.'

21. [2] 'Aṭṭha kho imā Ānanda parisā. Katamā aṭṭha ? Khattiya-parisā brāhamaṇa-parisā gahapati-parisā samaṇa-parisā Cātummahārājika-parisā Tāvatiṃsa-parisā Māra-parisā Brahma-parisā.

21. 'Now of eight kinds, Ānanda, are these assemblies. Which are the eight ? Assemblies of nobles, brahmins, householders and wanderers, and of the angel hosts of the Guardian Kings, of the Great Thirty-Three, of the Māras, and of the Brahmās.

22. 'Abhijānāmi kho panâhaṃ Ānanda aneka-sataṃ khattiya-parisaṃ upasaṃkamitvā,[3] tatra pi mayā sannisinna-pubbañ c'eva sallapita-pubbañca sākacchā ca samā-pajjita-pubbā. Tattha yādisako tesaṃ vaṇṇo hoti tādisako mayhaṃ vaṇṇo hoti, yādisako tesaṃ saro hoti tādisako mayhaṃ saro hoti, dhammiyā ca kathāya sandassemi samādapemi samuttejemi sampahaṃsemi. Bhāsamānañ, ca maṃ na jānanti "Ko nu kho ayaṃ bhāsati devo vā manusso vā" ti? Dhammiyā

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1. SS *have*-āyâti.
2. *Also in* Aṅguttara iv. 307-8, *and partly in* Majjhima i. 72.
3. K (*note*) upasaṃkamitātipi pāṭho. *So the* Majjhima *and* B[p] *in* A.

ca kathāya antaradhāyāmi, antarahitañ ca maṃ na jānanti "Ko nu kho ayaṃ antarahito devo vā manusso vā" ti?

22. 'Now I call to mind, Ānanda, how when I used to enter into an assembly of many hundred[1] nobles, before I had seated myself there or talked to them or started a conversation with them, I used to become in colour like unto their colour, and in voice like unto their voice. Then with religious discourse I used to instruct and incite, and quicken them, and fill them with gladness. But they knew me not when I spoke, and would say :— "Who may this be who thus speaks ? a man or a god ?" Then having instructed, incited, quickened, and gladdened them with religious discourse, I would vanish away. But they knew me not even when I vanished away : and would say:— "Who may this be who has thus vanished away ? a man or a god ?"

23. 'Abhijānāmi kho panâhaṃ Ānanda aneka-sataṃ brāhmaṇa-parisaṃ . . . pe . . . gahapati-parisaṃ samaṇa-parisaṃ . . . Cātummahārājika-parisaṃ . . . Tāvatiṃsa-parisaṃ . . . Māra-parisaṃ . . . Brahma-parisaṃ uapsaṃ-kamitvā, tatra pi mayā sannisinna-pubbañ c' eva sallapita-pubbañ ca sākacchā ca samāpajjita-pubbā, tattha yādisako tesaṃ vaṇṇo hoti tādisako mayhaṃ vaṇṇo hoti, yādisako tesaṃ saro hoti tādisako mayhaṃ saro hoti, dhammiyā ca kathāya sandassemi samādapemi samutte jemi sampahaṃsemi. Bhāsamānañ ca maṃ na jānanti "Ko nu kho ayaṃ bhāsati devo vā manusso vā" ti ? Dhammiyā ca kathāya sandassetvā samutte-jetvā sampahaṃsetvā antaradhāyāmi, antarahitañca maṃ na jānanti " Ko nu kho ayaṃ antarahito devo vāmanusso vā" ti ? Imā kho Ānanda aṭṭha parisā.

23. [And in the same words the Exalted One spake of how he had been used to enter into assemblies of each of the other of the eight kinds, and of how he had not been made known to them either in speaking or in vanishing away.] 'Now these, Ānanda, are the eight assemblies.'

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1. Windisch, 'Mara und Buddha,' p. 75, makes this number refer to the number of entrances, and quotes Itivuttaka, p. 15, in support. The Singhalese version (p. 758) is as above.

24. [1] **'Aṭṭha kho**[2] **imāni Ānanda abhibhâyatanāni. Katamāni aṭṭha ?**

24. 'Now these, Ānanda, are the eight positions of Mastery [over the delusion arising from the apparent permanence of external things[3]]. What are the eight ?

25. 'Ajjhattaṃ rūpa-saññī eko bahiddhā-rupāni passati parittāni suvaṇṇa-dubbaṇṇāni, "Tāni abhibhuyya jānāmi passāmîti" evaṃ-saññī hoti, idaṃ paṭhamaṃ abhibhâya-tanaṃ.

25. 'When a man having subjectively the idea of form sees forms external to himself which are finite, and pleasant or unpleasant to the sight, and having mastered them, is conscious that he knows and sees — this is the first position of mastery.

26. 'Ajjhattaṃ rūpa-saññī eko bhiddha-rupāni passati appamāṇāni suvaṇṇa-dubbaṇṇāni, "Tāni abhibhuyya jānāmi passāmîti" evaṃ-saññī hoti, idaṃ dutiyaṃ abhibhâyatanaṃ.

26. 'When a man having subjectively the idea of form sees externally forms which are boundless, and pleasant or unpleasant to the sight, and having mastered them, is conscious that he knows and sees—this is the second position of mastery.

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1. *Recurs* Aṅguttara iv. 305, 348; Majjhima ii. 13. *Comp.* Saṃyutta iv. 77.
2. S[cd] *ofter spell* nil[o] ; *and so* B[m] *throughout.* S[t] K nil-*throughout.*
3. This and the next paragraph are based upon the Buddhist belief as to the long-vexed question between the Indian schools who represented more or less closely the European Idealists and Realists. When cleared of the many repetitions inserted for the benefit of the repeaters or reciters, the fundamental idea seems to be that the great necessity is to get rid of the delusion that what one sees and feels is real and permanent. Nothing is real and permanent but character.

   The so-called eight Positions of Mastery are merely an expansion of the first two of the following eight Stages of Deliverance, and the whole argument is also expressed in another form in the passage on the nine successive 'Cessations,' of which an abstract will be found in Childers, sub voce nirodha.

27. 'Ajjhattaṃ arūpa-saññī eko bahiddhā-rūpāni passati parittāni suvaṇṇa-dubbaṇṇāni, "Tāni abhibhuyya jānāmi passāmîti" evaṃ-saññī hoti, idaṃ tatiyaṃ abhibhâya-tanaṃ.

27. 'When a man without the subjective idea of form sees forms external to himself which are finite, and pleasant or unpleasant to the sight, and having mastered them, is conscious that he knows and sees—this is the third position of mastery.

28. Ajjhattaṃ arūpa-saññī eko bahiddhā-rūpāni passati appamāṇāni suvaṇṇa-dubbaṇṇāni, "Tāni abhibhuyya jānāmi passāmîti" evaṃ-saññī hoti, idaṃ catutthaṃ abhibhâyatanaṃ.

28. 'When a man without the subjective idea of form sees externally forms external to himself which are boundless, and pleasant or unpleasant to the sight, and having mastered them, is conscious that he knows and sees—this is the fourth position of mastery.

29. 'Ajjhattaṃ arūpa-saññī eko bahiddhā-rūpāni passati nīlāni[1] nīla-vaṇṇāni nīla-nidassanāni nīla-nibhāsāni—seyyathā pi nāma ummā-pupphaṃ nīlaṃ nīla-vaṇṇaṃ nīla-nidassanaṃ nīla-nibhāsaṃ—seyyathā[2] vā pana taṃ vatthaṃ Bārāṇa-seyyakaṃ ubhato-bhāga-vimaṭṭhaṃ nīlaṃ nīla-vaṇṇaṃ nīla-nidassanaṃ nīla-nibhāsaṃ—evam eva ajjhattaṃ arūpa-saññī eko bahiddhā-rūpāni passati nīlāni nīla-vaṇṇāni nīla-nidassanāni nīla-nibhāsāni, "Tāni abhibhuyya jānāmi passāmîti" evaṃ-saññī hoti, idaṃ pañcaniaṃ abhibhâyata-naṃ.

29. 'When a man without the subjective idea of form sees externally forms external to himself that are blue, blue in colour, blue in appearance, and reflecting blue,—just, for instance, as the flax blossom is blue in colour, blue in appearance, and reflecting blue ; or, again, as that fine muslin of Benares, of delicate finish on both sides, is blue in colour, blue in appearance, and reflecting blue,—when a man without the subjective idea of form sees externally forms which, just in that way, are blue, blue

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1. S^{cd} *often spell* nil°; *and so* B^{m} *throughout.* S^{t} K nīl-*throughout.*
2. S^{c} *adds* pi (*erased here, but still left in below*).s

in colour, blue in appearance, and reflecting blue, and having mastered them, is conscious that he knows and sees—that is the fifth position of mastery.'

30. '**Ajjhattṃ arūpa-saññī eko bahiddhā-rūpāni passti pītāni[1] pīta-vaṇṇāni pīta-nidassanāti pīta-nibhāsāni—seyyathā pi nāma kaṇikāra[2]-puppham pītaṃ pīta-vaṇṇaṃ pīta-nidassanaṃ—seyyathā vā pana taṃ vatthaṃ Bārāṇaseyyakaṃ ubhato-bhāga-vimaṭṭhaṃ pītaṃ pīta-vaṇṇaṃ pīta-nidassanaṃ pīta-nibhāsaṃ—evam eva ajjhattaṃ arūpa-saññī eko bahiddhā-rūpāni passati pītāni pita-vaṇṇāni pīta-nidassanāni pīta-nibhāsāni, "Tāni abhibhuyya jānāmi passāmî ti" evaṃ-saññī hoti, idaṃ chaṭṭhaṃ abhibhâyatanaṃ.**

31. **Ajjhattaṃ arūpa-saññī eko bahiddhā-rūpāni passati lohitakāni lohitaka-vaṇṇāni lohitaka-nidassanāni lohitaka-nibhāsāni—seyyathā pi nāma bandhujīvaka-pupphaṃ lohitakaṃ lohitaka-vaṇṇaṃ lohitaka-nidassanaṃ hohitaka-nibhāsaṃ—seyyathā vā pana taṃ vatthaṃ Bhāṇāseyyakaṃ ubhato-bhāga-vimaṭṭhaṃ lohitakaṃ lohitaka-vaṇṇaṃ lohitaka-nidassanaṃ lohitaka-nibhāsaṃ—evam eva ajjhat-taṃ arūpa-saññī eko bahiddhā-rūpāni passati lohitakāni lohitaka-vaṇṇāni lohitaka-nidassanāni lohitaka-nibhāsāni, "Tāni abhibhuyya jānāmîti" evaṃ-saññī hoti, idaṃ sattamaṃ abhibhâyatanaṃ.**

32. '**Ajjhattaṃ arūpa-saññī eko bahiddhā-rūpāni passati odātāni odāta-vaṇṇāni odāta-nidassanāni odātā-nibhāsāni—seyyathā pi nāma osadhi-tārakā odātā odāta-vaṇṇā odāta-nidassanā odāta-nibhāsā—seyyathā vā pana taṃ vatthaṃ Bārāṇaseyyakaṃ ubhato-bhāga-vimaṭṭhaṃ odātaṃ odāta-vaṇṇaṃ odāta-nidassanaṃ odāta-nibhāsaṃ—evam eva ajjhattaṃ arūpa-saññī eko bahiddhā-rūpāni passati odātāni odātāni odāta-vaṇṇāni odāta-nidassanāni odāta-nibhāsāni, "Tāni abhibhuyya jānāmi passâîti" evaṃ-saññī hoti, idaṃ aṭṭhamaṃ abhibhâyatanaṃ. Imāni kho Ānanda aṭṭha abhibhâyatanāni.**

1. B^m pitāni, *and so throughout.*
2. K kaṇṇ°.

30-2. [The sixth, seventh, and eighth positions of mastery are explained in words identical with those used to explain the fifth ; save that yellow, red, and white are respectively substituted throughout for blue ; and the Kanikara flower, the Bandhugivaka flower, and the morning star are respectively substituted for the flax blossom, as the first of the two objects given as examples.]

33. [1] **'Aṭṭha kho ime Ānanda vimokhā. Katame aṭṭha ?**

'Rūpī rupāni passati, ayaṃ paṭhamo vimokho.

'Ajjhattaṃ arūpa-saññī bahiddhā-rūpāni passati, ayaṃ dutiyo vimokho.

' "Subhan" t'eva adhimutto hoti, ayaṃ tatiyo vimokho.

'Sabbaso rūpa-saññānaṃ samatikkamā paṭigha-saññānaṃ atthagamā,[2] **nānatta-saññānaṃ amanasikārā, "Ananto ākāso" ti ākāsânañcâyatanaṃ upasampajja viharati, ayaṃ catuttho vimokho.**

'Sabbaso ākāsânañcâyatanaṃ samatikkamma "Anan-taṃ viññāṇan" ti viññāṇañcâyatanaṃ upasampajja viharati, ayaṃ pañcamo vimokho.

'Sabbaso viññāṇañcâyatanaṃ samatikkamma "N'atthi kiñcîti" ākiñcaññâyatanaṃ upasampajja viharati, ayaṃ chaṭṭho vimokho.

'Sabbaso ākiñcaññâyatanaṃ samatikkamma nevasaññānásaññâyatanaṃ upasampajja viharati, ayaṃ śattamo vimokho.

'Sabbaso nevasaññā-nâsaññâyatanaṃ samatikkamma saññā-vedayita-nirodhaṃ upasampajja viharati, ayaṃ aṭṭhamo vimokho.

'Ime kho Ānanda aṭṭha vimokhā.

33.[3] 'Now these stages of Deliverance, Ānanda [from the hindrance to thought arising from the sensations and ideas due to external forms], are eight in number. Which are the eight?

1. *See ante* xv. 35, Aṅguttara iv. 306, 349.
2. S^{c} -āya; B^{m} K Hardy, -aṅgamā.
3. These have already occurred in the Mahā Nidāna (p. 70 of the text). The English version here is made somewhat fuller.

'A man possessed of form sees forms—this is the first stage of deliverance.

'Unaware of his own form, he sees forms external to himself—this is the second stage of deliverance.

'With the thought "it is well," he becomes intent— this is the third stage of deliverance.

"By passing quite beyond all idea of form, by putting an end to all idea of sensory impact[1], by paying no attention to the idea of multiformity, he, thinking "it is all infinite space," reaches [mentally] and remains in the state of mind in which the idea of the infinity of space is the only idea that is present—this is the fourth stage of deliverance.

'By passing quite beyond all idea of space being the infinite basis, he, thinking "it is all infinite reason," reaches [mentally] and remains in the state of mind to which the infinity of reason is alone present—this is the fifth stage of deliverance.

'By passing quite beyond the consciousness of the infinity of reason, he, thinking "nothing at all exists,' reaches [mentally] and remains in the state of mind to which nothing at all is specially present—this is the sixth stage of deliverance.

'By passing quite beyond all idea of nothingness he reaches {mentally] and remains in the state of mind to which neither ideas nor the absence of ideas are specially present—this is the seventh stage of deliverance.

'By passing quiî beyond the state of "neither ideas nor the absence of ideas" he reaches [mentally] and remains in the state of mind in which both sensations and ideas have ceased to be—this is the eighth stage of deliverance.

'Now these, Ānanda, are the eight stages of Deliverance.'

34. 'Ekaṃmidâhaṃ Ānanda samayaṃ Uruvelāyaṃ[2] viharāmi najjā Nerañjarāya tīre Ajapāla-nigrodhe[3] paṭhamâbhisambuddho. Atha kho Ānanda Māro pāpimā yenâhaṃ

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1. On these technical terms see Mrs. Rhys Davids's 'Buddhist Psychology,' Pp. 72. 182, 204.
2. S^c Ūr^o.
3. S^c nigrodha-mūle. *But see* Kathā Vatthu 559.

ten' uasaṃkami, upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā ekamantaṃ Aṭṭhāsi. Ekam-antaṃ ṭhito kho Ānanda Māro pāpimā maṃ etad avoca: "Parinibbātu dāni bhante Bhagavā, parinibbātu Sugato, parinibbāna-kālo dāni bhante Bhagavato" ti.

34. 'On one occasion, Ānanda, I was resting under the goatherd's Nigrodha tree on the bank of the river Nerañjarā immediately after having reached the great enlightenment. Then Mara, the Evil One, came, Ānanda, to the place where I was, and standing beside me he addressed me in the words :— "Pass away now, lord, from existence! Let the Exalted One now die ! Now is the time for the Exalted One to pass away !"

35. 'Evaṃ vutte vutte ahaṃ Ānanda Māraṃ pāpimaṃ etad avocaṃ:

' "Na tāvâhaṃ pāpima parinibbāyissāmi yāva me bhikkhū na sāvakā bhavissanti viyattā vinītā visāradā bahussutā dhamma-dharā dhammânudhamma-paṭipannā sāmīci-paṭipannā anudhamma-cārino, sakaṃ ācariyakaṃ uggahetvā ācikkhissanti desessantî[1] paññāpessanti paṭṭhapessanti vivarissanti vibhajissanti uttāni-karissanti, uppannaṃ parappavādaṃ saha dhammena suniggahītaṃ niggahetvā sappāṭihāriyaṃ dhammaṃ desessanti.

' "Na tāvâhaṃ pāpima parinibbāyissāmi yāva me bhikkhuniyo na sāvikā bhavissanti viyattā vinītā visāradā bahussutā dhamma-dharā dhammânudhamma-paṭipannā sāmīci-paṭipannā anudhamma-cāriniyo, sakaṃ ācariyakaṃ uggahetvā ācikkhissanti desessanti paññāpessanti paṭṭapessanti vivarissanti vibhajissanti uttāni-karissanti, uppannaṃ parappavādaṃ saha dhammena suniggahītaṃ niggahetvā sappāṭihāriyaṃ dhammaṃ desessanti.

' "Na tāvâhaṃ pāpima parinibbāyissāmi yāva me upāsakā na sāvikā bhavissanti viyattā vinītā visāradā bahussutā dhamma-dharā dhammânudhamma-paṭipannā sāmīci-paṭipannā anudhamma-cārino, sakaṃ ācariyakaṃ uggahetvā ācikkhissanti desessanti paññāpessanti paṭṭapessanti vivaris-santi vibhajissanti uttāni-karissanti, uppannaṃ parappavā-

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1. S[ct] desiss°; S[d] desess° *corrected to* desiss°.

daṃ saha dhammena suniggahītaṃ niggahetvā sappāṭihāri-yaṃ dhammaṃ desessanti.

' "Na tāvâhaṃ pāpima parinibbāyissāmi yāva me upāsikā na sāvikā bhavissanti viyattā vinītā visāradā bahussutā dhamma-dharā dhammânudhamma-paṭipannā sāmīci-paṭipannā anudhamma-cāriniyo, sakaṃ ācariyakaṃ uggahetvā ācikkhissanti desessanti paññāpessanti paṭṭha-pessanti vivarissanti vibhajissanti uttāni-karissanti, uppannaṃ parappavādaṃ saha dhammena suniggahītaṃ niggahetvā sappāṭihāriyaṃ dhammaṃ desessanti.

' "Na tāvâhaṃ pāpima parinibbāyissāmi yāva me idaṃ brahmacariyaṃ na iddhañ c'eva bhavissati phītañ ca vitthārikaṃ bāhujaññaṃ puthu-bhūtaṃ, yāvad eva manus-sehi suppakāsitan" ti.

35. 'And when he had thus spoken, Ānanda, I addressed Mara, the Evil One, and said :— "I shall not pass away, O Evil One ! until not only the brethren and sisters of the Order, but also the lay-disciples of either sex shall have become true hear-ers, wise and well trained, ready and learned, carrying the doc-trinal books in their memory, masters of the lesser corollaries that follow from the larger doctrine, correct in life, walking accord-ing to the precepts—until they, having thus themselves learned the doctrine, shall be able to tell others of it, preach it, make it known, establish it, open it, minutely explain it and make it clear—until they, when others start vain doctrine easy to be re-futed by the truth, shall be able in refuting it to spread the won-der-working truth abroad ! I shall not die until this pure religion of mine shall have become successful, prosperous, wide-spread, and popular in all its full extent—until, in a word, it shall have been well proclaimed among men !"

36. 'Idāni c'eva kho Ānanda ajja Cāpāle cetiye Māro pāpimā yenâhaṃ ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhāsi. Ekamantaṃ ṭhito kho Ānanda Māro pāpimā maṃ etad avoca:

' "Parinibbātu dāni bhante Bhagavā, parinibbātu Sugato, parinibbāna-kālo dāni bhante Bhagavato. Bhāsitā kho pan'

esā bhante Bhagavatā vācā: 'Na tāvâhaṃ pāpima parinibbāyissāmi yāva me bhikkhū na sāvakā bhavissanti[1] viyattā vinītā visāradā bahussutā dhammadharā dhammânu-dhamma-paṭipannā sāmīci-paṭipannā anudhamma-cārino, sakaṃ ācariyakaṃ uggahetvā ācikkhissanti desessanti paññāpessanti paṭṭhapessanti vivarissanti vibhjissanti uttāni-karissanti, uppannaṃ para-ppavādaṃ saha dhammena suniggahītaṃ niggahetvā sappāṭihāriyaṃ dhammaṃ desessantîti.' Etarahi kho pana bhante bhikkhū Bhagavaṭo sāvakā viyattā vinītā visāradā bahussutā dhamma-dharā dhammânudhamma-paṭipannā sāmīci-paṭipannā anu-dhamma-cārino, sakaṃ ācariyakaṃ uggahetvā ācikkhanti desenti paññāpenti paṭṭhapenti vivaranti vibhajanti uttāni-karonti, uppannaṃ parappavādaṃ saha dhammena sunigga-hītaṃ niggahetvā sappāṭihāriyaṃ dhammaṃ desenti. Parinibbātu dāni bhante Bhagavā, parinibbātu Sugato, parinibbāna-kālo dāni bhante Bhagavato. Bhāsitā kho pan' esā bhante Bhagavatā vācā: 'Na tāvâhaṃ pāpima parinibbā-yissāmi yāva me bhikkhuniyo . . . pe . . . yāva me upāsakā . . . yāva me upāsikā . . . yāva me idaṃ brahmacariyaṃ na iaddañ c'eva bhavissati phītañ ca vitthārikaṃ bāhujaññaṃ puthu-bhūtaṃ, yāvad eva manussehi suppakāsitan' ti. Etarahi kho pana bhante Bhagavato brahma-cariyaṃ iddhañ c'eva phītañ ca vitthārikaṃ bāhujaññaṃ puthu-bhūtaṃ, yavad eva manussehi suppakāsitaṃ. Parinibbātu dāni bhante Bhagavā, parinibbātu Sugato, parinibbāna-kālo dāni bhante Bhagavato" ti.

36. 'And now again to-day, Ānanda, at Chāpāla's Shrine Mara, the Evil One, came to the place where I was, and standing beside me addressed me [in the same words].

37. 'Evaṃ vutte ahaṃ Ānanda Māraṃ pāpimantaṃ etad evocṃ: "Appossukko tvaṃ pāpima hohi, na ciraṃ

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1. K *abbreviates without* pe, *goes on* yâva me bhikkhuniyo na sāvikā bhavissanti. Yāva me upāsakā na sāvakā bhavissanti. Yāva me upasikā na sāvikā bhavissanti. Yāva me idaṃ brahmacariyaṃ, etc.

Tathāgatassa parinibbānaṃ bhavissati, ito tiṇṇaṃ māsānaṃ accayena Tathāgato parimbbāyissatîti."

'Idān' eva kho Ānanda ajja Cāpāle cetiye Tathāgatena satena sampajānena āyu-saṅkhāro ossaṭṭho' ti.

37. 'And when he had thus spoken, Ānanda, I answered him and said :— "Make thyself happy, the passing away of the Tathāgata shall take place before long. At the end of three months from this time the Tathāgata will pass away !"

'And now again, Ānanda, the Tathāgata has to-day at Chāpāla's Shrine consciously and deliberately rejected the rest of his allotted term of life.'

38. Evaṃ vutte āyasmā Ānando Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca: 'Tiṭṭhatu bhante Bhagavā kappaṃ, tiṭṭhatu Sugato kappaṃ, bahujana-hitāya bahujana-sukhāya lokânukam-pāya atthāya hitāya sukhāya deva-manussānan' ti.

'Alaṃ dāni[1] Ānanda mā Tathāgataṃ yāci, akālo dāni Ānanda Tathāgataṃ yācanāyâti.'

38. And when he had thus spoken the venerable Ānanda addressed the Exalted One, and said :— 'Vouchsafe, lord, to remain during the aeon : live on through the kalpa, O Exalted One! for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, for the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men !'

'Enough now, Ānanda, beseech not the Tathāgata ! was the reply. 'The time for making such request is past.'

39. Dutiyam pi kho āyasmā Ānando . . . pe . . .

Tatiyam pi kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca :

'Tiṭṭhatu bhante Bhagavā kappaṃ, tiṭṭhatu Sugato kappaṃ, bahujana-hitāya bahujana-sukhāya lokânu-kampāya atthāya hitāya sukhāya deva-manussānan' ti.

'Saddahasi tvaṃ Ānanda Tathāgatassa bodhin' ti ?

'Evam bhante.'

'Atha kiñ carahi tvaṃ Ānanda Tathāgataṃ yāva-titiyakaṃ abhinippīḷesîti'?

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1. S[cdt] *omit.*

39. And again, the second time, the venerable Ānanda besought the Exalted One [in the same words. And he received from the Exalted One the same reply].

And again, the third time, the venerable Ānanda besought the Exalted One [in the same words].

'Hast thou faith, Ānanda, in the wisdom of the Tathāgata?'

'Even so, lord !'

'Now why, then, Ānanda, dost thou trouble the Tathāgata even until the third time ?'

40. 'Sammukhā me taṃ bhante Bhagavato sutaṃ sammukhā paṭiggahītaṃ : "Yassa kassaci Ānanda cattāro ddhipādā bhāvitā bahulī-katā yāni-katā vatthu-katā anuṭṭhitā paricitā susamāraddhā, so ākaṅkhamāno kappaṃ vā tiṭṭheyya kappâvasesaṃ vā. Tathāgatassa kho Ānanda cattāto iddhipādā . . . pe . . . kappāvasesaṃ vā ti." '

'Saddahasi tvaṃ Ānandâti ?'

'Evaṃ bhante.'

'Tasmāt ih' Ānanda tuyh' ev' etaṃ dukkataṃ, tuyh' ev' etaṃ aparaddhaṃ yaṃ tvaṃ Tathāgatena evaṃ oḷārike nimitte kayiramāne, oḷārike obhāse kayiramāne, nâsakkhi paṭivijjhituṃ, na Tathāgataṃ yāci: "Tiṭṭhatu Bhagavākappaṃ, tiṭṭhatu Sugato kappāṃ, bahujana-hitāya bahujana-sukhāya lokânukampāya atthāya hitāya sukhuāya deva-manussānan" ti. Sāce tvaṃ Ānanda Tathāgataṃ yāceyyāsi, dve va te vācā Tathāgato paṭikkhipeyya, atha tatiyakaṃ adhivāseyya. Tasmāt ih' Ānanda tuyh' ev' etaṃ dukkataṃ, tuyh' ev' etaṃ aparaddhaṃ.

40. 'From his own mouth have I heard from the Exalted One, from his own mouth have I received this saying :— "Whosoever has developed, practised, dwelt on, expanded, and ascended to the very heights of the four paths to Iddhi, and so mastered them as to be able to use them as a vehicle, and as a basis, he, should he desire it, could remain in the same birth for an aeon, or for that portion of the aeon which had yet to run." Now the Tathāgata has thoroughly practised and developed them [in all respects as just now fully described], and he could, there-

fore, should he desire it, live on yet for an aeon, or for that portion of the aeon which has yet to run.'

'Hast thou faith, Ānanda ?'

'Even so, lord !'

'Then, O Ānanda, thine is the fault, thine is the offence—in that when a suggestion so evident and a hint so clear were thus given thee by the Tathāgata, thou wast yet incapable of comprehending them, and thou besoughtest not the Tathāgata, saying:—"Vouchsafe, lord, to remain during the aeon for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, for the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men." If thou shouldst then have so besought the Tathāgata, the Tathāgata might have rejected the appeal even to the second time, but the third time he would have granted it. Thine, therefore, O Ānanda, is the fault, thine is the offence!

41. 'Ekam idâhaṃ Ānanda samayaṃ Rājagahe viharāmi Gijjha-kūṭe pabbate. Tatrâpi kho tâhaṃ Ānanda āmantesiṃ: "Ramaṇīyaṃ Ānanda Rājagahaṃ, ramaṇīyo Gijjhakūṭo pabbato. Yassa kassaci Ānanda cattāro iddhipādā bhāvitā bahulī-katā yāni-katā vatthu-katā anuṭṭhitā pricitā susamāraddhā, so ākaṅkhamāno kappaṃ vā tiṭṭheyya kappâvasesaṃ vā. Tathāgatassa kho Ānanda cattāro iddhipādā bhāvitā bahulī-katā yāni-katā vatthu-katā anuṭṭhitā paricitā susamā-raddhā. Ākaṅkhamāno Ānanda Tathāgato kappaṃ vā tiṭṭheyya kappâvasesaṃ va" ti. Evam pi kho tvaṃ Ānanda Tathāgatena oḷārike nimitte kayiramāne,[1] oḷārike obhāse kayiramāne,[2] nâsakkhi paṭivijjhituṃ, na Tathāgataṃ yāci: "Tiṭṭhatu Bhagavā kappaṃ, tiṭṭhatu Sugato kappaṃ, bahujana-hitāya bahujanasukhāya lokânukampāya atthāya hitāya sukhāya devamanussānan" ti. Sace tvaṃ Ānanda Tathāgataṃ yāceyyāsi, dve va te vācā Tathāgato paṭikkhi-peyya, atha tatiyakaṃ adhivāseyya. Tasmāt ih' Ānanda tuyh' ev' etaṃ dukkataṃ, tuyh' ev' etaṃ aparaddhaṃ.

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1. B^{m} kariyam°.
2. B^{m} kariyam°.

41. 'On one occasion, Ānanda, I was dwelling at Rājagaha, on the hill called the Vulture's Peak. Now there, Ānanda, I spoke to thee, and said :—"How pleasant a spot, Ānanda, is Rājagaha; how pleasant is this Vulture's Peak. Whosoever, Ānanda, has developed, practised, dwelt on, expanded, and ascended to the very heights of the four paths to Iddhi, and so mastered them as to be able to use them as a vehicle, and as a basis, he, should he desire it, could remain in the same birth for an aeon, or for that portion of the aeon which had yet to run. Now the Tathāgata has thoroughly practised and developed them [in all respects as just now fully described], and he could, therefore, should he desire it, live on yet for an aeon, or for that portion of the aeon which has yet to run." But even when a suggestion so evident and a hint so clear were thus given thee by the Tathāgata, thou wast yet incapable of comprehending them, and thou besought-est not the Tathāgata, saying :— "Vouchsafe, lord, to remain during the aeon. Live on, O Exalted One! through the aeon for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, for the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men." If thou shouldst then have so besought the Tathāgata, the Tathāgata might have rejected the appeal even to the second time, but the third time he would have granted it. Thine, therefore, O Ānanda, is the fault, thine is the offence !

42. 'Ekam idâhaṃ Ānanda samayaṃtatth' eva Rājagahe viharāmi Nigrodhârāme[1]. . . pe . . . tatth' eva Rājagahe viharāmi Cora-papāte[2] . . . tatth' eva Rājagahe viharāmi Vebhāra-passe Sattapaṇṇi-guhāyaṃ[3] . . . tatth' eva Rājagahe viharāmi Isigili-passe Kāḷa-silāyaṃ . . . tatth' eva Rājagahe viharāmi Sīta-vane sappasoṇḍika-pabbhāre . . . tatth' eva Rājagahe viharāmi Tapodârāme . . . tatth' eva Rājagahe viharāmi Veḷuvane Kalandaka-nivāpe . . . tatth' eva Rājagahe viharāmi Jīvakambavane . . . tatth' eva Rājagahe viharāmi Maddakucchismiṃ migadāye.

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1. B[m] K Gotamanigrodhe, *as below.*
2. B[m] corappāte; K corappapāte.
3. B[m] Tattapaṇṇiguhāraṃ; S[dt] H Sattapaṇṇa-.

42. 'On one occasion, Ānanda, I was dwelling at that same Rājagaha in the Banyan Grove—on one occasion at that same Rājagaha at the Robbers' Cliff—on one occasion at that same Rājagaha in the Satta-panni cave on the slope of Mount Vebhāra—on one occasion at that same Rājagaha at the Black Rock on the slope of Mount Isigili—on one occasion at that same Rājagaha in the Sītavana Grove in the mountain cave Sappasondika—on one occasion at thac same Rājagaha in the Tapoda Grove—on one occasion at that same Rājagaha in the Bambu Grove in the Squirrels' Feeding Ground—on one occasion at that same Rājagaha in Jivaka's Mango Grove—on one occasion at that same Rājagaha in the Deer Forest at Maddakucchi.

43. 'Tatrâpi kho tâhaṃ Ānanda āmantesiṃ: "Ramaṇīyaṃ Ānanda Rājagahaṃ, ramaṇīyo Gijjha-kūṭo pabbato, ramaṇīyo Gotama-nigrodho, ramaṇīyo Cora-papāto, ramaṇīyā Vebhāra-passe Sattapaṇṇi-guhā, ramaṇīyā Isigili-passe Kāḷa-silā, ramaṇīyo Sīta-vane Sappasoṇḍika-pabbhāro, ramaṇīyo Tapodârāmo, ramaṇīyo Veluvane Kalandaka-nivāpo, ramaṇīyo Jīvakambavanaṃ, ramaṇīyo Maddakucchis-miṃ migadāyo.

43. 'Now there too, Ānanda, I spoke to thee, and said :—"How pleasant, Ānanda, is Rijagaha ; how pleasant the Vulture's Peak ; how pleasant the Banyan tree of Gotama; how pleasant the Robbers' Cliff; how pleasant the Sattapanni cave on the slope of Mount Vebhāra; how pleasant the Black Rock on the slope of Mount Isigili; how pleasant the mountain cave of the Serpent's Pool in the Sītavana Grove; how pleasant the Tapoda Grove ; how pleasant the Squirrels' Feeding Ground in the Bambu Grove; how pleasant Jivaka's Mango Grove; how pleasant the Deer Forest at Maddakucchi!"

44. ' "Yassa kassaci Ānanda cattāro iddhipādā bhāivita bhaulī-katā yāni-katā vatthu-katā anuṭṭhitā paricitā susamāraddhā, so ākaṅkhamāno kappaṃ vā tiṭṭheyya kappâvasesaṃ vā. Tathāgatassa kho Ānanda cattāro iddhipādā bhāvitā bahulī-katā yāni-katā vatthu-katā anuṭṭhitā paricitā susamāraddhā. Ākaṅkhamāno Ānanda Tathāgato kappaṃ vā tiṭṭheyya kappâvasesaṃ vā" ti. Evam pi kho tvaṃ Ānanda Tathāgatena

oḷārike nimitte kayiramāne, oḷārike obhāse kayiramāne, nâsakkhi paṭivijjhituṃ, na Tathāgataṃ yāci: "Tiṭṭhatu Bhagavā kappaṃ, tiṭṭhatu Sugato kappaṃ, bahujana-hitāya bahujana-sukhāya lokânukampāya atthāya hitāya sukhāya deva-manussānan" ti. Sace tvaṃ Ānanda Tathāgataṃ yāceyyāsi, dve va te vācā Tathāgato paṭikkhi-peyya, atha ta yakaṃ adhivā-seyya. Tasmāt ih' Ānanda tuyh' ev' etaṃ dukkataṃ, tuyh' ev' etaṃ aparaddhaṃ.

44. "Whosoever, Ānanda, has developed, practised, dwelt on, expanded, and ascended to the very heights of the four paths to Iddhi, and so mastered them as to be able to use them as a vehicle, and as a basis, he, should he desire it, could remain in the same birth for an aeon, or for that portion of the aeon which had yet to run. Now the Tathāgata has thought out and thoroughly practised them [in all respects as just now fully described], and might, should he desire it, remain alive for an aeon, or for that portion of an aeon which has yet to run." But even when a suggestion so evident and a hint so clear were thus given thee by the Tathāgata, thou wast yet incapable of comprehending them, and thou besought-est not the Tathāgata, saying :—"Vouchsafe, lord, to remain during the aeon. Live on, O Exalted One! through the aeon for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, for the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men." If thou shouldst then have so besought the Tathāgata, the Tathāgata might have rejected the appeal even to the second time, but the third time he would have granted it. Thine, therefore, O Ānanda, is the fault, thine is the offence!

45. 'Ekam idâhaṃ Ānanda samayaṃ idh' eva Vesāliyaṃ viharāmi Udene cetiye. Tatrâpi kho tâhaṃ Ānanda āmantesiṃ: "Ramaṇīyā Ānanda Vesālī, ramaṇīyaṃ Udenaṃ cetiyaṃ. Yassa kassaci Ānanda cattāro iddhipādā bhāvitā bahulī-katā yāni-katā vatthu-katā anuṭṭhitā paricitā susamāraddhā, so ākaṅkhamāno kappaṃ vā tiṭṭheyya kappâvasesaṃ vā. Tathāgatassa kho Ānanda cattāro iddhipādā bhāvitā bahulī-katā yāni-katā vatthu-katā anuṭṭhitā paricitā susamāraddhā. Ākaṅkhamāno Ānada Tathāgato kappaṃ vā tiṭṭheyya kappâ-

vasesaṃ vā" ti. Evam pi kho tvaṃ Ānanda Tathāgatena oḷārike nimitte kayiramāne, oḷārke obhāse kayiramāne, nâsakkhi paṭivijjhituṃ, na Tathāgataṃ yāci: "Tiṭṭhatu Bhagavā kappaṃ tiṭṭhatu Sugato kappaṃ, bahujana-hitāya bahujana-sukhāya lokânukampāya atthāya hitāya sukhāya deva-manussān in" ti. Sace tvaṃ Ānanda Tathātataṃ yāceyyasi, dve a te vācā Tathāgato paṭikhippeyya, atha tatiyakaṃ adhivāseyya. Tasmāt in' Ānanda tuyh' ev' etaṃ dukkataṇ, tuyh' ev' etaṃ aparaddhaṃ.

45. 'On one occasion, Ānanda, I was residing here at Vesālī at the Udena Shrine. And there too, Ānanda, I spoke to thee, and said :— "How pleasant, Ānanda, is Vesālī : how pleasant the Udena Ketiya. Whosoever, Ānanda, has thought out, developed, practised, dwelt on, expanded, and ascended to the very heights of the four paths to Iddhi, and so mastered them as to be able to use them as a vehicle, and as a basis, he, should he desire it, could remain in the same birth for an aeon, or for that portion of the aeon which had yet to run. Now the Tathāgata has thought out and thoroughly practised them [in all respects as just now fully described], and might, should he desire it, remain alive for an aeon, or for that portion of an aeon which has yet to run." But when a suggestion so evident and a hint so clear were thus given thee by the Tathāgata. thou wast yet incapable of comprehending them, and thou besoughtest not the Tathāgata, saying:— "Vouchsafe, Lord, to remain during the aeon. Live on, O Exalted One! through the aeon for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, for the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men." If thou shouldst then have so besought the Tathāgata, the Tathāgata might have rejected the appeal even to the second time, but the third time he would have granted it. Thine, therefore. O Ānanda, is the fault thine is the offence !

46. 'Ekam idâhaṃ Ānanda samayaṃ idh' eva Vesāliyaṃ viharāmi Gotamake cetiye . . . pe . . . idh' eva Vesāliyaṃ viharāmi Sattamba-cetiye . . . idh' eva Vesāliyaṃ viharāmi

Bahuputte cetiye . . . idh' eva Vesāliyaṃ viharāmi Sārandade cetiye . . .

46. 'On one occasion, Ānanda, I was dwelling here at Vesālī at the Gotamaka Shrine—on one occasion here at Vesālī at the Shrine of the Seven Mangoes—on one occasion here at Vesālī at the Bahuputta Shrine—on one occasion here at Vesālī at the Sarandada Shrine [and on each occasion I spoke to thee, Ānanda, in the same words].

47. 'Idān' eva kho tâhaṃ Ānanda ajja Cāpāle cetiye āmantesiṃ: "Ramaṇīyā Ānanda Vesālī, ramaṇīyaṃ Udenaṃ cetiyaṃ, ramaṇīyaṃ Gotamakaṃ cetiyaṃ, ramaṇīyaṃ Sattambaṃ cetiyaṃ, ramaṇīyaṃ Bahuputtaṃ cetiyaṃ, ramaṇīyaṃ Sārandadaṃ cetiyam, ramaṇīyaṃ Cāpālaṃ cetiyaṃ. Yassa kassaci Ānanda cattāro iddhipādā bhāvitā bahulī-katā yāni-katā vatthu-katā anuṭṭhitā paricitā susamāraddhā, so ākaṅkhamāno kappaṃ vā tiṭṭheyya kappâvasesaṃ vā. Tathâgatassa kho Ānanda cattāro iddhipādā bahulī-katā yāni-katā vatthu-katā anuṭṭhitā paricitā susamāraddhā. Ākaṅkhamāno Ānanda Tathâgato kappaṃ vā tiṭṭheyya kappâvasesaṃ vā" ti. Evam pi kho tvaṃ Ānanda Tathagatena oḷārike nimitte kayiramāne, oḷārike obhāse kayiramāne, nâsakkhi paṭivijjhituṃ, na Tathāgataṃ yāci: "Tiṭṭhatu Bhagavā kappaṃ, tiṭṭhatu Sugato kappaṃ, bahujana-hitāya bahujana-sukhāya lokânukampāya atthāya hitāya sukhāya deva-manussānan" ti. Sace tvaṃ Ānanda Tathāgataṃ yāceyyāsi, dve va te vācā Tathāgato paṭikkhi-peyya, atha tatiyakaṃ adhivāseyya. Tasmāt ih' Ānanda tuyh' ev' etaṃ dukkataṃ tuyh' ev' etaṃ aparaddhaṃ.

47. 'And now to-day, Ānanda. at the Chāpāla Shrine, I spoke to thee, and said :— "How delightful a spot, Ānanda, is Vesālī, how charming the Udena Shrine, and the Gotamaka Shrine and the Shrine of the Seven Mangoes, and the Shrine of Many Sons, and the Sārandada Shrine, and the Chāpāla Shrine. Whosoever, Ānanda, has developed, practised, dwelt on, expanded, and ascended to the very heights of the four paths to Iddhi, and so mastered them as to be able to use them as a vehicle and as

a basis, he, should he desire it, could remain in the same birth for an aeon or for that portion of the aeon which had yet to run. Now the Tathāgata has thoroughly practised and developed them [in all respects as just more fully described], and he could, therefore, should he desire it, live on yet for an aeon, or for that portion of the aeon which has yet to run." But even when a suggestion sp evident and a hint so clear were thus given thee, Ānanda, by the Tathāgata, thou wast yet incapable of comprehending them, and thou besoughtest not the Tathāgata, saying:—"Vouchsafe, lord, to remain during the aeon. Live on, O Exalted One! through the aeon for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, for the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men." If thou shouldst then have so besought the Tathāgata, the Tathāgata might have rejected the appeal even to the second time, but the third time he would have granted it. Thine, therefore, O Ānanda, is the fault, thine is the offence !'

48. 'Na nu evaṃ Ānanda mayā paṭigacc' eva akkhātaṃ, sabbeh' eva piyehi manāpehi nānā-bhāvo vinā-bhāvo aññathā-bhāvo ? Taṃ kut' ettha Ānanda labbhā?[1] Yaṃ taṃ jātaṃ bhūtaṃ saṅkhataṃ paloka-dhammaṃ taṃ vata mā palujjîti n'etaṃ ṭhānam vijjati.[2] Yaṃ kho pan' etaṃ Ānanda Tathāgatena cattaṃ vantaṃ muttaṃ pahīnaṃ paṭinissaṭṭhaṃ, ossaṭṭho āyu-saṅkhāro. Ekaṃsena vācā Tathāgatena[3] bhāsitā: "Na ciraṃ Tathāgatassa parinib-bānaṃ bhavissati, ito tiṇṇaṃ māsānaṃ accayena Tathāgato parinibbāyissatîti," Taṃ vacanaṃ[4] Tathāgato jīvita-hetu puna accāvamissatîti,[5] n' etaṃ ṭhānaṃ vijjati.

'Āyām' Ānanda yena Mahā-vanaṃ Kuṭâgāra-sālā ten' upasaṃkamissāmâti.'[6]

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1. K *puts comma at* aññathābhāvo, *and full stop here.*
2. B^m vijjatîti.
3. B^m K *om.*
4. B^m K *om.*; K *has* tañca *for* taṃ.
5. S^c paccāmis°; B^m K paccāgam°. Sum *has* paccāv°.
6. S^c -mâti *corrected to* -mîti.

'Evaṃ bhanto' ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato paccassosi.

48. 'But now, Ānanda, have I not formerly declared to you that it is in the very nature of all things, near and dear unto us, that we must divide ourselves from them, leave them, sever ourselves from them ? How, then, Ānanda, can this be possible—whereas anything whatever born, brought into being, and organized, contains within itself the inherent necessity of dissolution—how then can this be possible that such a being should not be dissolved ? No such condition can exist! And that which, Ānanda, has been relinquished, cast away, renounced, rejected, and abandoned by the Tathāgata—the remaining sum of life surrendered by him—verily with regard to that the word has gone forth from the Tathāgata, saying :— "The passing away of the Tathāgata shall take place before long. At the end of three months from this time the Tathāgata will die ! "That the Tathāgata for the sake of living should repent him again of that saying— this can no wise be ![1]

'Come, Ānanda, let us go to the Kūtāgāra Hall, to the Mahāvana.'

Even so, lord!' said the venerable Ānanda, in assent, to the Exalted One.

49. Atha kho Bhagavā āyasmatā Ānandena saddhiṃ yena Mahā-vanaṃ Kūṭâgāra-sālā ten' upasaṃkami. Upasaṃkamitvā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi:

'Gaccha tvaṃ Ānanda, yāvatikā bhikkhū Vesāliṃ upanissāya viharanti, te sabbe upaṭṭhāna-sālāyaṃ[2] sannipātehîto.'

'Evaṃ bhante' ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato paṭis-

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1. I do not understand the connexion of ideas between this paragraph and the idea repeated with such tedious iteration in the preceding paragraphs. The two seem to be in marked contrast, if not in absolute contradiction. Perhaps we have here the older tradition ; and certainly this paragraph is more in accordance with the general impression of the character, and with the other savings, of Gotama as handed down in the Pāli Pitakas.
2. B^{m} sālaṃ. *See* 1.6.

sutvā, yāvatikā bhikkhū Vesāliṃ upanissāya viharanti, te sabbe upaṭṭhāna-sālāyaṃ sannipātetvā, yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṃkami, upasṃkamitvā Bhavantaṃ abhivā-detvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhāsi. Ekamantaṃ ṭhito kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca:

'Sannipatito bhante bhikkku-saṃgho. Yassa dāni bhante Bhagavā kālaṃ maññatîti.'

49. Then the Exalted One proceeded, and Ānanda with him, to the Mahāvana, to the Kūtāgāra Hall : and when he had arrived there he addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said :—

'Go now, Ānanda, and assemble in the Service Hall such of the brethren as reside in the neighbourhood of Vesālī.'

'Even so, lord!' said the venerable Ānanda, in assent, to the Exalted One. And when he had assembled in the Service Hall such of the brethren as resided in the neighbourhood of Vesālī, he went to the Exalted One and saluted him and stood beside him. And standing beside him, he addressed the Exalted One, and said :—

'Lord! the assembly of the brethren has met together. Let the Exalted One do even as seemeth to him fit.'

50. Atha kho Bhagavā yena upaṭṭhāna-sālā ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā paññatte āsane nisīdi. Nisajja kho Bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi:

'Tasmāt iha bhikkhave ye vo[1] mayā dhammā abhiññāya[2] desitā, te vo sādhukaṃ uggahetvā āseviabbā bhāvetabbā bahulī-kātabbā, yathayidaṃ[3] brahmacariyaṃ addhaniyaṃ assa ciraṭṭhitikaṃ, tad assa bahujana-hitāya bahujana-sukhāya lokânukampāya atthāya hitāya sukhāya deva-manussānaṃ. Katame ca te bhikkhave dhammā mayā abhiññāya desitā, ye vo[4] sādhkaṃ uggahetvā āsevitabbā bhāvetabbā bahulī-kātabbā yathayidaṃ brahmacariyaṃ addhaniyaṃ assa ciraṭṭhitikaṃ,

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1. K te.
2. B[m] K -ñā, *and below always.*
3. B[m] yathāyidaṃ *always.*
4. B[m] *inserts* bhikkhū.

tad assa bahujana-hitāya bahujana-sukhāya lokânukampāya atthāya hitāya sukhāya deva-manussānaṃ ? Seyyathîdaṃ cattāro satipaṭṭhānā, cattāro sammappadhānā, cattāro iddhipādā, pañc' indriyāni, pañca balāni, satta bojjhaṅgā, ariyo aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo. Ime kho[1] bhikkhave dhammā mayā abhiññāya desita, [2]te vo sādhukaṃ uggahetvā āsevitabbā bhāvetabā bahulī-kātabbā yathayidaṃ brahmacariyaṃ addhaniyaṃ assa ciraṭṭhitikaṃ, tad assa bahujana-hitāya bahujana-sukhāya lokânukampāya atthāya hitāya sukhāya deva-manussānan' ti.

50. Then the Exalted One proceeded to the Service Hall, and sat down there on the mat spread out for him. And when he was seated the Exalted One addressed the brethren, and said:—

'Therefore, O brethren—ye to whom the truths I have perceived have been made known by me—having thoroughly made yourselves masters of them, practise them, meditate upon them, and spread them abroad ; in order that pure religion may last long and be perpetuated, in order that it may continue to be for the good and happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, to the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men !

'Which then, O brethren, are the truths which, when I had perceived, I made known to you, which when you have mastered it behoves you to practise, meditate upon, and spread abroad, in order that pure religion may last long and be perpetuated, in order that it may continue to be for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, to the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men?

'They are these :—
The four earnest meditations,
The fourfold great struggle against evil.
The four roads to saintship.
The five moral powers,
The five organs of spiritual sense,
The seven kinds of wisdom, and

1. B^m K *add* te.
2. K ye te.

The Aryan eightfold path.

These, O brethren, are the truths which, when I had perceived, I made known to you, which when you have mastered it behoves you to practise, meditate upon, and spread abroad, in order that pure religion may last long and be perpetuated, in order that it may continue to be for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, to the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men !'

51. Atha kho Bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi:

'Handa dāni bhikkhave āmantayāmi vo, vaya-dhammā saṅkhārā, appamādena sampādetha, na ciraṃ Tathāga-tassa parinibbānaṃ bhavissati, ito tiṇṇaṃ māsānaṃ accayena Tathāgato parinibbāyissatîti.'

Idam avoca Bhagavā, idaṃ vatvā[1] Sugato athâparaṃ etad avoca Satthā:[2]

'Paripakko vayo mayhaṃ, parittaṃ mama jīvitaṃ,
Pahāya[3] vo gamissāmi, katam me saraṇam attano,
Appamattā satīmanto susīlā hotha bhikkhavo
Susamāhita-saṃkappā sacittam anurakkhatha.
Yo imasmiṃ dhamma-vinaye appamatto vihesati[4]
[5]Pahāya jāti-saṃsāraṃ dukkhass antaṃ karissatîti.'

51. And the Exalted One exhorted the brethren, and said:—

'Behold now, O brethren, I exhort you, saying :— "All

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1. B^{m} K vatvāna.
2. K *here inserts as note,* ito paraṃ Sīhaḷa-poṭṭhake 'Paripakko vayo . . . karissatîti' dissati, *and in the text before these verses places the following :*

   Daharā pi ca ye vuḍḍhā — ye bālā ye ca paṇḍitā
   Aḍḍhā c'evā daḷiddā ca — sabbe maccu-parāyanā.
   Yathā pi kumbhakarassa — kataṃ mattika-bhājanaṃ,
   Khuddakañ ca mahantañ ca — yaṃ [K yañca] pakkaṃ yañ ca āmkaṃ,
   Sabbaṃ bheda-pariyantaṃ — evaṃ maccāna jīvitaṃ.

   Athâparaṃ etad avoca Satthā
   Paripakko, etc.
3. S^{d} pahāvayo.
4. K viharissati, vihessati *in foot note.*
5. B^{m} pahāyajāyajāyatiyaṃsaṃsāraṃ.

component things must grow old. Work out your salvation with diligence. The final extinction of the Tathāgata will take place before long. At the end of three months from this time the Tathāgata will die!"

> 'My age is now full ripe, my life draws to its close :
> I leave you, I depart, relying on myself alone !
> Be earnest then, O brethren, holy, full of thought!
> Be steadfast in resolve! Keep watch o'er your own hearts!
> Who wearies not but holds fast to this truth and law[1],
> Shall cross this sea of life, shall make an end of grief.'

Tatiyaka-Bhāṇavāraṃ Niṭṭhitaṃ.[2]

End of the Third Portion for Recitation[3].

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1. Dhamma and vinaya. The Buddhist religion, as just summarized, and the regulations of the Order.
2. B^{m} Bhāṇavāraṃ tatiyaṃ; K tatiya-bhāṇavāraṃ.
3. It is of great interest to notice what are the points upon which Gotama, in this last address to his disciples, and at the solemn time, when death was so near at hand, is reported to have lain such emphatic stress. Unfortunately we have only a fragment of the address, and, as it would seem from its commencement, only the closing fragment. This, however, is in the form of a summary, consisting of an enumeration of certain aggregates, the details of which must have been as familiar to the early Buddhists as the details of similar numerical terms—such as the ten commandments, the twelve tribes, the seven deadly sins, the four gospels, and so on—afterwards were to the Christians. This summary of the Buddha's last address may fairly be taken as a summary of Buddhism, which thus appears to be simply a system of earnest self-culture and self-control.

   The following are the details of the aggregate technical terms-used in the above summary, but it will be understood that the English equivalents used give rather a general than an exact representation of the ideas expressed by the Pāli ones. To attempt more would demand a treatise rather than a note.

   The four Earnest Meditations are:—

   1. Meditation on the body.
   2. Meditation on the sensations.

3. Meditation on the ideas.
4. Meditation on reason and character.

The fourfold Great Struggle against evil is divided into:—

1. The struggle to prevent evil arising.
2. The struggle to put away evil states which have arisen.
3. The struggle to produce goodness not previously existing.
4. The struggle to increase goodness when it does exist.

The four Roads to Saintship are four means by which Iddhi (see above, § 3, note) is to be acquired. They are:—

1. The will to acquire it united to earnest meditation and the struggle against evil.

2. The necessary exertion united to earnest meditation and the struggle against evil.

3. The necessary preparation of the heart united to earnest meditation and the struggle against evil.

4. Investigation united to earnest meditation and the struggle against evil.

The five moral powers (balāni) are said to be the same as the next class, called organs (indriyāni). It is no doubt most remarkable that, in a summary like this, two classes out of seven should be absolutely identical except in name. The difference of name is altogether too unimportant to account, by itself, for the distinction made. Either the currently accepted explanation of one of the two aggregate terms must be incorrect, or we must look for some explanation of the repetition other than the mere desire to record the double title. Is it impossible that the one class was split into two to bring the number of the classes up to the sacred number seven, corresponding to the seven Ratanas of a Cakkavatti ?

The details of both classes are:—

1. Faith. 2. Energy. 3. Thought. 4. Contemplation.'5. Wisdom.

The seven kinds of Wisdom are :—

1. Energy. 2. Thought. 3. Contemplation. 4. Investigation (of Scripture). 5. Joy. 6. Repose. 7. Serenity.

The Aryan Eightfold Path consists of:—

1. Right views. 2. High aims. 3. Right speech. 4. Upright conduct. 5. A harmless livelihood. 6. Perseverance in well-doing. 7. Intellectual activity. 8. Right rapture.

CHAPTER IV

4. 1. Atha kho Bhagavā pubbaṇha-samayaṃ nivāsetvā patta-cīvaram ādāya Vesāliṃ piṇḍāya pāvisi, Vesāliyaṃ piṇḍāya caritvā pacchā-bhattaṃ piṇḍapāta-paṭikkanto[1] nāgâpalokitaṃ Vesālim apaloketvā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi:

'Idaṃ pacchimakaṃ Ānanda Tathāgatassa Vesāli-dassanaṃ bhavissati, āyām' Ānanda yena Bhaṇḍagāmo ten' upasaṃkamissāmâti.'

'Evaṃ bhante' ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato paccassosi. Atha kho Bhagavā mahatā bhikkhu-saṃghena saddhiṃ yena Bhaṇḍagāmo tad avasari. Tatra sudaṃ Bhagavā Bhaṇḍagāme viharati.

1. Now the Exalted One early in the morning robed himself, and taking his bowl, entered Vesālī for alms ; and when he had passed through Vesālī, and had eaten his meal and was returning from his alms-seeking he gazed at Vesālī with an elephant look[2] and addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said :— 'This will be the last time, Ānanda, that the Tathāgata will behold Vesālī. Come, Ānanda, let us go on to Bhanda-gāma.'

'Even so, lord!' said the venerable Ānanda, in assent, to the Exalted One.

And the Exalted One proceeded with a great company of the brethren to Bhanda-gāma ; and there the Exalted One stayed in the village itself.

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1. *So all* MSS.
2. Nāgāpalokitam Vesālīyam apaloketvā. The Buddhas were accustomed, says Buddhaghosa, on looking backwards to turn the whole body round as an elephant does; because the bones in their neck were firmly fixed, more so than those of ordinary men !

2. [1]Tatra kho Bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi:

'Catunnaṃ bhikkhave dhammānaṃ ananubodhā appaṭivedhā evam idaṃ didaṃ dīgham addhānaṃ sandhāvitaṃ saṃsaritaṃ mamañ c'eva tumhākañ ca: katamesaṃ catunnaṃ? Ariyassa bhikkhave sīlassa ananubodhā appaṭivedhā evam idaṃ dīgham addhānaṃ sandhāvitaṃ saṃ saritaṃ mamañ c'eva tumhākañ ca. Ariyassa bhikkhave samādhissa ananubodhā appaṭivedhā evam idaṃ dīgham addhānaṃ sandhāvitaṃ saṃsaritaṃ mamañ c'eve tumhākañ ca. Ariyāya bhikkhave paññāya ananubodhā appaṭivedhā evam idaṃ dīgham addhānaṃ sandhāvitaṃ saṃsaritaṃ mamañ c'eva tumhākañ ca. Ariyāya bhikkhave vimuttiyā ananubodhā appaṭvedhā evam idaṃ dīgham addhānaṃ sandhāvitaṃ saṃsaritaṃ mamañ v'eva tumhākañ ca. Tayidaṃ bhikkhave ariyaṃ sīlaṃ anuhuddhaṃ paṭividdhaṃ, ariyo samādhi anubuddho paṭividdho, ariyā paññā anubuddhā paṭividdhā, ariyā vimutti anubuddhā paṭividdhā, ucchinnā bhava-taṇhā khīṇā bhava-hetti, n'atthi dāni punabbhavo' ti.

2. There the Exalted One addressed the brethren, and said:— 'It is through not understanding and grasping four truths[2], O brethren, that we have had to run so long, to wander so long in this weary path of transmigration—both you and I.

'And what are these four ? The noble conduct of life, the noble earnestness in meditation, the noble kind of wisdom, and the noble salvation of freedom. But when noble conduct is realized and known, when noble meditation is realized and known, when noble wisdom is realized and known, when noble freedom is realized and known—then is the craving for future life rooted out, that which leads to renewed existence is destroyed, and there is no more birth."

3. Idam avoca Bhagavā, idaṃ vatvā Sugato athâparaṃ etad avoca Satthā :

'Sīlaṃ samādhi paññā ca vimutti ca anuttarā,

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1. *Recurs* Aṅguttara ii.1. *Comp.* Saṃyuttaa v. 431.
2. Or Conditions (Dhammā). They must, of course, be carefully distinguished from the better known Four Noble Truths above, p. 96.

Anubuddhā ime dhammā Gotamena yasassinā.
Iti Buddho abhiññāya dhamam akkhāsi bhikkhunaṃ,
Dukkhass' anta-karo Sutthā cakkhumā parinibbuto' ti.[1]

3. Thus spake the Exalted One ; and when the Happy One had thus spoken, then again the Teacher said [2]:—

'Righteousness, earnest thought, wisdom, and freedom sublime—

These are the truths realized by Gotama, far-renowned.

Knowing them, he, the knower, proclaimed the truth to the brethren.

The master with eye divine, the quencher of griefs, is at peace[3].'

4. Tatrâpi sudaṃ Bhagavā Bhaṇḍagāme viharanto etad eva bahulaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ dhammiṃ kathaṃ karoti: Iti sīlaṃ iti samādhi iti paññā, sīla-paribhāvito samādhi mahapphalo hoti mahânisaṃso, samādhi-paribhāvitā paññā mahapphalā

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1. *Quoted* Kathā Vatthu 115.
2. This is merely a stock phrase for introducing verses which repeat the idea of the preceding phrase (see above, paragraph 32). It is an instructive sign of the state of mind in which such records are put together, that these verses could be ascribed to Gotama himself without any feeling of the incongruity involved.
3. The last word, Parinibbuto, was misunderstood by Childers. It is used in the Nikāyas of living persons in the sense of set free (from evil), at peace. In one passage (M. I, 446) it is even used of a living horse. In all of these passages Childers's rendering 'extinguished, extinct, dead' would be quite inexplicable. Such passages are Majjhima I, 45, 235, 251 ; II, 102 ; Thera-gāthā 5, 7, 8, 9, etc.; Sutta Nipāta 359, 758; Samyutta III, 26, 54; Itivuttaka 52, 56; Dhammapada 89. The same usage is still found in later books (Milinda 50; Jātaka IV, 303, 453). But, just as in the somewhat analogous Christian expression *entered into rest,* the word (still in its ordinary meaning as above) is once or twice used, figuratively, of Arahants who have died. They are at peace, set free. There is no word in the Buddhist phrase corresponding to the Christian 'entered.' The Buddhists never say *entered into Nirvana* of a deceased person. So far as I know the phrase occurs only once (Sutta Nipāta 514), and then it is used of a living person.

hoti mahânisaṃsā, paññā-paribhāvitaṃ cittaṃ sammad eva āsavehi vimuccati, seyyathîdaṃ kāmâsavā bhavâsavā diṭṭhâsavā[1] avijjâsavā ti.

4. There too, while staying at Bhanda-gāma, the Exalted One held that comprehensive religious talk with the brethren, saying :— 'Such and such is upright conduct; such and such is earnest contemplation; such and such is intelligence. Great becomes the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation, when it is set round with upright conduct. Great becomes the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when it is set round with earnest contemplation. Themind set round with intelligence is set quite free from the Intoxications, that is to say, from the Intoxication of Sensuality, from the Intoxication of Becoming, from the Intoxication of Delusion, from the Intoxication of Ignorance.'

5. Atha kho Bhagavā bhaṇḍagāme yathâbhirantaṃ viharitvā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi:

'Āyām' Ānanda yena Hatthigāmo . . . pe[2] . . . Ambagāmo . . . Jambugāmo . . . yena Bhoganagaraṃ ten' upasaṃkamissāmâti.'

6. 'Evaṃ bhante' ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato paccassosi. Atha kho Bhagavā mahatā bhikkhu-saṃ-ghena saddhiṃ yena Bhoganagaraṃ tad avasari.

5, 6. Now when the Exalted One had remained at Bhandagāma as long as he desired, he addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said :— 'Come, Ānanda, let us go to Hatthi-gāma.'

[Then in similar words, end of § 1 and §§ 2, 3, and 4 repeated, it is related how the Buddha went there, and then on to Amba-gāma, and then on to Jambugāma, at each place holding similar discourses; and then went on to Bhoga-nagara.]

7. Tatra sudaṃ Bhagavā Bhoganagare viharati Ānande cetiye. Tatra kho Bhagavā bhikkhū ā mantesi :

[3] 'Cattāro' me bhikkhave mahā-padese desessāmi,[4] taṃ suṇātha sādhukaṃ manasi-karotha bhāsissāmîti.'

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1. K *omis.*
2. B^m *has no* pe, *but puts* yena *before each name.* K *has neither* pe *nor* yena.
3. *Recurs* Aṅguttara ii. 167 *foll.*
4. S^cdt desiss°.

'Evaṃ bhante' ti kho te bhikkhū Bhagavato paccassosuṃ. Bhagavā etad avoca:

7. Now there at Bhoga-nagara the Exalted One stayed at the Ānanda Shrine.

There the Exalted One addressed the brethren and said :— 'I will teach you, O brethren, these four Great Authorities[1]. Listen thereto, and give good heed, and I will speak.'

'Even so, lord !' said the brethren, in assent[2], to the Exalted One, and the Exalted One spoke as follows:—

8. 'Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu evaṃ vadeyya: "Sammukhā me taṃ āvuso Bhagavato sutaṃ sammukhā paṭiggahītaṃ, ayaṃ Dhammo ayaṃ Vinayo idaṃ Satthu sāsanan" ti, tassa bhikkhave bhikkhuno bhāsitaṃ n' eva abhinanditabbaṃ na paṭikkositabbaṃ. Anabhinanditvā appaṭikkositvā tāni padavyañjanāni sādhukaṃ uggahetvā Sutte otāretabbāni Vinaye sandassetabbāni. Tāni ce Sutte otāriyamānāni Vinaye sandassiyamānāni na c' eva Sutte otaranti na Vinaye sandissanti, niṭṭham ettha gantabbaṃ: "Addhā idaṃ na c' eva tassa Bhagavato vacanaṃ,[3] imassa ca bhikkhuno dugga-hītan" ti, iti h' etaṃ bhikkhave chaḍḍeyyātha.[4] Tāni ce Sutte otāriyamānāni Vinaye sandassiyamānāni Sutte c' eve otaranti

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1. The meaning of mahāpadesa is not quite clear. Perhaps it should be rendered 'true authorities.' I have followed Buddhaghosa in taking apadesa as the last part of the compound. He says:—mahāpadesā ti mahā-okāse mahā-apadese vā. Buddhādayo mahante mahante apadisitva vuttāni mahākaranāni tiattho, 'the causes (authorities) alleged when referring to Buddha and other great men.' Mr. Samarasekara takes it as mahā-padesa.
2. I ought perhaps to have explained why I have ventured to differ from Childers in the rendering of the common word patisunāti. The root śru seems to have meant 'to sound' before it meant 'to hear'; and, whether this be so or not, pati-sunāti means not simply 'to consent,' but 'to answer (assentingly).' It has been pointed out to me that answer was formerly *andswerian* where *swerian* is probably not unrelated to the root svar, 'to sound.'
3. Aṅg. *adds* sammāsambuddhassa (*throughout*).
4. Aṅg. *repeats from* Idha *down to* sandasseetabbāni (*and so always*).

Vinaye ca sandissanti, niṭṭham ettha gantabbaṃ: "Addhā idaṃ tassa Bhagavato vacanaṃ imassa ca bhikkhuno suggahītan" ti. Idaṃ bhikkhave paṭhamaṃ mahā-padesaṃ dhāreyyātha.

8. 'In the first place, brethren, a brother may say thus :— "From the mouth of the Exalted One himselfhave I heard, from his own mouth have I received it. This is the truth, this the law, this the teaching of the Master." The word spoken, brethren, by that brother should neither be received with praise nor treated with scorn. Without praise and without scorn every word and syllable should be carefully understood and then put beside the Suttas [the stock paragraphs learnt by heart in the community] and compared with the Vinaya [the rules of the Order][1]. If when so compared they do not harmonize with the Suttas, and do not fit in with the rules of the Order, then you may come to the conclusion :— "Verily, this is not the word of the Exalted One, and has been wrongly grasped by that brother." Therefore, brethren, you should reject it. But if they harmonize with the Suttas and fit in with the rules of the Order, then you may come to the conclusion :— "Verily, this is the word of the Exalted One, and has been well grasped by that brother." This, brethren, you should receive as the first Great Authority.

9. 'Idha pana bhikkhave bhikkhu evaṃ vadeyya: "Amukasmiṃ nama āvāse saṃgho viharati satthero sapāmokkho. Tassa me saṃghassa sammukhā sutaṃ sammukhā paṭiggahītaṃ, ayaṃ Dhammo ayaṃ Vinayo idaṃ Satthu sāsanan" ti, tassa bhikkhave bhikkhuno bhāsitaṃ n' eva abhinanditabbaṃ na[2] paṭikkositabbaṃ. Anabhinanditvā appaṭikkositvā tāni pada-vyañjanāni sādhukaṃ uggahetvā Sutte otāretabbāni Vinaye sandas-setabbāni. Tāni ce Sutte otāriyamānāmi Vinaye sandas-siyamānāni na' c' eva Sutte otaranti na Vinaye sandissanti, niṭṭham ettha gantabbaṃ:

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1. Suite otāretabbāni vinaye sandassetabbāni, where one would expect to find the word Pitaka if it had been in use when this passage was first written or composed.

2. K *throughhut* nappaṭi-.

"Addhā idaṃ na c' eva tassa Bhagavato vacanaṃ, tassa ca saṃghassa duggahītan" ti, iti h' etaṃ bhikkhave chaḍḍeyyātha. Tāni ce Sutte otāriyamānāni Vinaye sandissayamānāni Sutte c' eva otaranti Vinaye ca sandissanti, niṭṭham ettha gantabbaṃ : "Addhā idaṃ tassa Bhagavato vacanaṃ, tassa ca saṃghassa suggahītan" ti. Idaṃ bhikkave dutiyaṃ mahāpadesaṃ dhāreyyātha.

9. 'Again, brethren, a brother may say thus :— "In such and such a dwelling-place there is a company of the brethren with their elders and leaders. From the mouth of that company have I heard, face to face have I received it. This is the truth, this the law, this the teaching of the Master." The word spoken, brethren, by that brother should neither be received with praise nor treated with scorn. Without praise and without scorn every word and syllable should be carefully understood, and then put beside the Suttas and compared with the rules of the Order. If when so compared they do not harmonize with the Suttas, and do not fit in with the rules of the Order, then you may come to the conclusion :— "Verily, this is not the word of the Exalted One, and has been wrongly grasped by that company of the brethren." Therefore, brethren, you should reject it. But if they harmonize with the Suttas and fit in with the rules of the Order, then you may come to the conclusion :— "Verily, this is the word of the Exalted One, and has been well grasped by that company of the brethren." This, brethren, you should receive as the second Great Authority.

10. Idha pana bhikkhave bhikkhu evaṃ vadeyya: "Amukasmiṃ nāma āvāse sambahulā therā bhikkhū viharanti banussutā ā gatâgamā dhamma-dharā vinaya-dharā mātikādharā. Tesaṃ me therānaṃ sammukhā sutaṃ samukhā paṭiggahītaṃ, ayaṃ Dhammo ayaṃ Vinayo ayaṃ Satthu sāsanan" ti, tassa bhikkhave bhikkhuno bhāsitaṃ n' eva abhinanditabhaṃ na paṭikko-sitabbaṃ. Anabhinanditvā appaṭikkositvā tāni pada vyañjanāni sādhukaṃ uggahetvā Sutte otāretabbāni Vinaye sandassetabbāni. Tāni ce Sutte

otāriyamānāni Vinaye sandassiyamānāni na c'eva Sutte otaranti na Vinaye sandissanti, niṭṭham ettha gantabbaṃ: "Addhā idaṃ na c' eva tassa Bhagavato vacanaṃ, tesañca therānaṃ buggahītan." ti, iti h' etaṃ bhikkhave chaḍḍeyātha. Tāni ce Sutte otāriyamānāni Vinaye sandassi-yamānāni Sutte c'eva otaranti Vinaye ca sandissanti, niṭṭham ettha gantabbaṃ: "Addhā idaṃ tassa Bhagavato vacanaṃ, tesañ ca therānaṃ suggahītan" ti. Idaṃ bhikkhave tatiyaṃ mahāpadesaṃ dhāreyyātha.

10. 'Again, brethren, a brother may say thus :— "In such and such a dwelling-place there are dwelling many elders, of the Order, deeply read, holding the faith as handed down by tradition, versed in the truths, versed in the regulations of the Order, versed in the summaries of the doctrines and the law. From the mouth of those elders have I heard, from their mouth have I received it. This is the truth, this the law, this the teaching of the Master." The word spoken, brethren, by that brother should neither be received with praise nor treated with scorn. Without praise and without scorn every word and syllable should be carefully understood, and then put beside the Suttas and compared with the rules of the Order. If when so compared they do not harmonize with the Suttas and do not fit .in with the rules of the Order, then you may come to the conclusion :— "Verily, this is not the word of the Exalted One, and has been wrongly grasped by those elders." Therefore, brethren, you should reject it. But if they harmonize with the Suttas and fit in with the rules of the Order, then you may come to the conclusion :— "Verily, this is the word of the Exalted One, and has been well grasped by those elders." This, brethren, you should receive as the third Great Authority.

11. Idha pana bhikkhave bhikkhu evaṃ vadeyya : "Amukasmiṃ nāma āvāse eko thero bhikkhu viharati bahussuto āgatâgamo dhamma-dharo vinaya-dharo mātikā-dharo. Tassa me therassa sammukhā sutaṃ sammukhā paṭiggahītaṃ, ayaṃ Dhammo ayaṃ Vinayo idaṃ Satthu sāsanan" ti, tassa bhikkhave bhikkuno bhāsitaṃ n' eva abhinanditabbaṃ na

paṭikkositabbaṃ. Anabhinanditvā appa- ṭikositvā tāni pada-vyañjanāni sādhu-kaṃ uggahetvā Sutte otāretabbāni Vinaye sandassetabbāni. Tāni ce Sutte otāriyamā- nāni Vinaye sandassiye-mānāni na c'eva Sutte otaranti na Vinaye sandissanti, niṭṭham ettha gantabbaṃ: "Addhā idaṃ na c'eva tassa Bhagavato vacanaṃ, tassa ca therassa duggahītan" ti, iti h' etaṃ bhikkhave chaḍḍeyyātha. Tāni ce Sutte otāriyamānāni Vinaye sandassiyamānāni Sutte c' eva otaranti Vinaye ca sandissanti, niṭṭham ettha gantabbam: "Addhā idaṃ tassa Bhagavato Bhagavato vacanaṃ, tassa ca therassa suggahītan" Idaṃ bhikkhave cattutthaṃ mahā-padesaṃ dhāreyyāthâti.

'Ime kho bhikkhave cattāro mahā-padese dhāreyyā-thâti.'

11. 'Again, brethren, a brother may say :— "In such and such a dwelling-place there is there living a brother, deeply read, holding the faith as handed down by tradition, versed in the truths, versed in the regulations of the Order, versed in the summaries of the doctrines and the law. From the mouth of that elder have I heard, from his mouth have I received it. This is the truth, this the law, this the teaching of the Master." The word spoken, brethren, by that brother should neither be received with praise nor treated with scorn. Without praise and without scorn every word and syllable should be carefully understood, and then put beside the Suttas and compared with the rules of the Order. If when so compared they do not harmonize with the Suttas, and do not fit in with the rules of the Order, then you may come to the conclusion :— "Verily, this is not the word of the Exalted One, and has been wrongly grasped by that brother." Therefore, brethren, you should reject it. But if they harmonize with the Suttas and fit in with the rules of the Order, then you may come to the conclusion:— "Verily, this is the word of the Exalted One, and has been well grasped by that brother." This, brethren, you should receive as the fourth Great Authority. 'These, brethren, are the Four Great Authorities.'

12. Tatra pi sudaṃ Bhagavā Bhoganagare viharanto

Ānande[1] cetiye etad eva bahulaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ dhammiṃ kathaṃ karoti: Iti sīlaṃ iti samādhi iti paññā, sīla-paribhāvito samādhi mahapphalo hoti mahânisaṃso, samādhi-paribhāvitā paññā mahapphalā hoti mahâni-saṃsā, paññā-paribhāvitaṃ cittaṃ sammad eva āsavehi vimuccati, seyyathîdaṃ kāmâsavā bhavâsavā diṭṭhâsavā avijjâsavā ti.

12. There too, the Exalted One held that comprehensive religious talk with the brethren, saying :— 'Such and such is upright conduct; such and such is earnest contemplation; such and such is intelligence. Great becomes the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation, when it is set round with upright conduct. Great becomes the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when it is set round with earnest contemplation. The mind set round with intelligence is set quite free from the Intoxications, that is to say, from the Intoxication of Sensuality, from the Intoxication of Becoming, from the Intoxication of Delusion, from the Intoxication of Ignorance.'

13. Atha kho Bhagavā Bhoganagare yathâbhirantaṃ viharitvā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi:

'Ayām' Ānanda yena Pāvā ten' upasaṃkamissāmâti.'

'Evaṃ bante' ti kho āyasmā Ānando. Bhagavato paccassosi.

[2]Atha kho Bhagavā mahatā bhikkhu-saṃghena saddhiṃ yena Pāvā tad avasari. Tatra sudaṃ Bhagavā Pāvāyaṃ viharati Cundassa kammāra-puttassa ambavane.

13. Now when the Exalted One had remained as long as he desired at Bhoga-gāma, he addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said :— Come, Ānanda, let us go on to Pāvā.'

'Even so, lord!' said the venerable Ānanda, in assent to the Exalted One. And the Exalted One proceeded with a great company of the brethren to Pāvā.

And there at Pāvā the Exalted One stayed at the Mango Grove of Chunda, who was by family a smith.

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1. *So* S^{cd} K : S^{t} B^{m} -ya.
2. *Recurs in* Udāna viii. 5.

14. Assosi kho Cundo kammāra-putto: 'Bhagavā kira Pāvaṃ anuppatto[1] Pāvāyaṃ viharati mayhaṃ amba-vane' ti. Atha kho Cundo kammāra-putto yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Bhagavantaṃ abhivā-detvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi, ekamantaṃ nisinnaṃ kho Cundam kammāra-puttaṃ Bhagavā dhammiyā kathāya sandassesi samādapesi samuttejesi sampahaṃsesi.

14. Now Chunda, the worker in metals, heard that the Exalted One had come to Pāvā, and was staying there in his Mango Grove.

And Chunda, the worker in metals, went to the place where the Exalted One was, and saluting him took his seat respectfully on one side. And when he was thus seated, the Exalted One instructed, aroused, incited, and gladdened him with religious discourse.

15. Atha kho Cundo kammāra-putto Bhagavatā dham-mivā kathāy sandassito samādapito samuttejito sampa- haṃsito Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca: 'Adhivāsetu me bhante Bhagavā svātanāya bhattaṃ saddhiṃ bhikkhu-saṃghenâti.' Adhivāsesi Bhagavā tuṇhī-bhāvena.

15. Then he, instructed, aroused, incited, and gladdened by the religious discourse, addressed the Exalted One, and said:— 'May the Exalted One do me the honour of taking his meal together with the brethren, at my house to-morrow ?'

And the Exalted One signified, by silence, his consent.

16. Atha kho Cundo kammāra-putto Bhagavato adhi-vāsanaṃ viditvā, uṭṭhāy' āsanā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā padakkhiṇaṃ katvā pakkāmi.

16. Then seeing that the Exalted One had consented, Chunda, the worker in metals, rose from his seat and bowed down before the Exalted One, and keeping him on his right hand as he passed him, departed thence.

17. Atha kho Cundo kammāra-puto tassā rattiyā accayena sake nivesane panītaṃ khādaniyaṃ bhojaniyaṃ

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1. SS *omit* Pāvaṃ anuppatto. B^{m} pāripāpaṃ anuppatto Pāvāraṃ viharati. Udāna *adds a clause.*

paṭiyādāpetvā pahūtañ ca sūkara-maddavaṃ Bhagavato kālaṃ ārocāpesi: 'Kālo bhante niṭṭhitaṃ bhattan' ti.

17. Now at the end of the night, Chunda, the worker in metals, made ready in his dwelling-place sweet rice and cakes, and a quantity of truffles[1]. And he announced the hour to the Exalted One, saying ;— 'The hour, lord, has come, and the meal is ready.'

18. Atha kho Bhagavā pubbaṇha-samayaṃ nivāsetvā patta-cīvaram ādāya saddhiṃ bhikkhu-saṃghena yena Cundassa kammāra-puttassa nivesanaṃ ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā paññatte āsano nisīdi, nisajja kho Bhagavā Cundaṃ kammāra-puttaṃāmantesi : 'Yan te Cunnda sūkara-maddavaṃ paṭiyattaṃ, tena maṃ parivisa, yaṃ pan' aññaṃ khādaniyaṃ bhojaniyaṃ patiyattaṃ, tena bhikkhu-saṃghaṃ parivisâti.'

'Evaṃ bhante' ti kho Cundo kammāra-putto Bhagavato paṭissutvā, yaṃ ahosi sūkara-maddavaṃ patiyattaṃ, tena Bhagavantaṃ parivisi, yaṃ pan' aññaṃ khādaniyaṃ bhojaniyaṃ paṭiyattaṃ tena bhikkhu-saṃghaṃ parivisi.

18. And the Exalted One robed himself early in the morning, and taking his bowl, went with the brethren to the dwelling-place of Chunda, the worker in metals. When he had come thither

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1. Sūkara-maddava. See the note .in my translation of the Milinda (1890), Vol. I, p. 244. Dr. Hoey informs me that the peasantry in these districts are still very fond of a bulbous root, a sort of truffle, found in the jungle, and called sūkara-kanda. Mr. K. E. Neumann, in his translation of the Majjhima (1896), p. xx, has collected several similar instances of truffle-like roots, or edible plants, having such names. The Sinhalese translation of the Dīgha (London and Colombo, 1905), p. 796, simply repeats the Pāli word. Buddhists do not attach much importance to the point. They have been mostly vegetarians, and are increasingly so. But their scheme of ethics works from within; and the Buddha expressly refused, in the case of Devadatta's schism, to lay down any hard and fast rule as to abstinence from flesh as food. It is perhaps of importance that the food prepared by Chunda and eaten by the Buddha is called Bhatta (below, § 21): this is not used elsewhere of meat.

he seated himself on the seat prepared for him. And when he was seated he addressed Chunda, the worker in metals, and said :— 'As to the truffles you have made ready, serve me with them, Chunda: and as to the other food, the sweet rice and cakes, serve the brethren with it.'

'Even so, lord !' said Chunda, the worker in metals, in assent, to the Blessed One. And the truffles he had made ready he served to the Exalted One ; whilst the other food, the sweet rice and cakes, he served to the members of the Order.

19. Atha kho Bhagavā Cundaṃ kammāra-puttaṃ āmantesi:

'Yan te Cunda sūkara-maddavaṃ avasiṭṭhaṃ, taṃ sobbhe nikhaṇāhi, nâhan taṃ Cunda passāmi sadevake loke samārake sabrahmake sassamaṇa-brāhmaṇiyā pajā sadeva-manussāya yassa taṃ paribhuttaṃ sammā-pariṇāmaṃ gaccheyya aññatra Tathāgatassâti.'

'Evaṃ bhante' ti kho Cundo kammāra-putto Bhagavato paṭissutvā, yaṃ ahosi sūkara-maddavaṃ avasiṭṭhaṃ taṃ sobbhe nikhaṇitvā, yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi, ekamantaṃ nisinnaṃ kho Cundaṃ kammāra puttaṃ Bhagavā dhammiyā kathāya sandassetvā samāda-petvā samuttejetvā sampahaṃsetvā uṭṭhāy' āsanā pakkāmi.

19. Now the Exalted One addressed Chunda, the worker in metals, and said:— 'Whatever truffles, Chunda, are left over to thee, those bury in a hole. I see no one, Chunda, on earth nor in Māra's heaven, nor in Brahma's heaven, no one among Samaıas and Brahma's, among gods, and men, by whom, when he has eaten it, that food can be properly assimilated, save by a Tathāgata.'

'Even so, lord !' said Chunda, the worker in metals, in assent, to the Exalted One. And whatever truffles remained over those he' buried in a hole. And he went to the place where the Exalted One was; and when he had come there, took his seat respectfully on one side. And when he was seated, the Exalted One instructed and aroused and incited and gladdened Chunda,

the worker in metals, with religious discourse. And the Exalted One then rose from his seat and departed thence.

20. Atha kho Bhagavato Cundassa kammāra-puttassa bhattaṃ bhuttāvissa kharo ābādho uppajji lohita-pakkhan-dikā pabāḷhā[1] vedanā vattanti māraṇntikā. Tā[2] sudaṃ Bha-gavā sato sampajāno adhivāsesi avihaññamāno.

Atha kho Bhagavā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi: 'Āyām' Ānanda yena Kusinārā ten' upsaṃkamissāmâti.'

'Evam bhante' ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato paccassosi.

Cundassa bhattaṃ bhuñjitvā kammārassâti me sutaṃ
Ābādhaṃ samphusī[3] dhīro pabāḷhaṃ[4] māraṇanti-kaṃ.
Bhuttassa ca[5] sūkara-maddavena
Vyādhippabāḷhā udapādi Satthuno.
Viriccamāno[6] Bhagavā avoca
Gacchām' ahaṃ Kusinārāṃ[7] nagaran ti.

20. Now when the Exalted One had eaten the rice prepared by Chunda, the worker in metals, there fell upon him a dire sickness, the disease of dysentery, and sharp pain came upon him, even unto death. But the Exalted One, mindful and self-possessed, bore it without complaint.

And the Exalted One addressed the venerable Ānanda. and said:— 'Come, Ānanda, let us go on to Kusinārā.'

'Even so, lord!' said the venerable Ānanda, in assent, to the Exalted One.

'When he had eaten Chunda's food,
The copper-smith's—thus have I heard—
He bore with fortitude the pain,
The sharp pain even unto death !

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1. B^{m} bāḷhā; K sab^{o}· *Compare* 2. 23.
2. S^{c} *om.* ; S^{d} tatra; K tāpi.
3. S^{c} phusayatī; S^{d} phusatī; S^{t} phusati; B^{m} saṃphusati.
4. K sab^{o}.
5. Ce.
6. K virec^{o}·
7. K kusinaraṃ.

'When he had eaten, from the truffles in the food
There fell upon the teacher sickness dire,
Then after nature was relieved the Exalted One announced and said :
'I now am going on to Kusinārā[1].'

21. Atha kho[2] Bhāgavā maggā okkamma yen' aññataraṃ rukkha-mūlaṃ ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi: 'Iṅgha me tvaṃ Ānanda catuggunaṃ saṃghāṭiṃ paññāpehi, kilanto 'smi Ānanda, nisīdissāmîti.'

'Evaṃ bhante' ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato paṭissutvā catuggunaṃ saṃghāṭiṃ paññāpesi.

21. Now the Exalted One went aside from the path to the foot of a certain tree; and when he had come there he addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said :— 'Fold, I pray you, Ānanda, the robe in four; and spread it out for me. I am weary, Ānanda, and must rest awhile!'

'Even so, lord!' said the venerable Ānanda, in assent, to the Exalted One, and spread out the robe folded fourfold.

22. Nisīdi Bhagavā paññatte āsane, nisajja kho Bhagavā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi, 'Iṅgha me tvaṃ Ānanda pānīyaṃ āhara, pipāsito 'smi, Ānanda, pivissāmîti.'

Evaṃ vutte āyasmā Ānando Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca:

'Idāni bhante pañcamattāni sakaṭa-satāni atikkantāni, tam cakkacchinnaṃ udakaṃ parittaṃ āvilaṃ sandati. Ayaṃ bhante Kakutthā[3] nadī avidūre acchodikā sātodikā sītodikā[4] setakā supatitthā ramaṇīyā. Ettha Bhagavā pānīyañ ca pivissati, gattāni ca sītaṃ karis-satîti.'

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1. 'It should be understood,' says Buddhaghosa, 'that these are verses by the Theras who held the council.' And he repeats this at ff 38, 41. These here seem to be two different versifications of the same legend.
2. *Here* K *inserts in brackets in the text* (imā gāthāyo Saṅgīti-kāle Saṅgīti-kārakehi vuttā), *with footnote* Sīhaḷa-potthake ime gāṭhā na dissanti.
3. S[c] kuk°; B[m] kakuḍha (*throughout*).
4. K-akā.

22. And the Exalted One seated himself on the seat prepared for him ; and when he was seated, he addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said :— 'Fetch me, I pray you, Ānanda, some water. I am thirsty, Ānanda, and would drink.'

When he had thus spoken, the venerable Ānanda said to the Exalted One :— 'But just now, lord, about five hundred carts have gone over. That water stirred up by the wheels has become shallow and flows fouled and turbid. This river Kakuttha, lord, not far off, is clear and pleasant, cool and transparent, easy to get down into, and delightful. There the Exalted One may both drink the water, and cool his limbs.'

23. Dutiyam pi kho Bhagavā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi: 'Iṅgha me tvaṃ Ānanda pānīyaṃ āhara, pipāsito 'smi Ānanda, pivissāmîti.'

Dutiyam pi kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca:

'Idāni bhante pañcamattāni sakaṭa-satāni ati antāni. Taṃ cakkacchinnaṃ udakaṃ parittaṃ luḷitaṃ āvilaṃ sandati. Ayaṃ Ayaṃ bhante Kakutthā nadī avidūre acchodikā sātodikā sītodikā setakā supatitthā ramaṇīyā. Ettha Bhagavā pānīyañ ca pivissati, gattāni ca sītaṃ[1] karissatī.'

23. Again the second time the Exalted One addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said:—'Fetch me, I pray you, Ānanda, some water. I am thirsty, Ānanda, and would drink.'

And again the second time the venerable Ānanda said to the Exalted One :— 'But just now, lord, about five hundred carts have gone over. That water stirred up by the wheels has become shallow and flows fouled and turbid. This river Kakuttha, lord, not far off, is clear and pleasant, cool and transparent, easy to get down into, and delightful. There the Exalted One may both drink the water, and cool his limbs.'

24. Tatiyam pi kho Bhagavā āyasmantaṃ Anandaṃ āmantesi: 'Iṅgha me tvaṃ Ānanda pānīyaṃ āhara, pipāsito 'smi Ānanda, pivissāmîti.'

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1. S[t] sītim ; K sītī.

'Evaṃ bhante' ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato paṭissutvā pattaṃ gahetvā yena sā nadikā ten' upasaṃkami. Atha kho sā nadikā cakkacchinnā parittā luḷitā āvilā sandamāmā āyasmante Ānande upasaṃkamante acchā vippasannā anāvilā sandittha.[1]

24. Again the third time the Exalted One addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said :— 'Fetch me, I pray you, Ānanda, some water. I am thirsty, Ānanda, and would drink.'

'Even so, lord!' said the venerable Ānanda, in assent, to the Exalted One : and taking a bowl he went down to the streamlet. And lo ! the streamlet which, stirred up by the wheels, was but just now become shallow, and was flowing fouled and turbid, had begun, when the venerable Ānanda came up to it, to flow clear and bright and free from all turbidity.

25. Atho kho āyasmato Ānandassa etad ahosi: "Acchariyaṃ vata bho, abbhutaṃ vata bho, Tathāgatassa mahiddhikatā mahânubhāvatā! Ayaṃ hi sā nadikā cakkacchinnā parittā luḷitā āvilā sandamānā, mayi upasaṃkamante acchā vippasannā anāvilā sandatîti !' Pattena pānīyaṃ ādāy yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca:

'Acchariyaṃ bhante abbhutaṃ bhante Tathāgatassa mahiddhikata mahânubhāvatā ! Idāni sa bhante nadikā cakkacchinnā parittā luḷitā āvilā sandamānā, mayi upasaṃkamante acchā vippasannā anāvilā sandittha ! Pivatu Bhagavā pānīyaṃ, pivatu Sugato pānīyan' ti.

Atha kho Bhagavā pānīyaṃ apāyi.[2]

25. Then Ānanda thought:— 'How wonderful, how marvellous is the great might and power of the Tathā-gata![3] For this

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1. B^m K sandati.
2. S^c apāsi; B^m pāniyaṃ mapāsi.
3. This is a most unusual way of speaking of the Buddha. In the Suttas believers are represented as addressing him as bhante, lord or sir (the same form as that used by junior members of the Order in addressing their seniors); and as speaking of him by the epithet Bhagavā the Exalted One. Unbelievers address him as bho Gotama, and speak of him as the Samara Gotama.

streamlet which, stirred up by the wheels, was but just now become shallow and was flowing foul and turbid, now, as I come up to it, is flowing clear and bright and free from all turbidity.'

And taking water in the bowl he returned towards the Exalted One; and when he had come where the Exalted One was he said to him :— 'How wonderful,
how marvellous is the great might and power of the Tathāgata ! For this streamlet which, stirred up by the wheels, was but just now become shallow and was flowing foul and turbid, now, as I come up to it, is flowing clear and bright and free from all turbidity. Let the Exalted One drink the water ! Let the Happy One drink the water !'

Then the Exalted One drank of the water.

26. Tena kho pana samayena Pukkuso Malla-putto Āḷārassa Kālāmassa sāvako Kusinārāya Pāvaṃ addhāna-magga-paṭipanno hoti.

Addasā kho Pukkuso Malla-putto Bhagavantaṃ añña-tarasmiṃ rukkha-mūle nisinnaṃ, disvā yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. Ekamantaṃ nisinno kho Pukkuso Malla-putto Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca :

'Acchariyaṃ bhante, abbutaṃ bhante, santena vata bhante pabbajitā vihārena viharanti !

26. 'Now at that time a man named Pukkusa[1], a young Mallian, a disciple of Ātāra Kālāma's, was passing along the high road from Kusinārā to Pāvā.

And Pukkusa, the young Mallian, saw the Exalted One seated at the foot of a tree. On seeing him, he went up to the place where the Exalted One was, and when he had come there

1. The Pukkusas were one of the despised tribes. Compare M. II, 152; A. II, 85; PP. IV, 19; Jāt. IV, 205, 306; Lalita Vistara XXI, 17. But Buddhaghosa says Pukkusa must here be simply a name, as the Mallas were Khattiyas. He adds that this Pukkusa was the owner of the five hundred carts that had just passed by; and that Ālāra Kālāma was called Ālāra because he was Dīgha-pingalo, Kālāma being his family name.

he saluted the Exalted One, and took his rest respectfully on one side. And when he was seated Pukkusa, the young Mallian, said to the Exalted One:— 'How wonderful a thing it is, lord! and how marvellous, that those who have gone forth out of the world should pass their time in a state of mind so calm !

27. 'Bhūta-pubbaṃ bhante Āḷāro Kālāmo addhāna-magga-paṭipanno maggā okkamma avidūre aññatarasmiṃ rukkha-mūle divā-vihāre nisīdi. Atha kho bhante pañ pañca-mattāni sakaṭa-satāni Āḷāraṃ Kālāmaṃ nissāya nissāya[1] atikkamiṃsu. Atha kho bhante aññataro puriso tassa sakaṭa-satthassa[2] piṭṭhito[3] āgacchanto yena Āḷāro Kālāmo ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Āḷāraṃ Kālā-maṃ etad avoca:

' "Api bhante pañcamattāni sakaṭa-satāni atikkaman-tāni addasâti?"

' "Na Kho ahaṃ āvuso addasan" ti.

' "Kim pana bhante saddaṃ assosîti ?"

' "Na kho ahaṃ āvuso saddaṃ assosin" ti.

' "Kim pana bhante sutto ahosîti ?"

' "Na kho ahaṃ āvuso sutto ahosin" ti.

' "Kim pana bhante saññī ahosîti ?"

' "Evam āvuso" ti.

'So tvaṃ bhante saññī samāno jāgaro pañcamattāni sakaṭā-satāni nissāya nissāya atikkamanatāni n' eva addasa na pana saddaṃ assosi, api hi te bhante saṃghāṭi rajena okiṇṇā' ti.

'Evam āvuso' ti.

'Atha kho bhante tassa purisassa etad ahosi : "Acchariyaṃ vata bho, abbhutaṃ vata bho ! Santena vata bho pabbajitā vihārena viharanti yatra hi nāma saññī samāno jāgaro pañcamattāni sakaṭa-satāni nissāya nissāya atikkaman-tāni n' eva dakkhiti[4] na pana saddaṃ sos-satîti."[5] Āḷāre Kālāme uḷāraṃ pasādaṃ pavedetva pakkāmîti.'

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1. S^c B^m K *omit here, but not in the repetition.*
2. S^c satassa ; B^m tassa.
3. K piṭhito piṭhito.
4. S^{cd} -iti; K dakkhati: B^m atikkantāni n'eva akkhasi.
5. B^m assositi.

27. 'Formerly, lord, Atāra Kālāma was once walking along the high road ; and leaving the road he sat himself down under a certain tree to rest during the heat of the day. Now, lord, five hundred carts passed by one after the other, each close to Ātāra Kālāma. And a certain man, who was following close behind that caravan of carts, went up to the place where Ātāra Kālāma was, and when he was come there he spake as follows to Ālāra Kālāma:—

' "But, lord, did you see those five hundred carts go by ?"

' "No, indeed, I saw them not."

' "But, lord, did you hear the sound of them ?"

' "No, indeed, sir, I heard not their sound."

' "But, lord, were you then asleep ?"

' "No, sir, I was not asleep."

' "But, lord, were you then conscious ?"

' "Even so, sir."

' "So that you, lord, though you were both conscious and awake, neither saw, nor heard the sound of five hundred carts passing by, one after the other, and each close to you. Why, lord, even your robe was sprinkled over with the dust of them !" '

' "It is even so, sir." '

'Then thought that man :— "How wonderful a thing is it, and how marvellous, that those who have gone forth out of the world should pass their time in a state of mind so calm ! So much so that a man though being both conscious and awake, neither sees, nor hears the sound of five hundred carts passing by, one after the other, and each close to him."

'And after giving utterance to his deep faith in Alāra Kālāma, he departed thence.'

28. 'Taṃ kiṃ maññasi Pukkusa ? Katama nu kho dukkaratataraṃ vā durabhisambhavataraṃ vā yo saññī samāno jāgaro pañcamattāni sakaṭa-satāni nissāya nissāya atikkamantāni n'eva passeyya na pana saddaṃ suṇeyya, yo vā saññī samāno jāgaro deve vassante deve gaḷagaḷā-yante vijjutāsu niccharantīsu asaniyā phalantiyā n' eva passeyya na pana saddaṃ suṇeyyâti ?'

28. 'Now what think you, Pukkusa, which is -the more difficult thing either to do or to meet with—that a man, being conscious and awake, should neither see, nor hear the sound of five hundred carts passing by, one after the other, close to him,—or that a man, being conscious and awake, should neither see, nor hear the sound thereof when the falling rain goes on beating and splashing, and the lightnings are flashing forth, and the thunderbolts are crashing ?'

29. 'Kiṃ hi[1] bhante tāni karissanti pañca vā sakaṭa-satāni cha vā sakaṭa-satāni satta vā sakaṭa-satāni aṭṭha vā sakaṭa-satāni nava vā sakaṭa-satāni dasa vā sakaṭa-satāni sakāṭa-sataṃ vā sakaṭa-sahassaṃ vā ? Atha kho etad eva dukkarataraṃ c' eva durabhi sambhavatarañ ca yo saññī samāno jāgaro deve vassante deve galagalāyante vijjutāsu niccharantīsu asaniyā asaniyā phalantiyā n'eva passeyya na saddaṃ suṇeyyâti.'

29. 'What in comparison, lord, can these five hundred carts do, or six or seven or eight or nine or ten hundred, yea, even hundreds and thousands of carts ? That certainly is more difficult, both to do and to meet with, that a man, being conscious and awake, should neither see, nor hear the sound thereof when the falling rain goes on beating and splashing, and the lightnings are flashing forth, and the thunderbolts are crashing.'

30. 'Ekaṃ idâhaṃ Pukkusa samayaṃ Ātumāyaṃ viharāmi Bhusâgāre. Tena kho pana samayena deve vassante deve gaḷagaḷāyante vijjutāsu niccharantīsu asaniyā phalantiyā Bhusâgārassa dve kassakā bhātaro hatā cattāro ca balivaddā. Aha kho Pukkusa Ātumāya[2] mahā-jana-kāyo nikkhamitvā yena te dve kassakā bhātaro hatā cattāro ca balivaddā ten' upasaṃkami.

30. 'Now on one occasion, Pukkusa, I was dwelling at Ātumā, and was at the Threshing-floor. And at that time the falling rain began to beat and to splash, and the lightnings to flash forth, and the thunderbolts to crash; and two peasants,

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1. S[c] *om.*
2. S[c] -mayā; S[dt] -māyā : B[m] Pukkuasāhumāyaṃ ; K-yaṃ.

brothers, and four oxen were killed. Then, Pukkusa, a great multitude of people went forth from Ātumā, and went up to the place where the two peasants, brothers, and the four oxen, lay killed.'

31. Tena kho panâhaṃ Pukkusa samayena Bhusâgārā nikkhamitvā Bhusâgāra-dvāre abbhokāse caṃkamāmi. Atha kho Pukkusa aññataro puriso tamhā mahā-jana-kāyā yenâhaṃ ten' upasaṃkami, -upasaṃkamitvā maṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhāsi, ekamantaṃ ṭhitaṃ kho ahaṃ Pukkusa taṃ purisaṃ etad avocaṃ :

31. 'Now at that time, Pukkusa, I had gone forth from the Threshing-floor, and was walking up and down thinking at the entrance to the Threshing-floor. And a certain man came, Pukkusa, out of that great multitude of people, up to the place where I was; and when he came up he saluted me, and took his place respectfully on one side. And as he stood there, Pukkusa, I said to the man :—

32. ' "Kin nu kho so āvuso mahā-jana-kāyo sannipatito"? ti.

' "Idāni bhante deve vassante deve gaḷagaḷāyante vijjutānu niccharantīsu asaniyā phalantiyā dve kassakā bhātaro hatā cattāro ca balivaddā. Etth' eso[1] mahā-jana-kāyo sannipatito, tvaṃ pana bhante kva[2] ahosîti ?"

' "Idh' eva kho ahaṃ āvuso ahosin" ti.

' "Kim pana bhante addasâti ?"

' "Na kho āvuso addasan" ti.

' "Kim pana bhante saddaṃ assosîti ?"

' "Na kho ahaṃ āvuso saddaṃ assosin" ti.

' "Kim pana bhante sutto ahosîti ?"

' "Na kho ahaṃ āvuso sutto ahosin" ti.

' "Kim pana bhante saññī ahosîti" ?

' " Evam āvuso" ti.

' "So tvaṃ bhante saññī samāno jāgaro deve vassante

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1. B^{m} K ettha so.
2. S^{cdt} kuhiṃ ; B^{m} *omits.*

deve gaḷagaḷāyante vijjutāsu niccharantīsu asaniyā phalantiyā n'eve addasa na pana saddaṃ assosîti"

' "Evam āvuso" ti.

32. ' "Why then, sir, is this great multitude of people assembled together ?" '

"But just now, the falling rain began to beat and to splash, and the lightnings to flash forth, and the thunderbolts to crash ; and two peasants, brothers, were killed, and four oxen. Therefore is this great multitude of people gathered together. But where, lord, were you ?" '

' "I, sir, have been here all the while."

' "But, lord, did you see it ?"

' "I, sir, saw nothing."

' "But, lord, did you hear it ?"

' "I, sir, heard nothing."

' "Were you then, lord, asleep ?"

' "I, sir, was not asleep."

' "Were you then conscious, lord?"

' "Even so, sir."

' "So that you, lord, being conscious and awake, neither saw, nor heard the sound thereof when the falling rain went on beating and splashing, and the lightnings were flashing forth, and the thunderbolts were crashing." '

' "That is so, sir."

33. 'Atha kho Pukkusa tassa purisassa etad ahosi : "Acchariyaṃ vata bho, abbhutaṃ vata bho ! Santena vata bho pabbajitā vihārena viharanti yatra hi nāma saññī samāno jāgaro deve vassante deve gslagaḷāyante vijjutāsu niccha-rantīsu asaniyā phalantiyā n'eva dakkhiti[1] na pana saddaṃ sossatîti."[2] Mayi uḷāraṃ pasādaṃ pavedetvā maṃ abhivādetvā padakkhiṇaṃ katvā pakkāmîti.'

33. 'Then, Pukkusa, the thought occurred to that man :—

' "How wonderful a thing is it, and marvellous, that those who have gone forth out of the world should pass their time in

1. S^cdt K dakkhissati.
2. K suṇissatîti.

a state of mind so calm!—so that a man, being conscious and awake, neither sees, nor hears the sound thereof when the falling rain is beating and splashing, and the lightnings are flashing forth, and the thunderbolts are crashing." And after giving utterance to his deep faith in me, he departed from me [with the customary demonstrations of respect].'

34. Evaṃ vutte Pukkuso Malla-putto Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca:

'Esâ bhante yo me[1] Āḷāre Kāḷāme pasādo taṃ mahā-vāte vā opunāmi sīgha-sotāya vā nadiyā pavāhemi. Abhikkantaṃ bhante abhikkantaṃ bhante ! Seyyathā pi bhante nikkujjitaṃ vā ukkujjeyya, paṭicchannaṃ vā viva-reyya, mūḷhassa vā maggaṃ ācikkheyya, andhakāre vā tela-pajjotam dhāreyya cakkhumanto rūpāni dakkhintîti, evam eva Bhagavatā aneka-pariyāyena dhammo pakāsito ! Esâhaṃ bhante Bhagavantaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi Dhammañ ca Bhikkhu-Saṃghañ ca. Upāsakaṃ maṃ Bhagavā, dhāretu ajjat' agge pāṇupetaṃ saraṇaṃ gatan' ti.

34. And when he had thus spoken, Pukkusa, the young Mallian, addressed the Blessed One in these words:— 'Now I, lord, as to the faith that I had in Ātāra Kālāma, that I winnow away as in a mighty wind, and wash it away as in a swiftly running stream. Most excellent, lord, are the words of thy mouth, most excellent! Just as if a man were to set up that which is thrown down, or were to reveal that which is hidden away, or were to point out the right road to him who has gone astray, or were to bring a lamp into the darkness, so that those who have eyes can see external forms—just even so, lord, has the truth been made known to me, in many a figure, by the Exalted One. And I, even I, betake myself, lord, to the Exalted One as my refuge, to the Truth, and to the Brotherhood. May the Exalted One accept me as a disciple, as a true believer, from this day forth, as long as life endures ![2]'

1. K *om.*
2. This is a stock phrase constituting the final answer of a hitherto unconverted man at the end of one of those argumentative dialogues

35. Atha kho Pukkuso Malla-putto aññataraṃ purisaṃ āmantesi : 'higha me tvaṃ bhaṇe siṅgi-vaṇṇaṃ yugaṃ[1] maṭṭaṃ dhāraṇīyaṃ āharâti.'

'Evaṃ bhante' ti kho so puriso Pukkusassa Malla-puttassa paṭissutvā taṃ siṅgi-vaṇṇaṃ yugaṃ maṭṭaṃ dhāraṇīyaṃ āhari.[2]

Atha kho Pukkuso Malla-putto taṃ siṅgi-vaṇṇaṃ yugaṃ maṭṭaṃ dhāraṇīyaṃ Bhagavato upanāmesi: 'Idaṃ bhante siṅgi-vaṇṇaṃ yugaṃ maṭṭaṃ dhāraṇīyaṃ, tam me bhante Bhagavā paṭigaṇhātu anukampaṃ upādāyâti.

'Tena hi Pukkusa ekena maṃ acchādehi ekena Ānandan' ti.

'Evaṃ bhante' ti kho Pukkuso Malla-putto Bhagavato paṭissutvā ekena Bhagavataṃ acchādesi, ekena āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ.

35. Now Pukkusa, the young Mallian, addressed a certain man and said :— 'Fetch me, I pray you, my good man, a pair of robes of cloth of gold, burnished and ready for wear.'

'So be it, sir !' said that man, in assent, to Pukkusa, the young Mallian ; and he brought a pair of robes of cloth of gold, burnished and ready for wear.

And the Mallian Pukkusa presented the pair of robes of cloth of gold, burnished and ready for wear, to the Exalted One, saying :— 'Lord, this pair of robes of burnished cloth of gold is ready for wear. May the Exalted One show me favour and accept it at my hands !'

'In that case, Pukkusa, robe me in one, and Ānanda in one.'

'Even so, lord !' said Pukkusa, in assent, to the Exalted One ; and in one he robed the Exalted One, and in one, Ānanda.

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by which Gotama overcame opposition or expounded the truth. After a discussion of exalted themes it fits in very appropriately; here and elsewhere it is incongruous and strained. See below, V, 50.

1. B^{m} K yuga-, *and below.*
2. S^{ct} adāsi; s^{d} adāsiṃ

36. Atha kho Bhagavā Pukkusaṃ Malla-puttaṃ dhammiyā kathāya sandassesi samādapesi samuttejesi sampahaṃsesi. Atha kho Pukkuso Malla-putto Bhagavatā dhammiyā kathāya sandassito samādapito samuttejito sampahaṃsito uṭṭhāy' āsanā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā padakkhiṇaṃ katvā pakkāmi.

36. Then the Exalted One instructed and aroused and incited and gladdened Pukkusa, the young Mallian, with religious discourse. And Pukkusa, the young Mallian, when he had been instructed and aroused and incited and gladdened by the Exalted One with religious discourse, arose from his seat, and bowed down before the Exalted One; and keeping him on his right hand as he passed him, departed thence.

37. Atha kho āyasmā Ānando acira-pakkante Pukkuse Malla-putte taṃ siṅgi-vaṇṇaṃ yugaṃ maṭṭaṃ dhāraṇīyaṃ Bhagavato kāyaṃ upanāmesi, taṃ Bhagavato kāyaṃ upanāmitaṃ vītaccikaṃ[1] viya khāyati.

Atha kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca:

'Acchariyaṃ bhante, abbhutaṃ bhante, yāva parisuddho bhanto Tathāgatassa chavi-vaṇṇo pariyodāto ! Idaṃ bhante siṅgi-vaṇṇaṃ yugaṃ maṭṭaṃ dhāraṇīyaṃ Bhagavato kāyaṃ upanāmesiṃ, taṃ Bhagavato kāyaṃ upanāmitaṃ vītaccikaṃ[2] viya khāyatîti' !

'Evam etaṃ Ānanda. Dvīsu kho Ānanda kālesu ativiya Tathāgatassa parisuddho hoti chavi-vaṇṇo pariyodāto. Katamesu dvīsu ? Yañ ca Ānanda rattiṃ Tathāgato anuttaraṃ sammāsambodhiṃ abhisambujjhati, yañ ca rattiṃ anupādisesāya nibbāna-dhātuyā parinibbāyati, imesu kho Ananda dvīsu kālesu Tathāgatassa parisuddho hoti chavi-vaṇṇo pariyodāto.

37. Now not long after the Mallian Pukkusa had gone, the venerable Ānanda placed that pair of robes of cloth of gold, burnished and ready for wear, on the body of the Exalted One ;

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1. S^c vit^o ; S^d vitāsikaṃ ; S^t vītasikaṃ ; B^m satacchitaṃ ; K hatacchikaṃ *and below.*
2. S^c vitasikaṃ; S^{dt} vītasikaṃ; B^m haticchitaṃ.

and when it was so placed on the body of the Exalted One it appeared to have lost its splendour[1]!

And the venerable Ānanda said to the Exalted One:—'How wonderful a thing is it, lord, and how marvellous, that the colour of the skin of the Exalted One should be so clear, so exceeding bright ! For when, I placed even this pair of robes of burnished cloth of gold and ready for wear on the body of the Exalted One, lo ! it seemed as if it had lost its splendour !'

'It is even so, Ānanda. There are two occasions, Ānanda, on which the colour of the skin of a Tathāgata becomes clear and exceeding bright. What are the two ?

'On the night, Ānanda, on which a Tathāgata attains to the supreme and perfect insight, and on the night in which he passes finally away in that utter passing away which leaves nothing whatever to remain—on these two occasions the colour of the skin of the Tathāgata becomes clear and exceeding bright.

38. 'Ajja kho pan' Ānanda rattiyā pacchima-yāme Kusinārāyaṃ Upavattane Mallānaṃ sāla-vane antarena yamaka-sālānaṃ Tathāgatassa parinibbānaṃ bhavissati. Āyām' Ānanda yena Kakutthā[2] nadī ten' upasaṃkamissā-mâti.'

'Evaṃ bhante' ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato paccassosi.

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1. To understand what is here represented to have happened one must understand the mode in which the Buddhist Wanderers wore their robes. There was no tailoring at all. The set of three robes was simply three lengths of cotton cloth about a yard wide. One piece, folded in half, was wrapped round the body. Another piece covered the limbs from the waist to the ankles. It was supported by a girdle and went three or four times round. The third piece was put on over this last, went twice round the legs, and then the rest of it was thrown over the left shoulder, and passed under the right arm across the body. See below, ch. V, § 19.

   Pukkusa had placed the two lengths of cloth, shawl-wise, over the shoulders of the recipients. When he left them Ānanda assisted the Buddha to-put them on as Nos. 1 and 3 of a set of robes.
2. S[ct] kuk[o]; B[m] kakuma; K kakudha, *and below.*

Siṅgi-vaṇṇa-yugaṃ[1] maṭṭam Pukkuso abhihārayi.
Tena acchādito Satthā hema-vaṇṇo asobhathâti.

38. 'And now this day, Ānanda, at the third watch of the night, in the Upavattana of Kusinārā, in the Sāla Grove of the Mallians, between the twin Sāla trees, the utter passing away of the Tathāgata will take place. Come, Ānanda ! Let us go on to the river Kakutthā.'

'Even so, lord!' said the venerable Ānanda, in assent, to the Exalted One.

The pair of robes of cloth of gold,
All burnished, Pukkusa had brought,
Clad on with them the Master then
Shone forth in colour like to gold[2] !

39. Atha kho Bhagavā mahatā bhikkhu-saṃghena saddhiṃ yena Kakutthā nadī ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Kakutthaṃ nadiṃ ajjhogahetvā nahātvā[3] ca pivitvā ca paccuttaritvā yena Ambavanaṃ ten' upa saṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā āyasmantaṃ Cundakaṃ āmantesi :

'Iṅgha me tvaṃ Cundaka catuggunaṃ saṃghāṭim paññāpehi, kilanto' smi Cundaka, nipajjissāmîti.'

'Evaṃ bhante' ti kho āyasmā Cundaka Bhagavato paṭissutvā catugguṇaṃ saṃghāṭiṃ paññāpesi.

39. Now the Exalted One with a great company of the brethren went on to the river Kakutthā; and when he had come there, he went down into the water, and bathed, and drank. And coming up out again on the other side he went on to the Mango Grove.

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1. B^m K siṅgivaṇṇaṃ yuga-.
2. We have here the commencement of the legend which afterwards grew into an account of an actual 'transfiguration' of the Buddha. It is very curious that it should have taken place soon after the Buddha had announced to Ānanda his approaching death, and that in the Buddhist Sutta it should be connected so closely with that event; for a similar remark applies also to the Transfiguration mentioned in the Gospels.
3. B^m nhatvā.

And when he was come there he addressed the venerable Chundaka, and said :— 'Fold, I pray you, Chundaka, a robe in four and spread it out. I am weary, Chundaka, and would lie down.'

'Even so, lord !' said the venerable Chundaka, in assent, to the Exalted One. And he folded a robe in four, and spread it out.

40. Atha kho Bhagavā dakkhiṇena passena sīha-seyyaṃ kappesi, pāde pādaṃ accādhāya,[1] sato sampajāno uṭṭhāna-sahliaṃ manasikaritvā. Āyasmā pana Cundako tatth' eva Bhagavato purato nisīdi.

40. And the Exalted One laid himself down on his right side, with one foot resting on the other ; and calm and self-possessed he meditated, intending to rise up again in due time. And the venerable Chundaka seated himself there in front of the Exalted One.

41. Gantvāna Buddho nadiyaṃ[2] Kakutthaṃ[3]
Acchodi-sātodika-vippasannaṃ,[4]
Ogāhi Satthā sukilanta[5]-rūpo
Tathāgato appaṭimo va loke.
Nahatvā pitvā c' udatāri[6] Satthā[7]
Purakkhato bhikkhu-gaṇassa majjhe.
Satthā pavattā[8] Bhagavā 'dha dhamme
Upāgami Amba-vanaṃ mahesi.
Āmantayi Cundakaṃ nāma bhikkhuṃ,
'Catugguṇam patthara[9] me nipajjaṃ.'[10]

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1. S^c acchādāya ; S^d accādāya.
2. K -ikaṃ.
3. S^cdt kuk°; B^m K kakudhaṃ.
4. S^ct acchodikaṃ ; S^cdt sātodikaṃ; B^m K acchodakaṃ sātodakam.
5. B^m K akilanta-
6. SS K pivitvā; B^m K cudakāni.
7. K sutvā.
8. B^m sattāpiv°.
9. B^m santara ; K santhari.
10. K -jiṃ.

So modito[1] bhāvitattena Cundo
Catuggunaṃ patthari[2] khippam eva.
Nippajji Satthā sukilanta[3] -rūpo
Cundo pi tattha pamukhe[4] nisīdîti.

41. The Buddha to Kakuttha's river came,
Whose clear and pleasant waters limpid flow.
He plunged beneath the stream wearied and worn,
The Buddha without equal in the world !
When he had bathed and drunk, the teacher then
Crossed o'er, the brethren thronging round his steps;
The Blessed Master, preaching the while the truth,
The Mighty Sage came to the Mango Grove.
There spake he to the brother Chundaka :—
'Spread me the fourfold robe out as a couch.'
Urged by the Holy One, he quickly spread
The fourfold robe in order on the ground.
The Master laid him down, wearied and worn ;
And there, before him, Chunda took his seat.

42. Atha kho Bhagavā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi :

'Siyā kho pan' Ānanda Cundassa kammāra-puttassa koci vippaṭisāraṃ upadaheyya: "Tassa te āvuso Cunda alābhā, tassa te dulladdhaṃ, yassa te Tathāgato pacchimaṃ piṇḍapā-taṃ bhuñjitvā parinibbuto" ti. Cundassa Ānanda kammāra-puttassa evaṃ vippaṭisāro paṭivine-tabbo:

' "Tassa te āvuso lābhā, tassa te suladdhaṃ, yassa te Tathāgato pacchimaṃ piṇḍapātaṃ bhuñjitvā parinibbuto. Sammukhā me taṃ āvuso Cunda Bhagavato sutaṃ sammukhā paṭiggahītaṃ, dve 'me piṇḍapātā samasamaphalā samasama-vipākā ativiya aññehi piṇḍapātehi mahap-phalatarā ca mahâ-nisaṃsatarā ca. Katame dve ? Yañ ca piṇḍapātaṃ bhuñjitvā Tathāgato anuttaraṃ sammā-sambodhiṃ abhisambujjhati,

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1. S^c B^m K codito.
2. B^m santari; K santhari.
3. B^m K ak°.
4. S^c -kho va; S^t -kho.

yañ ca piṇḍapātaṃ bhuñjitvā Tathāgato anupādisesāya nibbāna-dhātuyā parinibbāyati. Ime dve piṇḍapātā sama-sama-phalā samasama-vipākā ativiya aññehi piṇḍapātehi mahapphalatarā ca mahâhi-saṃsatarā ca.[1] Āyu-saṃvattani-kaṃ āyasmatā Cundena kammāra-puttena kammaṃ upacitaṃ, vaṇṇa-saṃvattani-kaṃ āyasmatā Cundena kammāra-puttena kammaṃ upacitaṃ, sukha-saṃvattanikaṃ āyasmatā Cundena kammāra-puttena kammaṃ upacitaṃ, yasa-saṃvattanikaṃ āyasmatā Cundena kammāra-puttena kammaṃ upacitaṃ, sagga-saṃvattanikaṃ āyasmatā Cundena kammāra-puttena kammaṃ upacitaṃ, ādhipateyya-saṃvat-tanikaṃ āyasmatā Cundena kammāra-puttena kammaṃ upacitan" ti.

'Cundassa Ānanda kammāra-puttassa evaṃ vippaṭisāro paṭivinetabbo' ti.

42. And the Exalted One addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said:— 'Now it may happen, Ānanda, that some one should stir up remorse in Chunda the smith, by saying :— "This is evil to thee, Chunda, and loss to thee in that when the Tathāgata had eaten his last meal from thy provision, then he died." Any such remorse, Ānanda, in Chunda the smith should be checked by saying:— "This is good to thee, Chunda and gain to thee, in that when the Tathāgata had eaten his last meal from thy provision, then he died. From the very mouth of the Exalted One, Chunda, have I heard, from his own mouth have I received this saying :— 'These two offerings of food are of equal fruit, and of equal profit, and of much greater fruit and much greater profit than any other—and which are the two ? The offering of food which, when a Tathāgata has eaten, he attains to supreme and perfect insight; and the offering of food which, when a Tathāgata has eaten, he passes away by that utter passing away in which noth-ing whatever remains behind—these two offerings of food are of equal fruit and of equal profit, and of much greater fruit and much greater profit than any others. There has been laid up by

1. *See* Mil. 174.

Chunda the smith a karma redounding to length of life, redounding to good birth, redounding to good fortune, redounding to good fame, redounding to the inheritance of heaven, and of sovereign power.' " In this way, Ānanda, should be checked any remorse in Chunda the smith[1].'

43. Atha kho Bhagavā etam atthaṃ viditvā tāyaṃ velāyaṃ imam udānaṃ udānesi:

Dadato puññaṃ pavaḍḍhati, saṃyamato veraṃ na cīyati,[2]

Kusalo ca jahāti[3] pāpakaṃ, rāgadosamohakkhayā sa[4] nibbuto ti.

43. Then the Exalted One, perceiving how the matter stood, uttered on that occasion this hymn of exultation :—

'To him who gives shall virtue be increased ;
In him who curbs himself, no anger can arise ;
The righteous man casts off all evil ways,
And by the rooting out of lust, and bitterness,
And all infatuation, is at peace !'

Āḷāra vedalla-Bhāṇavāraṃ Niṭṭhitaṃ Catutthaṃ.[5]

End of the Fourth Portion for Recitation, containing The Episode of Ālāra.

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1. Here, and above pp. 137-9, we have spelt the name of the smith, in English, as it is pronounced in Pāli, and should be pronounced in English.
2. S^c ciyyati; S^t ciyy° ; B^m veraṇana viyayati.
3. B^m va hoti; K *omits* ca.
4. K *om.*
5. K catuttha-bhāṇavāraṃ; B^m bhāṇavāraṃ catutthaṃ.

CHAPTER V

5. 1. Atha kho Bhagavā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi : 'Āyām' Ānanda yena Hiraññavatiyā nadiyā pārima[1]-tīraṃ yena Kusinārā-Upavattanaṃ Mallānaṃ sāla-vanaṃ ten' upasaṃkamissāmâti.'

'Evaṃ bhante' ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato paccassosi.

Atha kho Bhagavā mahatā bhikkhu-saṃghena saddhiṃ yena Hiraññavatiyā nadiyā pārima-tīraṃ yena Kusinārā-Upavattanaṃ Mallānaṃ sāla-vanaṃ ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi :

'Iṅgha me tvaṃ Ānanda antarena yamaka-sālānam uttara-sīsakaṃ mañcakaṃ paññāpehi, kilanto 'smi Ānanda, nipajjissāmîti.'

Evaṃ bhante' ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato paṭissutvā antarena yamaka-sālā uttara-sīsakaṃ mañcakaṃ paññāpesi. Atha kho Bhagavā dakkhiṇena passena sīha-seyyaṃ kappesi pāde[2] pādaṃ accādhāya[3] sato sampajāno.

1. Now the Exalted One addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said :— 'Come, Ānanda, let us go on to the Sāla Grove of the Mallas, the Upavattana of Kusinārā, on the further side of the river Hiranya-vatī.'

'Even so, lord!' said the venerable Ānanda, in assent, to the Exalted One.

And the Exalted One proceeded with a great company of the brethren to the Sāla Grove of the Mallas, the Upavattana of

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1. B^{m} -maṃ, *and so below* ; K pāriman.
2. B^{m} K pādena.
3. . S^{c} B^{m} acchādāya ; S^{d} accādhāraya.

Kusinārā, on the further side of the river Hiranyavatī: and when he had come there he addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said:—

'Spread over for me, I pray you, Ānanda, the couch with its head to the north, between the twin Sāla trees[1]. I am weary, Ānanda, and would lie down.'

'Even so, lord!' said the venerable Ānanda, in assent, to the Exalted One. And he spread a covering over the couch with its head to the north, between the twin Sāla trees. And the Exalted One laid himself down on his right side, with one leg resting on the other; and he was mindful and self-possessed.

2. Tena kho pana samayena yamaka-sālā sabba-phāli-phullā[2] honti akāla-pupphehi. Te Tathāgatassa sarīraṃ okiranti ajjhokiranti abhippakiranti Tathāgatassa pūjāya. Dibbāni pi mandārava-pupphāni antalikkhā papatanti,[3] tāni Tathāgatassa sarīraṃ okiranti ajjhokiranti abhippakiranti Tathāgatassa pūjāya. Dibbāni pi candana-cuṇṇāni antalikkhā papatanti,[4] tāni Tathāgatassa sarīraṃ okiranti ajjhokiranti abhippakiranti Tathāgatassa pūjāya. Dibbāni pi turiyāni antalikkhe vajjenti[5] Tathāgatassa pūjāya. Dibbāni pi saṅgītāni antalikkhe vattanti Tathāgatassa pūjāya.

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1. According to the commentator 'tradition says that there was a row of Sāla trees at the head (sīs'a) of that couch, and another at its foot, one young Sāla tree being close to its head, and another close to its foot. The twin Sāla trees were so called because the two trees were equally grown in respect of the roots, trunks, branches, and leaves. There was a couch there in the park for the special use of the (periodically elected) chieftain of the Mallas, and it was this couch which the Exalted One asked Ānanda to make ready.'

   There is no further explanation of the term uttara-sīsakam, which may have been the name for a slab of wood or stone reserved on great occasions for the use of the leaders of the neighbouring republic, but available at other times for passers-by.
2. S^{cd} pāli°; B^m pālipullā.
3. B^m patanti, *and below.*
4. B^m patanti; K sampat°.
5. B^m K -anti *and below.*

2. Now at that time the twin Sāla trees were all one mass of bloom with flowers out of season ; and all over the body of the Tathāgata[1] these-dropped and sprinkled and scattered themselves, out of reverence for the successor of the Buddhas of old. And heavenly Mandārava flowers, too, and heavenly sandal-wood powder came falling from the sky, and all over the body of the Tathāgata they descended and sprinkled and scattered themselves, out of reverence for the successor of the Buddhas of old. And heavenly music was sounded in the sky, out of reverence for the successor of the Buddhas of old. And heavenly songs came wafted from the skies, out of reverence for the successor of the Buddhas of old!

3. Atha kho Bhagavā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi:

'Sabba-bhāliphullā kho[2] Ānanda yamaka-sālā akāla-pupphehi[3] Tathāgatassa sarīraṃ okiranti ajjhokiranti abhippakiranti Tathāgatassa pūjāya. Dibbāni pi man-dārava-pupphāni antalikkhā papatanti, tāni Tathāgatassa sarīraṃ okiranti ajjhokiranti abhippakiranti Tathāgatassa pūjāya, dibbāni pi candana-cuṇṇāni antalikkhā papatanti,[4] tāni[5] Tathāgatassa sarīraṃ[6] okiranti ajjhokiranti abhippakiranti Tathāgatassa pūjāya. Dibbāni pi turiyāni anta-likkhe vajjenti Tathāgatassa pūjāya. Dibbāni pi saṅgītāni antalikkhe vattanti[7] Tathāgatassa pūjāya.

'No kho Ānanda ettāvatā Tathāgato sakkato vā hoti garukato vā mānito vā pūjito vā apacito vā. Yo[8] kho Ānanda bhikkhu vābhikkhunī vā upāsako vā upāsikā vā dhammânu-

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1. We have here the unusual case of the Buddha being called Tathāgata, not by himself, but by a third person, the compiler of the Sutta. The paragraph is perhaps moulded by inadvertence on the next one. But see § 10. Compare the note above on IV, 25.
2. S[c] pāliphūlako; S[d] phāliphullakokhā; B[m] phālipullā kho.
3. B[m] *adds* te.
4. B[m] pat°, *put* K papat°.
5. B[m] tānitāni.
6. B[m] sariyaṃ (*a second time*).
7. B[m] patt°.
8. S[cdt] ye; B[m] K yo.

dhamma-paṭipanno viharati samīci-paṭipanno[1] anudhamma-cārī, so Tathāgataṃ sakkroti garukaroti māneti pūjeti paramāya pūjāya. Tasmāt ih' Ānanda "dhammânudhamma-paṭipannā viharissāma samīci-paṭi-pannā anudhamma-cārino" ti, evaṃ[2] hi vo Ānanda sikkhitabban' ti.

3. Then the Exalted One addressed the venerable Ānanda and said:— 'The twin Sāla trees are all one mass of bloom with flowers out of season; all over the body of the Tathāgata these drop and sprinkle and scatter themselves, out of reverence for the successor of the Buddhas of old. And heavenly Mandārava flowers, too, and heavenly sandal-wood powder come falling from the sky, and all over the body of the Tathāgata they descend and sprinkle and scatter themselves, out of reverence for the successor of the Buddhas of old. And heavenly music sounds in the sky, out of reverence for the successor of the Buddhas of old. And heavenly songs come wafted from the skies, out of reverence for the successor of the Buddhas of old!

'Now it is not thus, Ānanda, that the Tathāgata is rightly honoured, reverenced, venerated, held sacred or revered. But the brother or the sister, the devout man or the devout woman, who continually fulfils all the greater and the lesser duties, who is correct in life, walking according to the precepts—it is he who rightly honours, reverences, venerates, holds sacred, and reveres the Tathāgata with the worthiest homage. Therefore, O Ānanda, be ye constant in the fulfilment of the greater and of the lesser duties, and be ye correct in life, walking according to the precepts ; and thus Ānanda, should it be taught.'

4. Tena kho pana samayena āyasmā Upavāṇo[3] Bhagavato purato ṭhito hoti Bhagavantaṃ vījamāno. Atha kho Bhagavā āyasmantaṃ Upavāṇaṃ apasādesi:[4] 'Apehi bhikkhu, mā me purato aṭṭhāsîti.'

Atha kho āyasmato Ānandassa etad ahosi: 'Ayaṃ kho

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1. B^m paṭippannā.
2. B^m K -ñ.
3. S^cd -no *throughout* ; S^t -vaṇo, *afterwards* -vāṇo.
4. B^m -sāreti; K -sādeti (*throughout*).

āyasmā Upavāṇo dīgha-rattaṃ Bhagavato upaṭṭhāko santikâvacaro samīpa-cārī. Atha ca pana[1] Bhagavā pacchime kāle āyasmantaṃ Upavānaṃ apasādesi : "Apehi bhikkhu, mā me purato aṭṭhāsîti." Ko nu kho hetu ko paccayo yaṃ Bhagavā āyasmantaṃ Upavāṇaṃ apasādesi: "Apehi bhikkhu, mā me purato aṭṭhāsîti ?" '

4. Now at that time the venerable Upavāna was standing in front of the Exalted One, fanning him. And the Exalted One was not pleased with Upavāna, and he said to him :— 'Stand aside, O brother, stand not in front of me !'

Then this thought sprang up in the mind of the venerable Ānanda:—'This venerable Upavāna had long been in close personal attendance and service on the Exalted One. And now, at the last moment, the Exalted One is not pleased with Upavāna, and has said to him :— "Stand aside, O brother, stand not in front of me !" What may be the cause and what the reason that the Exalted One is not pleased with Upavāna, and speaks thus with him ?'

5. Atha kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca:

'Ayaṃ bhante āyasmā Upavāṇo dīgha-rattaṃ Bhagavato upaṭṭhāko santikâvacaro samīpa-cārī, atha ca pana Bhagavā pacchimi kāle āyasmantaṃ Upavāṇaṃ apasādeti. "Apehi bhikkhu, mā me purato aṭṭhāsîti." Ko nu kho bhante hetu ko paccayo yaṃ Bhagavā āyasmantaṃ Upavāṇaṃ apasādesi: "Apeni bhikkhu mā me purato aṭṭhasîti" ?'

'Yebhuyyena Ānanda dasasu loka-dhātusu devatā sannipatitā Tathāgataṃ dassanāya. Yāvatā Ānanda Kusi-nārā-Upavattanaṃ Mallānaṃ sāla-vanaṃ[2] sāmantato dvādasa yojanāni n'atthi so padeso vālagga-koṭi-nittud-danamatto[3] pi mahesakkhāhi devatāhi apphuṭo.[4] Devatā Ānanda ujjhāyanti[5]:

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1. B^m *om.*
2. B^m upavattansālavanaṃ *omitting* Kus° *and* Mall°.
3. B^m nituddhana°. (*See* Aṅguttara i. 65.)
4. B^m apuṭo.
5. B^m upajjh°.

"Dūrā[1] vat' amhā āgatā Tathāgataṃ[2] dassanāya. Kadāci karahaci[3] Tathāgatā[4] loke uppajjanti[5] arahanto sammā-sambuddhā, ajja ca[6] rattiyā pacchima-yāme Tathāgatassa parinibbānaṃ bhavissati, ayañ ca mahesakkho bhikkhu Bhavagato purato ṭhito ovārento, na mayaṃ labhāma pacchime kāle Tathāgataṃ dassanāyâti" devatā Ānanda ujjhāyantîti.'[7]

5. And the venerable Ānanda said to the Exalted One :— 'This venerable Upavāna has long been in close personal attendance and service on the Exalted One. And now, at the last moment, the Exalted One is not pleased with Upavāna, and has said to him :— "Stand aside, O brother, stand not in front of me! " What may be the cause and what the reason that the Exalted One is not pleased with Upavāna, and speaks thus with him ?'

'In great numbers, Ānanda, are the gods of the ten world-systems assembled together to behold the Tathāgata. For twelve leagues, Ānanda, around the Sāla Grove of the Mallas, the Upavattana of Kusinārā, there is no spot in size even as the pricking of the point of the tip of a hair which is not pervaded, by powerful spirits[8]. And the spirits, Ānanda, are mur-muring,

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1. Bm *inserts* ca.
2. K -tassa.
3. Sc -hāci; *so* Sd *corrected to* -haci; Bm karassaci.
4. Bm K -to.
5. K -jati arahaṃ-ddho (Bm -o).
6. Bm ajj' eva.
7. K *omits* dev-tîti.
8. Buddhaghosa explains that even twenty to sixty angels or gods (devatāyo) could stand āragga-koti-nittūdana- (MS. Nittad-dana-) matte pi, 'on a point pricked by the extreme point of a gimlet,' without inconveniencing one another (aññam aññam avyā-bādhenti). It is most curious to find this exact analogy to the notorious discussion as to how many angels could stand on the point of a needle in a commentary written at just that period of Buddhist history which corresponds to the Middle Ages of Christendom. The passage in the text does not really imply or suggest any such doctrine, though the whole episode is so absurd that the author of the text

and say :— "From afar have we come to behold the Tathāgata. Few and far between are the Tathā-gatas, the Arahant Buddhas who appear in the world : and now to-day, in the last watch of the night, the death of a Tathāgata will take place ; and this eminent brother stands in front of the Tathāgata, concealing him, and in his last hour we are prevented from beholding the Tathāgata" ; thus, Ānanda, do the spirits murmur.'

6. 'Kathaṃ-bhūtā pana bhante Bhagavā devatā man-asikarotîti' ?[1]

'Sant' Ānanda devatā ākāse paṭhavi-saññiniyo, kese pakiriya kandanti, bāhā paggayha kandanti, chinna-papā-taṃ[2] papatanti āvaṭṭanti[3] vivaṭṭanti: "Atikhippaṃ Bhagavā parinibbāyissati, atikhippaṃ Sugato parinibbā-yissati, atikhippaṃ cakkhuṃ[4] loke antaradhāyissatîti !"

'Sant' Ānanda devatā paṭhaviyā paṭhavi-saññiniyo, kese pakiriya kandanti, bāhā paggayha kandanti, chinna-papā-tam papatanti āvaṭṭanti vivaṭṭanti: "Atikhippaṃ Bhagavā parinibbāyissati, atikhippaṃ Sugato parinibbāyissati, atikhippam cakkhuṃ loke antaradhāyissaatîti !" Yā pana tā devatā vīta-rāgā, tā satā sampajānā adhivāsenti: "Aniccā saṃkhārā, taṃ kut' ettha labbhā ?"[5] ti.'

6. 'But of what kind of spirits is the Exalted One thinking?'

'There are spirits, Ānanda, in the sky, but of worldly mind, who dishevel their hair and weep, who stretch forth their arms'

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could not have hesitated to say so, had such an idea been the common belief of the early Buddhists. With these sections should be compared the similar sections in Chapter VI, of which these are perhaps merely an echo.

There is no comment on nittūdana, but there can be little doubt that Childers's conjectural reading is correct.

1. K karontîti.
2. K chinna-pātaṃ viya, *and below*; B[m] chinna-pātaṃ papat[o]
3. S[cdt] -ṭenti, *and below*; B[m] K -ṭanti.
4. K cakkhumā (*text*), cakkhuṃ (*note*), *and below*.
5. *Cp* 3. 63; 6. 39.

and weep, who fall prostrate on the ground, and roll to and fro in anguish at the thought:— "Too soon will the Exalted One die ! Too soon will the Exalted One pass away! Full soon will the Light of the world vanish away[1]!"

'There are spirits, too, Ānanda, on the earth, and of worldly mind, who tear their hair and weep, who stretch forth their arms and weep, who fall prostrate on the ground, and roll to and fro in anguish at the thought:— "Too soon will the Exalted One die ! Too soon will the Happy One pass away ! Full soon will the Eye of the world disappear from sight."

'But the spirits who are free from passion bear it, calm and self-possessed, mindful of the saying which begins:— "Impermanent indeed are all component things. How then is it possible [whereas anything whatever, when born, brought into being, and organized, contains within itself the inherent necessity of dissolution—how then is it possible that such a being should not be dissolved ? No such condition can exist[2] !"]

7. 'Pubbe bhante disāsu vassaṃ vutthā bhikkhū āgacchanti Tathāgataṃ dassanāya, te mayaṃ labhāma manobhāvanīye[3] bhikkhū dassanāya labhāma payirupāsanāya. Bhagavato pana mayaṃ bhante accayena na labhissāma manobhāvanīye bhikkhū dassanāya na labhissāma payirupāsanāyâti.'

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1. It is literally, 'the Eye in the world will vanish away,' where Eye is of course used figuratively of that by the aid of which spiritual truths can be perceived, corresponding exactly to the similar use in Europe of the word Light. The Master is often called 'He with the Eye,' 'He of the Spiritual Eye' (see, for instance, the last verses in this Book), and here by a bold figure of speech he is called the Eye itself, which was shortly about to vanish away from the world, the means of spiritual insight which was no longer to be available for the common use of all men. But this is, it will be noticed, only the lament of the foolish and ignorant.
2. The words in brackets have been inserted from par. III, 48 above. See par. VI, 19 below.
3. K -nīye; SS *all niye* here; *but in* Sum-nīye.

7. 'In times past, lord, the brethren, when they had spent the rainy season in different districts, used to come to see the Tathāgata, and we used to receive those very reverend brethren to audience, and to wait upon the Exalted One. But, lord, after the end of the Exalted One, we shall not be able to receive those very reverend brethren to audience, and to wait upon the Exalted One.'

8. 'Cattār' imāni Ānanda saddhassa kula-puttassa dassanīyāni[1] saṃvejanīyāni[2] ṭhānāni. Katamāni cattāri ?

' "Idha Tathāgato jāto" ti Ānanda saddhassa kulaputtassa dassanīyaṃ saṃvejanīyaṃ ṭhānaṃ.

' "Idha Tathāgato anuttaraṃ sammā-sambodhiṃ abhisambuddho" ti Ānanda saddhassa kula-puttassa dassa-niyaṃ saṃvejanīyaṃ ṭhānaṃ.

' "Idha Tathāgatena anuttaraṃ dhamma-cakkaṃ pavattitan" ti Ānanda saddhassa kula-puttassa dassanīyaṃ saṃvejanīyaṃ ṭhānaṃ.

' "Idha Tathagato anupādisesāya nibbāna-dhātuyā parinibbuto" ti Ānanda saddhassa kula-puttassa dassanīyaṃ saṃvejanīyaṃ ṭhānaṃ.

'Imāni kho Ānanda cattāri saddhassa kula-puttassa dassanīyāni saṃvejanīyāni ṭhānāni. Āgamisanti kho Ānanda saddhā bhikkhu[3]-bhikkhuniyo upāsaka[4]-upāsi-kāyo "Idha Tathāgato jāto" ti pi ' "Idha Tathāgato anuttaraṃ sammāsambodhiṃ abhisambuddho" ti pi, "Idha Tathāgatena anuttaraṃ dhamma-cakkaṃ pavat-titan" ti pi, "Idha Tathāgato anupādisesāya nibbāna-dhātuyā parinibbuto" ti pi.

'Ye hi keci Ānanda cetiya-cārikaṃ āhiṇḍantā pasannacittā kālaṃ karissanti, sabbe te kāyassa bhedā param maraṇā sugatiṃ saggaṃ lokaṃ uppajjissantîti.'

8. 'There are these four places, Ānanda, which the believing clansman should visit with feelings of reverence. Which are the four ?

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1. S[ct] *throughout* i; *so at first* S[d]. K *throughout* ī.
2. S[ct] *throughout* i; *so at first* S[d]. K *throughout* ī.
3. K -khū.
4. B[m] K -kā.

'The place, Ānanda, at which the believing man can say:— "Here the Tathāgata was born !" is a spot to be visited with feelings of reverence.

'The place, Ānanda, at which the believing man can say:— "Here the Tathāgata attained to the supreme and perfect insight!" is a spot to be visited with feelings of reverence.

'The place, Ānanda, at which the believing man can say:— "Here was the kingdom of righteousness set on foot by the Tathāgata!' is a spot to be visited with feelings of reverence.

'The place, Ānanda, at which the believing man can say:— "Here the Tathāgata passed finally away in that utter passing away which leaves nothing whatever to remain behind!" is a spot to be visited with .feelings of reverence. These are the four places, Ānanda, which the believing clansman should visit with feelings of reverence.

'And there will come, Ānanda, to such spots. believers, brethren and sisters of the Order, or devout men and devout women, and will say :— "Here was the Tathāgata born!" or, "Here did the Tathāgata attain to the supreme and perfect insight!" or, "Here was the kingdom of righteousness set on foot by the Tathāgata!" or, "Here the Tathāgata passed away in that utter passing away which leaves nothing whatever to remain behind !"

'And they, Ānanda, who shall die while they, with believing heart, are journeying on such pilgrimage, shall be reborn after death, when the body shall dissolve, in the happy realms of heaven.'

9. 'Kathaṃ mayaṃ bhante mātugāme paṭipajjāmâti ?'
'Adassanaṃ Ānandâti.'
'Dassane Bhagavā sati kathaṃ paṭipajjitabban ?' ti.
'Anālāpo Ānandâti.'
'Ālapantena pana bhante kathaṃ paṭipajjitabban ?' ti.
'Sati Ānanda upaṭṭhāpetabbā' ti.

9. 'How are we to conduct ourselves, lord, with regard to womankind ?'

'As not seeing them, Ānanda.'

'But if we should see them, what are we to do ?'

'No talking, Ānanda.'

'But if they should speak to us, lord, what are we to do ?'

'Keep wide awake, Ānanda.'

10. 'Kathaṃ mayaṃ bhante Tathāgatassa sarīre pati-pajjāmâti ?'

'Avyāvaṭā tumhe Ānanda hotha Tathāgatassa sarīra-pujāya, iṅgha tumhe Ānanda sadatthe ghaṭatha, sadat-tham[1] anuyuñjatha, sadatthe appamattā ātāpino pahitattā viharatha. Sant' Ānanda khattiya-paṇḍitā pi brāhmaṇa-paṇḍitā pi gahapati-paṇḍitā pi Tathāgate abhippasannā,[2] te Tathāgatassa sarīra-pūjaṃ karissantîti.'

10. 'What are we to do, lord, with the remains of the Tathāgata ?'

'Hinder not yourselves, Ānanda, by honouring the remains of the Tathāgata. Be zealous, I beseech you, Ānanda, in your own behalf! Devote yourselves to your own good! Be earnest, be zealous, be intent on your own good! There are wise men, Ānanda, among the nobles, among the brāhmins, among the heads of houses, who are firm believers in the Tathāgata ; and they will do due honour to the remains of the Tathāgata.

11. 'Kathaṃ pana bhante Tathāgatassa sarīre patipaj-jitabban ?' ti

'Yathā kho Ānanda rañño cakkavattissa sarīre paṭipaj-janti,[3] evaṃ Tathāgatassa sarīre paṭire paṭipajjitabban' ti.

'Kathaṃ pana bhante rañño cakkavattissa sarīre pati-pajjantîti' ?

'Rañño Ānanda cakkavattissa sarīraṃ ahatena[4] vat-thena veṭhenti. Ahatena vatthena veṭhetvā vihatena kappāsena veṭhenti, vihatena kappāsena veṭhetvā ahatena vatthena veṭhenti. Etena upāyena pañcahi yuga-satehi rañño

1. Bᵐ -ttho ; K -tthe. *See* Mil. 408.
2. Bᵐ atitapas°.
3. Bᵐ paṭipajjitabbanti.
4. Bᵐ āhatena *always*.

cakkavattissa sarīraṃ[1] veṭhetvā ayasāya[2] tela-doṇiyā pakkhipitvā aññissā ayasāya doṇiyā paṭikujjetvā sabba-gandhānaṃ citakaṃ karitvā rañño cakkavattissa sarīraṃ jhāpenti, cātummahāpathe[3] rañño cakkavattissa thūpaṃ karonti. Evaṃ kho Ānanda rañño cakkavattissa sarīre paṭipajjanti.

'Yathā kho Ānanda rañño cakkaattissa sarīre paṭipajjanti evaṃ Tathāgatassa sarīre paṭipajjitabbaṃ. Cātummahāpathe Tathāgatassa thūpo kātabbo. Tattha ye mālaṃ vā gandhaṃ vā vaṇṇakaṃ[4] vā āropessanti abhivā-dessanti vā, cittaṃ vā pasādessanti,[5] tesaṃ taṃ bhavissati dīgharattaṃ hitāya sukhāya.

11. [6]'But what should be done, lord, with the remains of the Tathāgata ?'

'As men treat the remains of a king of kings, so, Ānanda, should they treat the remains of a Tathāgata.'

'And how, lord, do they treat the remains of a king of kings[7] ?'

' They wrap the body of a king of kings, Ānanda, in a new cloth. When that is done they wrap it in carded cotton wool[8].

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1. K -re.
2. B[m] āyasāya *corrected to* -saya.
3. B[m] catumahāpate.
4. B[m] K cuṇṇakaṃ. *See below* 6. 17; Vin. iv. 341.
5. B[m] pasādevāssanti.
6. This conversation occurs also below (VI, 17), and the older tradition probably had it only in that connexion.
7. King of kings is an adequate rendering of the 'King of the Rolling Wheel,' the wheels of whose chariot roll unhindered through the land; that is to say, a king whose power no other king can dispute, who is an acknowledged overlord. The idea, which is explained very fully in the next Sutta, may have arisen with the rise of the Kosala power; but it may also be later. If we could trace its history it would afford us a guide to the date at which the Mahā Parinibbāna Sutta assumed its present form.
8. Buddhaghosa explains this passage thus:— 'As Benares cloth, by reason of its fineness of texture, does not take the oil, he therefore says:— "with vihata cotton wool," that is, with cotton wool that

When that is done they wrap it in a new cloth, and so on till they have wrapped the body in five hundred successive layers of both kinds. Then they place the body in an oil vessel of iron, and cover that close up with another oil vessel of iron[1]. They then build a funeral pyre of all kinds of perfume, and burn the body of the king ô kings. And then at the four cross roads they erect a cairn[2] to the king of kings. This, Ānanda, is the way in which they treat the remains of a king of kings.

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has been well forced asunder.' The technical use of the word, as applied to cotton wool, has only been found in this passage. It usually means 'torn' with grief.

1. Ayasāya tela-doniyā, where one would expect āyasāya, but my MS. of the Dīgha Nikāya confirms twice over here, and twice again below (VI, 33, 35) the reading given by Childers. Buddhaghosa says the word here means gold. Ay as was originally used for bronze, and only later for iron also, and at last exclusively of iron. As kamsa is already a common word for bronze in very early Buddhist Pāli texts, I think āyasa (not ayasa) would here mean 'of iron.' When Buddhaghosa says it is here a name for gold, we can only conclude that iron had become, in his time, a metal which he might fairly consider too base for the purpose proposed. The whole process as described is not very intelligible; and one might suppose that ayasa after all had nothing to do with any metal, and was a technical term descriptive of some particular size or shape or colour of oil vessel. But it is frequently found in the MSS. when iron is clearly meant. Thus in the popular verse at Samyutta I, 77 on which a Jātaka is based (II, 140), which is inserted in the 'Anthologies' (Dhammapada 345, Khar. MS. No. 102), and twice quoted in the Netti (35, 153), the MSS. have both forms in spite of the metre favouring the long vowel. In this passage both Paññānanda's Colombo edition of 1877, and Samarasekara's version (Col. and Lond 1905) have the short vowel only.
2. Thūpa. A solid mound or tumulus or barrow, in the midst of which the bones and ashes are to be placed. The dome of St. Paul's as seen from the Thames Embankment gives a very good idea of one of the later of these Buddhist monumental mounds.

'And as they treat the remains of a king of kings, so, Ānanda, should they treat the remains of the athagata. At the four cross roads a cairn should be erected to the Tathāgata. And whosoever shall there place garlands or perfumes or paint, or make salutation there, or become in its presence calm in heart that shall long be to them for a profit and a joy.'

12. 'Cattāro' me Ānanda thūpârahā. Katame cattāro ?

[1] 'Tathāgato Arahaṃ Sammā-Sambuddhe thūpâraho, Pacceka-Buddho thūpâraho, Tathāgata-sāvako[2] thūpâraho, rājā cakkavattī thūpâraho.

'[3]Katamañ c' Ānanda[3] attha-vasaṃ paṭicca Tathāgato Arahaṃ Sammā-Sambuddho thūpâraho ? "Ayaṃ tassa Bhagavato arahato Sammā-Sambuddhassa thūpo" ti Ānanda bahujano cittaṃ pasādeti,[4] te tattha cittaṃ pasādetvā kāyassa bhedā param maraṇā sugatiṃ saggaṃ lokaṃ uppajjanti.[5] Idaṃ kho Ānanda attha-vasaṃ paṭicca Tathāgato Arahaṃ Sammā-Sambuddho thūpâraho.

'[6] Katamañ c' Ānanda[6] attha-vasaṃ paṭicca Pacceka-Sambuddho thūpâraho ? "Ayaṃ tassa Bhagavato Pacceka-Sambuddhassa thūpo" ti Ānanda bahu-jano cittaṃ pasādeti, te tattha cittaṃ pasādetvā kāyassa bhedā param maraṇā sugatiṃ saggaṃ lokaṃ uppajjanti. Idaṃ kho Ānanda attha-vasaṃ paṭicca Pacceka-Sambuddho thūpâraho.

'Katamañ c' Ānanda attha-vasaṃ paṭicca Tathāgata-sāvako thūpâraho ? "Ayaṃ tassa Bhagavato Arahato Sammā-Sambuddhassa sāvaka-thūpo" ti Ānanda bahujano cittaṃ pasādeti, te tattha cittaṃ pasādetvā kāyassa bhedā param

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1. *Recurs* Aṅguttara ii. 245.
2. B^{m} K Tathāgatassa sāvado, *and so below.*
3_3. S^{cdt} Katamānanda ; K Kiñcān° (*text*) : *in a note,* Katamācān°. *In each subsequent par.* Kiñcān°.
4. B^{m} K bahujanā . . . pasādenti *throughout.* B^{m} *in serts* te *after* cittaṃ.
5. B^{m} K apap°, *and below.*
6_6. S^{t} Kañcānanda; S^{t} Katamānanda; *so each in next pat.* B^{m} K Kiñcān°, *and below.*

maraṇā sugatiṃ lokaṃ uppajjanti. Idaṃ kho Ānanda attha-vasaṃ paṭicca Tathāgata-sāvako thūpâraho.

'[1]Katamañ c' Ānanda[1] attha-vasaṃ paṭicca rājā cak-kavattī thūpâraho ? "Ayaṃ tassa dhammikassa dhamma-rañño thūpo" ti Ānanda bahu-jano cittaṃ pasādeti, te tattha cittaṃ pasāde tvā kāyassa bhedā param maraṇā sugatiṃ saggaṃ lokaṃ uppajjanti. Idaṃ kho Ānanda attha-vasaṃ paṭicca rājā vakkavattī thūpâraho.

'Ime[2] kho Ānanda cattāro thūpârahā' ti.

12. 'The men, Ānanda, worthy of a cairn, are four in number. Which are the four ?

'A Tathāgata, an Able Awakened One, is worthy of a cairn. One awakened for himself alone is worthy of a cairn. A true hearer of the Tathāgata is worthy of a cairn. A king of kings is worthy of a cairn.

'And on account of what circumstance, Ānanda, is a Tathāgata, an Able Awakened One, worthy of a cairn ?

'At the thought, Ānanda:— "This is the cairn of that Exalted One, of that Able Awakened One," the hearts of many shall be made calm and happy; and since they there had calmed and satisfied their hearts they will be reborn after death, when the body has dissolved, in the happy realms of heaven. It is on account of this circumstance, Ānanda, that a Tathāgata, an Able Awakened One, is worthy of a cairn.

'And on account of what circumstance, Ānanda, is one awakened for himself alone[3] worthy of a cairn ?

'At the thought, Ānanda :— "This is the cairn of that Exalted One awakened for himself alone" the hearts of many shall be made calm and happy ; and since they there had calmed and satisfied their hearts they will be reborn after death, when the body has dissolved, in the happy realms of heaven. It is on account of this circumstance, Ānanda, that one awakened for himself alone is worthy of a cairn.

1-1. S^{c} katamāñcān°; S^{dt} katamānanda; B^{m} kiñcāpinanda.

2. S^{cdt} iti; B^{m} K ime.

3. Pacceka-buddho. One who has attained to the supreme and perfect insight; but dies without proclaiming the truth to the world.

'And on account of what circumstance, Ānanda, is a true hearer of the Exalted One, the Able Awakened One, worthy of a cairn ?

'At the thought, Ānanda:— "This is the cairn of that true hearer of the Exalted Able Awakened One," the hearts of many shall be made calm and happy ; and since they there had calmed and satisfied their hearts they will be reborn after death, when the body has dissolved, in the happy realms of heaven. It is on account of this circumstance, Ānanda, that a true hearer of the Exalted One, the Able Awakened One, is worthy of a cairn.

'And on account of what circumstance, Ānanda, is a king of kings worthy of a cairn ?

'At the thought, Ānanda:— "This is the cairn of that righteous king who ruled in righteousness," the hearts of many shall be made calm and happy ; and since they there had calmed and satisfied their hearts they will be reborn after death, when the body has dissolved, in the happy realms of heaven. It is on account of this circumstance, Ānanda, that a, king of kings is worthy of a cairn.

'These four, Ānanda, are the personsworthy of a cairn.'

13. Atha kho āyasmā Ānando vihāraṃ pavisitvā kapisīsaṃ[1] ālambitvā rodamāno aṭṭhāsi : "Āhañ ca vat' amhi sekho[2] sakaraṇīyo, Satthu ca me parinibbānaṃ bhavissati[3] yo[4] mamaṃ anukampako' ti.

Atha kho Bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi : 'Kahan nu kho bhikkhave Ānando'? ti.

'Eso bhante āyasmā Ānando vihāraṃ pavisitvā kapisīsaṃ ālambitvā rodamāno ṭhito: "Ahañ ca vat' amhi sekho sakaraṇīyo, Satthu ca me parinibbānaṃ bhavissati yo mamaṃ anukampako" ti.'

Atha kho Bhagavā aññataraṃ bhikkhuṃ āmantesi : 'Ehi tvaṃ bhikkhu, mama vacanena Anandam āmantehi : "Satthā taṃ āvuso Ānanda āmantetîti." '

1. *See* Jāt. iii. 23.; Vin. ii. 121.
2. K sekkho. *See* Thera-Gāthā 1045.
3. S[cdt] *om., and below.*
4. S[cdt] so, *and below.*

'Evaṃ bhante' ti kho so bhikkhu Bhagavato paṭissutvā yen' āyasmā Ānando ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ etad avoca : 'Satthā taṃ āvuso Ānanda āmantetîti.'

'Evaṃ āvuso' ti kho āyasmā Ānando tassa bhikkhuno paṭissutvā yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃka-mitvā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi.

13. 'Now the venerable Ānanda went into the Vihāra[1], and stood leaning against the lintel of the door, and weeping at the thought :— 'Alas! I remain still but a learner, one who has yet to work out- his own perfection[2]. And the Master is about to pass away from me—he who is so kind!'

Now the Exalted One called the brethren, and said :— 'Where then brethren, is Ānanda ?'

'The venerable Ānanda, lord, has gone into the Vihāra, and stands leaning against the lintel of the door, and weeping at the thought:— "Alas ! I remain still but a learner, one who has yet to work out his own perfection. And the Master is about to pass away from me—he who is so kind !" '

And the Exalted One called a certain brother, and said :— 'Go now, brother, and call Ānanda in my name, and say:— "Brother Ānanda, the Master calls for thee".

'Even so, lord!' said that brother, in assent, to the Exalted One. And he went up to the place where the Exalted One was :

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1. The expression that Ānanda went 'into the Vihara' at the end of a conversation represented as having taken place in the Sāla Grove, would seem to point to the fact that this episode originally stood in some other connexion. Buddhaghosa attempts to explain away the discrepancy by saying that Vihāra here means Mandala. As the spot was the place for the performance of the communal ceremonies of the clan there was most likely a Mandala there, and there must, from the context below, § 25, have been also some small closed-in building, a hut or cottage. It is only this latter that could have been called a Vihara.
1. Ānanda had entered the Noble Path, but had not yet reached the end of it. He had not attained to Nirvana.

and when he had come there, he said to the venerable Ānanda:— 'Brother Ānanda, the Master calls for thee.'

'Very well, brother,' said the venerable Ānanda, in assent, to that brother. And he went up to the place where the Exalted One was, and when he had come there, he bowed down before the Exalted One, and took his seat respectfully on one side.

14. Ekamantaṃ nisinnaṃ kho āyasmantaṃ Anandaṃ Bhagavā etad avoca:

'Alaṃ Ānanda mā soci[1] mā paridevi.[2] Na nu etaṃ Ānanda mayā paṭigacc' eva akkhātaṃ, sabbeh' eva piyehi manāpehi nānā-bhāvo vinā-bhāvo aññathā-bhāvo ? Taṃ kut' ettha Ānanda labbhā ? yan taṃ jātaṃ bhūtaṃ saṅkhataṃ paloka-dhammaṃ, taṃ vata mā palujjīti[3] n' etaṃ ṭhānaṃ vijjati. Dīgha-rattaṃ kho te Ānanda Tathāgato paccupatthito mettena kāya-kammena hitena sukhena advayena appamāṇena, mettena vacī-kammena . . . pe . . . mettena mano-kammena hitena sukhena advayena appamāṇena. Katapuñña 'si tvaṃ Ānanda. Padhānaṃ anuyuñja khippaṃ hohisi[4] anāsavo' ti.

14. Then the Exalted One said to the venerable Ānanda, as he sat there by his side:— 'Enough, Ānanda! Do not let yourself be troubled; do not weep! Have I not already, on former occasions, told you that it is in the very nature of all things most near and dear unto us that we must divide ourselves from them, leave them, sever ourselves from them ? How, then, Ānanda, can this be possible— whereas anything whatever born, brought into being, and organized, contains within itself the inherent necessity of dissolution—how, then, can this be possible, that such a being should not be dissolved ? No such condition can exist! For a long time, Ānanda, have you been very near to me by acts of love, kind and good, that never varies[5], and is beyond all measure.

1. B^{m} soca.
2. B^{m} -vā.
3. B^{m} taṃ vata Tathāgatassapi sariraṃ (*sic*) mā paluj-jitaṃ.
4. S^{cdt} hosi; K hohipi. *See* Sum i. 10.
5. Advayena, which Buddhaghosa explains as not being that kind of

For a long time, Ānanda, have you been very near to me by words of love, kind and good, that never varies, and is beyond all measure. For a long time, Ānanda, have you been very near to me by thoughts of love, kind and good, that never varies, and is beyond all measure. You have done well, Ānanda! Be earnest in effort, and you too shall soon be free from the Intoxications—[of sensuality, and individuality, and delusion, and ignorance.][1]!'

15. Atha kho Bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi :

'Ye pi te bhikkhave ahesuṃ atītam addhānaṃ arahanto sammā-sambuddhā, tesam pi Bhagavantānaṃ eta-paramā yeva upaṭṭhākā ahesuṃ seyyathā pi mayhaṃ Ānando. Ye pi te bhikkhave bhavissanti anāgatam addhānaṃ arahanto sammā-sambuddhā, tesam pi Bhagavantānaṃ eta-paramā yeva upaṭṭhākā bhavissanti seyyathā pi may-haṃ Ānando.

'[2] Paṇḍito kho[3] bhikkhave Ānando jānāti : "Ayaṃ kālo Tathāgataṃ dassanāya upasaṃkamituṃ bhikkhū-naṃ,[4] ayaṃ kālo bhikkhunīnaṃ, ayaṃ kālo upāsakānaṃ, ayaṃ kālo upāsikānaṃ,[5] ayaṃ kālo rañño rāja-mahāmat-tānaṃ titthiyā-naṃ[6] titthiya-sāvakānan" ti.

15. Then the Exalted One addressed the brethren, and said:— 'Whosoever, brethren, have been Able Awakened Ones through the long ages of the past, they also had servitors just as devoted to those Exalted Ones as Ānanda has been to me.

'He is a clever man, brethren, is Ānanda, and wise[7]. He knows when it is the right time for the brethren or for the sisters of the Order, for devout men and devout women, for a

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love which is now one thing and now another, or which varies in the presence or the absence of the object loved.

1. That is, you too shall become an Arahant, shall attain Nirvana in this life.
2. Bm ekapparamā, *and below. See* S. v. 164.
3. Bm K *om.*
4. Bm K *repeat* ayaṃ kālo *before* bhikkhūnaṃ.
5. Bm *omits this phrase.*
6. K *has* ayaṃ kālo *before both last terms ; and* Bm *omits* titthiyānaṃ.
7. A word has here slipped out of the text, medhāvi should stand before jānāti.

king, or for a king's ministers, or for other teachers or for their disciples, to come and visit the Tathāgata.

16. 'Cattāro 'me bhikkhave acchariyā abbhutā[1] dhammā Ānande. Katame cattāro ?

' Sace bhikkhave bhikkhu-parisā Ānandaṃ dassanāya upasaṃkamati, dassanena sā attamanā hoti, tatra ce Ānando dhammaṃ bhāsati bhāsitena pi sā attamanā hoti, atittā 'va bhikkhave bhikkhu-parisā hoti atha[2] Ānando tuṇhī hoti.

'Sace bhikkhave bhikkhunī-parisā . . .[3] upāsaka-parisā . . . upāsikā-parisā Ānandaṃ dassanāya upasaṃkamati, dassanena sā attamanā hoti, tatra ce Ānando dhammaṃ bhāsati bhāsitena pi sā attamanā hoti, atittā 'va bhikkhave upasikā-parisā hoti atha Ānando tuṇhī hoti.[4]

'Cattāro 'me bhikkhave acchariyā abbhutā dhammā raññe cakkavattimhi.[5]

'Sace bhikkhave khattiya-parisā[6] . . . brāhmaṇa-parisā . . . gahapati - parisā . . . samaṇa - parisā rājānaṃ cakkavattiṃ dassanāya upasaṃkamati, dassanena sā attamanā hoti, tatra ce rājā cakkavattī bhāsati bhāsitena pi sā attamanā hoti, atittā 'va bhikkhave samaṇa-parisā hoti atha rājā cakkavattī tuṇhī hoti.

'Evam eva kho bhikkhave cattāro acchariyā abbhutā dhammā Ānande. Sace bhikkhave bhikkhu-parisā[7] bhikkhunī -khunī - parisā . . . upāsaka-parisā . . . upāsikā-parisā

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1. K abbhūta, *and below :* B^{m} *here* abbhudhā *but* abbhūta *below. See* Aṅguttara ii. 132.
2. B^{m} *adds* kho, *and so below.*
3. K B^{m} *repeat the previous sentence with each of the other three* parisās.
4. B^{m} K *add* Ime kho bhikkhave cattāro acchariyā abbhūta-dhammā Ānande.
5. *The usual link* katame cattāro *is not in* SS B^{m} *or* K. *It is in the* Aṅguttara ii. 133.
6. K *places* rājānaṃ . . . hoti *here first ; and continues* Sace bhikkhave brāhmaṇa - parisā . . . gahapati-parisā . . . samaṇa-parisā rājānaṃ . . . hoti. B^{m} *has it twice, for* Khattiyas and Samaṇas.
7. K *arranges this par like the preceding.*

Ānandaṃ dassanāya upasaṃkamati, dassanena pi[1] sā attamanā hoti, tatra ce Ānando dhammaṃ bhāsati bhāsitena pi sā attamanā hoti, atittā 'va bhikkhave upāsikāparisā hoti atha Ānando tuṇhī hoti.

'Ime kho bhikkhave cattāro acchariyā abbhutā dhammā Ānande' ti.

16. 'Brethren, there are these four wonderful and marvellous qualities in Ānanda. Which are the four ?

'If, brethren, a number of the brethren of the' Order should come to visit Ānanda, they are filled with joy on beholding him; and if Ānanda should then preach the truth to them, they are filled with joy at the discourse ; while the company of brethren is ill at ease, brethren, when Ānanda is silent.

'If, brethren, a number of the sisters of the Order, ... or of devout men, ... or of devout women, should come to visit Ānanda, they are filled with joy on beholding him ; and if Ānanda should then preach the truth to them, they are filled with joy at the discourse; while the company of sisters is ill at ease, brethren, when Ānanda is silent.

'Brethren, there are these four wonderful and marvellous qualities in a king of kings. What are the four?

'If, brethren, a number of nobles, or brahmins, or heads of houses, or members of a religious order should come to visit a king of kings, they are filled with joy on beholding him; and if the king of kings should then speak, they are filled with joy at what is said ; while they are ill at ease, brethren, when the king of kings is silent.

'Just so, brethren are the four wonderful and marvellous qualities in Ānanda.

'If, brethren, a number of the brethren of the Order, or of the sisters of the Order, or of devout men, or of devout women, should come to visit Ānanda, they are filled with joy on beholding him ; and if Ānanda should then preach the truth to them, they are filled with joy at the discourse; while the company of brethren is ill at ease, brethren, when Ānanda is silent.

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1. B^{m} K *omit.*

'Now these, brethren, are the four wonderful and marvellous qualities that are in Ānanda.'

17. Evaṃ vutte āyasmā Ānando Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca:

'Mā bhante Bhagavā imasmiṃ kuḍḍa-nagarake[1] ujjaṅgala-nagarake sākha-nagarake[2] parinibbāyatu.[3] Santi he[4] bhante aññāni mahā-nagarāni seyyathîdaṃ Campā Rājagahaṃ Sāvatthi Sāketaṃ Kosambi Bārāṇasi. Ettha Bhagavā parinibbāyatu, ettha bahū khattiya-mahāsālā brāhmaṇa-mahāsāla gahapati-mahāsālā Tathāgate abhippa-sannā, te Tathāgatassa sarīra-pūjaṃ karissantîti.'

'Mā h'evaṃ Ānanda avaca, mā h'evaṃ Ānanda avaca kuḍḍa nagarakaṃ[5] ujjaṅgala-nagarakaṃ sākha[6]-nagarakan ti.

17. When he had thus spoken,[7] the venerable Ānanda said to the Exalted One:—

'Let not the Exalted One die in this little wattle-and-daub town, in this town in the midst of the jungle, in this branch township[8]. For, lord, there are other great cities, such as Champā,

1. Sc kuḍḍha-; Bm K khuddaka-. *Comp.* J.v. 102, 105, 106, *and below,* p. 169.
2. Sd Ka sākhā-.
3. Bm K -bāyi.
4. Sc Bm K *om.*
5. Sct khudda- ; Bm K khuddaka-.
6. Bm sābharaṇa.
7. From here down to the end of section 18 is found also, nearly word for word, in the beginning of the Mahā-Sudassana Sutta, translated below.
8. Kudda-nagarake ti patirūpake sambādhe khuddakana-gare. Uggangaja-nagarake ti visama-nagarake (S. V, fol. thau) Kudda, if this explanation be right, seems to be merely an old and unusual form for kshudra, and the Burmese correction into khudda to be unnecessary: but I venture to think it is more likely to be = kudya, and to mean a wall built of mud and sticks, or what is called in India, of wattle and daub. When Buddhaghosa explains uangala as 'lawless,' he is expressing his view that a town in the jungle is likely to be a heathen, pagan sort of place.

Rājagaha, Sāvatthi, Sāketa, Kosambi, and Benares. Let the Exalted One die in one of them. There there are many wealthy nobles and brahmins and heads of houses, believers in the Tathāgata, who will pay due honour to the remains of the Tathāgata[1].'

'Say not so, Ānanda! Say not so, Ānanda, that this is but a small wattle-and-daub town, a town in the midst of the jungle, a branch township.

18. 'Bhūta - pubbaṃ Ānanda Rājā Mahā-Sudassano nāma ahosi cakkavattī dhammiko dhamma-rājā cāturanto vijitāvī[2] janapadatthāvariyappatto[3] satta-ratana-saman-nāgato. Rañño Ānanda Mahā-Sudassanassa ayaṃ Kusinārā Kusāvatī nāma rājadhānī ahosi, puratthimena ca pacchimena ca dvādasa yojanāni āyāmena uttarena ca dakkhiṇena ca satta yojanāni vitthārena.

'Kusāvatī Ānanda rājadhānī iddhā c'eva ahosi phītā[4] ca bahu-janā ca ākiṇṇa-manussā ca subhikkhā ca. Sevyathā pi Ānanda devānaṃ Āḷakamandā[5] nāma rājadhanī iddhā[6] c'eva[7] phītā ca bahu-janā ca ākiṇṇa-yakkhā ca subhikkhā ca, evam kho Ānanda Kusāvatī rājadhānī iddhā c'eva ahosi phītā ca bahu-janā ca ākiṇṇa-manussā ca subhikkhā ca.

'Kusāvatī Ānanda rājadhānī dasahi saddehi avivittā[8] ahosi divā c'eva rattī[9] ca, seyyathîdaṃ hatthi-saddena assa-

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1. With reference to Childers's note his Dictionary on mahāsala, with which every one must entirely agree, Buddhaghosa's explanation of the word will be interesting as a proof (if proof be needed) that the Ceylon scholars are not always trustworthy. He says:—Khattiya-mahāsālā ti khattiya-mahāsārā, sārapattā mahakhattiyā. Eso nayo sabbatha.
2. B^{m} jivijitāvi.
3. B^{m} -ttāpariya-.
4. S^{cdt} pītā; S^{t} pitātā; *afterwards* S^{cdt} *always* pītā, B^{m} pītā. *See ante,* p. 106, *below* p. 170, *and* J. i. 29 (*verse* 212).
5. B^{m} °manta.
6. B^{m} attha.
7. B^{m} K hoti.
8. B^{m} avittvā. *See* J. i. 3. Asl. 319.
9. B^{m} K -tiñ.

saddena ratha-saddena bheri-saddena mutiṅga[1]-sad-dena vīṇā-saddena gīta-saddena[2] samma-saddena tāla-[3] saddena asnātha[4]-pivatha-khādathâti dasamena saddena.

18. 'Long ago, Ānanda, there was a king, by name Maha-Sudassana, a king of kings, a righteous man who ruled in righteousness, Lord of the four quarters of the earth, conqueror, the protector of his people, possessor of the seven royal treasures. This Kusinārā, Ānanda, was the royal city of King Mahā-Sudassana, under the name of Kusāvati, and on the east and on the west it was twelve leagues in length, and on the north and on the south it was seven leaguesjn breadth.

'That royal city Kusāvatī, Ānanda, was mighty and prosperous and full of people, crowded with men, and provided with all things for food. Just, Ānanda, as the royal city of the gods, Ālakamandā by name, is mighty, prosperous, and full of people, crowded with the gods, and provided with all kinds of food, so. Ānanda, was the royal city Kusāvati mighty and prosperous, full of people, crowded with men, and provided with all kinds of food.

'Both by day and by night, Ānanda, the royal city Kusavati resounded with the ten cries ; that is to say, the noise of elephants, and the noise of horses, and the noise of chariots ; the sounds of the drum, of the tabor, and of the lute ; the sound of singing, and the sounds of the cymbal and of the gong ; and lastly, with the cry :— "Eat, drink, and be merry !" '

19. 'Gaccha tvaṃ Ānanda, Kusinārāyaṃ[5] pavisitvā Kosinārakānaṃ Mallānaṃ ārocehi: "Ajja kho Vāseṭṭhā[6] rattiyā pacchime yāme Tathāgatassa parinibbānaṃ bhavissati. Abhikkhamatha Vāseṭṭhā ! abhikkhamatha Vāseṭṭhā! mā pacchā vippaṭi sārino ahuvattha: Am-hākañ ca no gāmak-

1. Bm K mud°; *adds* aṇava-s°.
2. Bm saṅkha-s°.
3. Bm pāṇi.
4. Bm K asatha.
5. Sc -nāraṃ.
6. K Vāsiṭṭhā *in text, and at* 6. 12 : *in note* Vāseṭṭhā.

khette Tathāgatassa parinibbānaṃ ahosi, na mayaṃ labhimhā pacchime kāle Tathāgataṃ dassanāyâti." '

'Evaṃ bhante' ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato paṭissutvā nivāsetvā patta-cīvaraṃ ādāya atta-dutiyo[1] Kusinārāyaṃ pāvisi.

19. Go now, Ānanda, and enter into Kusinārā, and inform the Mallas of Kusinārā, saying:— "This day, O Vāsetthas, in the last watch of the night, the final passing away of the Tathāgata will take place. Be favourable herein, O Vāsetthas, be favourable. Give no occasion to reproach yourselves hereafter, saying:— 'In our own village did the death of our Tathāgata take place, and we took not the opportunity of visiting the Tathāgata in his last hours.'

'Even so, lord,' said the venerable Ānanda, in assent, to the Exalted One; and he robed himself and taking his bowl, entered into Kusinārā attended by another member of the order[2].

20. Tana kho pana samayena Kosinārakā Mallā santhâgāre sannipatitā honti kenacid eva karaṇīyena. Atha kho āyasmā Ānando yena Kosinārakānaṃ Mallānaṃ santhâgāraṃ ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Kosinā-rakānaṃ Mallānaṃ ārocesi :

'Ajja kho Vāseṭṭhā rattiyā pacchime yāme Tathāga-tassa parinibbānaṃ bhavissati. Abhikkhamatha Vāseṭṭhā! abhikkhamatha Vāseṭṭhā ! mā pacchā vippaṭisāriṇo shuvattha:

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1. K adutiyo (*text*) ; attadutiyo (*note*).
2. Literally 'Put on his under-garment, and taking his upper-garment and his bowl, etc.' This sounds complicated; and why should he take his bowl ? The Wanderers when at their lodging places on their travels lived (naturally in that beautiful climate) in undress—with only one robe on, the one from the waist to the feet. When they set out for the village on a visit, or on any ceremonious occasion, they put on the second robe, and (just as a European often carries his great-coat on his arm) carried the third with them. At some convenient spot near the village they would put this also on, and enter—so to speak—in full canonicals. And the bowl belonged to, formed part of, their official costume. See J. I, 55 ; III, 379 ; Sum. I, 45, 186; and the note above on Ch. IV, § 37, p. 145.

'Amhākañ ca no gāmakkhette Tathāgatassa parinibbānaṃ na mayaṃ labhimhā pacchime kāle Tathāgataṃ dassanāyâti.'

20. Now at that time the Mallas of Kusinārā were assembled in the council hall on some [public] affair[1].

And the venerable Ānanda went to the council hall of the Mallas of Kusinārā ; and when he had arrived there, he informed them, saying :— 'This day, O Vāsetthas, in the last watch of the night, the final passing away of the Tathāgata will take place. Be favourable herein, O Vāsettas, be favourable. Give no occasion to reproach yourselves hereafter, saying :— "In our own village did the death of our Tathāgata take place, and we took not the opportunity of visiting the Tathāgata in-his last hours." '

21. Idam āyasmato Ānandassa sutvā Mallā ca Malla-puttā ca Malla-suṇisā ca Malla-pajāpatiyo ca aghāvino dummanā ceto-dukkha-samappitā app ekacce kese pakiriya kandanti, bāhā paggayha kandanti, chinna-papā-taṃ[2] papatanti āvaṭṭanti[3] vivaṭṭanti[3]: 'Atikhippam Bhagavā parinibbāyissati, atikhippaṃ Sugato parinibbāyissati, atikhippaṃ cakkhuṃ[4] loke antaradhāyissatîti.'

Atha kho Mallā Malla-puttā ca Malla-suṇisā ca Malla-pajāpatiyo ca aghāvino dummanā ceto-dukkha-samappitā yena Upavattanaṃ[5] Mallānaṃ sāla-vanaṃ yen' āyasmā Ānando ten' upasaṃkamiṃsu.

21. And when they had heard this saying of the venerable Ānanda, the Mallas with their young men and maidens and their wives were grieved, and sad, and afflicted at heart. And some of them wept, dishevelling their hair, and stretched forth their arms

1. Kenakid eva karanîyena. Professor Pischel, in his edition of the Assalāyana Sutta (p. 1), prints this expression kenaki devakaranīyena, and translates it (p. 28), 'for some religious purpose.' It seems to me that he has been misled by the commentary, which really presupposes the more correct division.
2. K chinna-pātaṃ viya, *cp.* § 6 *and* vi. 24.
3. S[cdt] -ṭenti, *cp.* § 6, *ante*: K -ṭanti, *om.* viv°.
4. K cakkhumā (*without note*).
5. S[cdt] -tān°.

and wept, fell prostrate on the ground, and rolled to and fro in anguish at the thought :— 'Too soon will the Exalted One die ! Too soon will the Happy One pass away! Full soon will the Light of the world vanish away!'

Then the Mallas, with their young men and maidens and their wives, being grieved, and sad, and afflicted at heart, went to the Sāla Grove of the Mallas, to the Upavattana, and to the place where the venerable Ānanda was.

22. Atha kho āyasmato Ānandassa etad ahosi :

'Sace kho ahaṃ Kosinārake Malle ekam-ekaṃ Bhagavantaṃ vandāpessāmi, avandito Bhagavā Kosinārakehi Mellehi bhavissati athâyaṃ ratti vibhāyissati. Yan ṇūnâhaṃ Kosinārake Malle kula-parivattaso kula-parivattaso ṭhapetvā Bhagavantaṃ vandāpeyyaṃ: "Itthannāmo bhante Mallo saputto sabhariyo sapariso sâmacco Bhagavato pāde sirasā vandatîti." '

Atha kho āyasmā Ānando Kosinārake Malle kula-parivattaso kula-parigattaso ṭhapetvā Bhagavantaṃ vandāpesi: 'Itthannāmo bhante Mallo saputto sabhariyo sapariso sâmacco Bhagavato pāde sirasā vandatîti.'

Atha kho āyasmā Ānando etena upāyena paṭhamen' eva yāmena Kosinārake[1] Malle Bhagavantaṃ vandāpesi.

22. Then the venerable Ānanda thought:— 'If I allow the Mallas of Kusinārā, one by one, to pay their respects to the Exalted One, the whole of the Mallas of Kusinārā will not have been presented to the Exalted One until this night brightens up into the dawn. Let me, now, cause the Mallas of Kusinārā to stand in groups, each family in a group, and so present them to the Exalted One, saying :— "Lord ! a Malla of such and such a name, with his children, his wives, his retinue, and his friends, humbly bows down at the feet of the Exalted One." '

And the venerable Ānanda caused the Mallas of Kusinārā to stand in groups, each family in a group, and so presented them to the Exalted One, and said :— 'Lord ! a Malla of such and

1. K Kos° *as above;* SS Ch Kus°.

such a name, with his children, his wives, his retinue, and his friends, humbly bows down at the feet of the Exalted One.

And after this manner the venerable Ānanda presented all the Mallas of Kusinārā to the Exalted One in the first watch of the night.

23. Tena kho pana-samayena Subhaddo nāma parib bājako Kusinārāyaṃ paṭivasati. Assosi kho Subhaddo paribbājako : 'Ajj' eva[1] kira rattiyā pacchime yāme samaṇassa Gotamassa parinibbānaṃ bhavissatîti.'

Atha kho Subhaddassa paribbājakassa etad ahosi.

'Sutaṃ kho pana me taṃ paribbājakānaṃ vudhānaṃ mahallakānaṃ ācariya - pācariyānaṃ bhāsamānānaṃ : "Kadāci karahaci Tathāgatā loko uppajjanti Arahanto Sammā-Sambuddhā"[2] ti. Ajja ca rattiyā pacchime yāme samaṇassa Gotamassa parinibbānaṃ bhavissati. Atthi ca me ayaṃ kaṅkhā-dhammo uppanno, evaṃ pasanno ahaṃ samaṇe Gotame,[3] pahoti me samaṇo Gotamo tathā dhammaṃ desetuṃ yathā ahaṃ imaṃ kaṅkhā-dhammaṃ pajaheyyan' ti.

23. Now at that time a Wanderer named Subhadda. who was not a believer, was dwelling at Kusinārā. And the Wanderer Subhadda heard the news :— 'This very day, they say, in the third watch of the night, will take place the final passing away of the Samana Gotama.'

Then thought the Wanderer Subhadda:— 'This have I heard from fellow Wanderers old and well stricken in years, teachers and disciples, when they said :— "Sometimes and full seldom do Tathāgatas appear in the world, the Able Awakened Ones." Yet this day, in the last watch of the night, the final passing away of the Samana Gotama will take place. Now a certain feeling of uncertainty has sprung up in my mind; and this

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1. S[cdt] -ajja; B[m] K ajj' eva.
2. S[c] Tathāgato loke uppanno arahaṃ sammāsambuddho; S[dt] *pl. as in text;* S[cdt] K *omit* ti, *here and below in* § 24. *Comp.* vi. 28 (*below* p. 168).
3. S[ct] samaṇo Gotamo.

faith have I in the Samana Gotama, that he, methinks, is able so to present the truth that I may get rid of this feeling of uncertainty.'

24. Atha kho subhaddo paribbājako yena Upavattanaṃ Mallānaṃ sālavanaṃ yen' āyasmā Ānando ten' upasaṃ-kami, upasaṃkamitvā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ etad avoca :

'Sutaṃ me taṃ bho Ānanda paribbājakānaṃ vuddhānaṃ mahallakānaṃ ācariya-pācariyānaṃ bhāsamānānaṃ: "Kadāci karahaci Tathāgatā loke uppajjanti Arahanto Sammā-Sambuddhā" ti. Ajja ca rattiyā pacchime yāme samaṇassa Gotamassa parinibbānaṃ bhavissati. Atthi ca me ayaṃ kaṅkhā-dhammo uppanno, evaṃ pasanno ahaṃ samaṇe Gotame, pahoti me samaṇo Gotamo tathā dhammaṃ desetuṃ yathā ahaṃ imaṃ kaṅkhā-dhammaṃ pajaheyyaṃ. Svâhaṃ[1] bho Ānanda labheyyaṃ samaṇaṃ Gotamaṃ dassanāyâti.'

Evaṃ vutte āyasmā Ānando Subhaddaṃ paribbājakaṃ etad avoca: 'Alaṃ āvuso Subhadda, mā Tathāgataṃ viheṭhesi. Kilanto Bhagavā' ti.

Dutiyam pi kho Subhaddo paribhājako . . . pe . . . Tatiyam pi kho Subhaddo paribbājako ayyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ etad avoca :

'Sutaṃ me taṃ bho Ānanda paribbājakānaṃ vuddhānaṃ mahallakānaṃ ācariya-pācariyānaṃ bhāsamānānaṃ: "Kadāci karahaci Tathāgatā loke uppajjanti Arahanto Sammā-Sambuddhā" ti Ajja ca rattiyā pacchime yāme sama-ṇassa Gotamassa parinibbānaṃ bhavissati. Atthi samaṇassa Gotamassa parinibbānaṃ bhavissati. Atthi ca me ayaṃ kaṅkahā-dammo uppanno, evaṃ pasanno ahaṃ samaṇe Gotame, pahoti me samaṇo Gotamo tathā dhammaṃ desetuṃ yathā ahaṃ imaṃ kaṅkhā-dhammaṃ pajaheyyaṃ. Svâhaṃ bho Ānanda labheyyaṃ samaṇaṃ pajaheyyaṃ. Svâhaṃ bho Ānanda labheyyaṃ samaṇaṃ Gotamaṃ dassanāyâti.'

Tatiyam pi kho āyasmā Ānando Subhaddaṃ paribbājakaṃ etad avoca: ' Alaṃ āvuso Subhadda, mā Tathāgataṃ viheṭhesi. Kilanto Bhagavā' ti.

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1. K sādhâhaṃ (*with* svâhaṃ *in note*).

24. Then the Wanderer Subhadda went to the Sāla Grove of the Mallas, to the Upayattana of Kusinārā, to the place where the venerable Ānanda was.

And when he had come there he said to the venerable Ānanda:— 'Thus have I heard from fellow Wanderers, old and well stricken in years, teachers and disciples, when they said:— "Sometimes and full seldom do Tathāgatas appear in the world, the Able Awakened Ones." Yet this day, in the last watch of the night, the final passing away of the Samana Gotama will take place. Now a certain feeling of uncertainty has sprung up in my mind ; and this faith have I in the Samana Gotama, that he, methinks, is able so to present the truth that I may get rid of this feeling of uncertainty. O that I, even I, Ānanda, might be allowed to see the Samana Gotama!'

And when he had thus spoken the venerable Ānanda said to the Wanderer Subhadda :— 'Enough! friend Subhadda. Trouble not the Tathāgata. The Exalted One is weary.'

And again the Wanderer Subhadda [made the same request in the same words, and received the same reply]: and the third time the Wanderer Subhadda [made the same request in the same words, and received the same reply].

25. Assosi kho Bhagavā āyasmato Ānandassa Subhaddena paribbājakena saddhiṃ imaṃ kathā-sallāpaṃ. Atha kho Bhagavā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi :

'Alaṃ Ānanda, mā Subbaddaṃ vāresi, labhataṃ Ānanda Subbaddo Tathāgataṃ dassanāya. Yaṃ kiñci maṃ Subhaddo pucchissati, sabban taṃ aññā-pekho[1] 'va pucchissati no vihesā[2]-pekho, yañ c' assâhaṃ puṭṭho vyākari-ssāmi taṃ khippam eva ājānissatîti.'

Atha kho āyasmā Ānando Subhaddaṃ paribbājakaṃ etad avoca: 'Gacch' āvuso Subhadda, karoti te Bhagavā okāsan' ti.

25. Now the Exalted One overheard this conversation of the venerable Ānanda with the Wanderer Subhadda. And the

1. K pekkho, *and in next clause.*
2. *So* S[d] K; S[c] viheṭham ; S[t] viheṭho.

Exalted One called the venerable Ānanda, and said:—'It is enough, Ānanda ! Do not keep out Subhadda. Subhadda, Ānanda, may be allowed to see the Tathāgata. Whatever Subhadda may ask of me, he will ask from a desire for knowledge, and not to annoy me. And whatever I may say in answer to his questions, that he will quickly understand.'

Then the venerable Ānanda said to Subhadda, the Wanderer :— 'Enter in, friend Subhadda ; for the Exalted One gives you leave.'

26. Atha kho Subhaddo paribbājako yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Bhagavatā saddhiṃ sammodi, sammodanīyaṃ kathaṃ sārāṇīyaṃ vītisāretvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. Ekamantaṃ nisinno kho Subhaddo paribbājako Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca:

[1] 'Ye 'me bho Gotama samaṇa-brāhmanā saṃghino gaṇino gaṇâcariyā nātā yasassino titthakara sādhu-sam-matā va[2] bahu-janassa, seyyathîdaṃ Pūraṇo Kassapo, Makkhali Gosālo, Ajita-Kesakambalī,[3] Pakudho[4] Kaccāyano, Sañjayo Belaṭṭhi[5]-putto, Nigaṇṭho Nātha-putto, sabbe te sakāya paṭiññāya abbhaññaṃsu, sabbe 'va na abbhaññaṃsu, ekacce abbhaññaṃsu, ekacce na abbhaññaṃsûti' ?

[6] 'Alaṃ Subhadda! Tiṭṭhat' etaṃ "Sabbe te sakāya paṭiññāya abbhaññaṃsu, sabbe va na abbhaññaṃsu, udāhu ekacce abbhaññaṃsu ekacce na abbhaññamsûti ?" Dhammaṃ te Subhadda desessāmîti.'

'Evaṃ bhante' ti kho Subhaddo paribbājako Bhagavato paccassosi, Bhagavā etad avoca :

26. Then Subhadda, the Wanderer, went in to the place where the Exalted One was, and saluted him courteously, and after exchanging with him the compliments of esteem and of

1. *Recurs* Majjhima i. 198.
2. S[dt] va; M *omits.*
3. M. *and* D. i. p. 48 Ajito ; K -kambalo (*with* -lī *in foot-note*).
4. S[dt] kak°.
5. K Velaṭṭha (*with* Velaṭṭhi *in note*). *See* M. i. 547.
6. *Quoted* Saddhamma Pakāsinī 15.

civility, he took his seat on one side. And when he was thus seated, Subhadda, the Wanderer, said to the Exalted One :— 'The leaders in religious life[1] who are heads of companies of disciples and students, teachers of students, well known, renowned, founders of schools of doctrine, esteemed as good men by the multitude—to wit. Pūrana Kassapa. Makkhali of the cattle-pen, Agita of the garment of hair, Kakkāyana of the Pakudha tree. Sañgaya the son of the Belatthi slave-girl, and Nigantha of the Nātha clan —have they all, according to their own assertion, thoroughly under stood things ? or have they not ? or are there some of them who have understood, and some who have not ?'

'Enough, Subhadda! Let this matter rest whether they, according to their own assertion, have thoroughly understood things, or whether they have not, or whether some of them have understood and some have not! The truth, Subhadda, will I teach you. Listen well to that, and give ear attentively, and I will speak!

'Even so, lord! said the Wanderer Subhadda, in assent, to the Exalted One.

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1. Samana-brāhmanā, which compound may possibly mean Samanas and Brāhmanas as it has usually been rendered, but I think not necessarily. Not one of those here specified were brahmins by birth, as is apparent from the Sumangala Vilāsinī on the Sāmañña-Phala Sutta, §§ 3-7. Compare the use of Kshatriya-brahmano, 'a soldier priest,' a Kshatriya who offered sacrifice; and of Brāhmano, absolutely, as an epithet of an Arahant In the use of the word samana there seems to me to be a hopeless confusion between, a complete mingling of the meanings of, the two roots śram and śam (which, in Pāli, would both become sam). It connotes both asceticism and inward peace, and might best be rendered 'devotee,' were it not for the intellectual inferiority implied by that word in our language. A Samana-brahmin should therefore mean a man of any birth, who by his saintliness of life, by his renunciation of the world, and by his reputation as a religious thinker, had acquired the position of a quasi-brahmin and was looked up to by the people with as much respect as they looked up to a brahmin by birth. Compare further my 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' vol. I, p. 260; and see J. I, 57, 187 ; M. I. 285-6, 400; 11, 54; A.I, 180; III, 228.

27. [1] **'Yasmiṃ kho Subhadda dhamma-vinṃaue Ariyo Aṭṭhaṅgiko Maggo na upalabbhati, samaṇo pi tattha na upalabbhati, dutiyo pi tattha samaṇo na upalabbhati, tatiyo pi tattha samaṇo na upalabbhati, catuttho pi tattha samaṇo na upalabbhati. Yasmiñ ca kho Subhadda dhamma-vina ye Ariyo Aṭṭthaṅgiko Maggo upalabbhati, samaṇo pi tattha upalabbhati, dutiyo pi tattha samaṇo upalabbhati, tatiyo pi tattha samaṇo upalabbhati, catut-tho pi tattha samaṇo upalabbhati. Imasmiṃ kho Subhadha dhamma-vinaye Ariyo Aṭṭaṅgiko Maggo upalabbati,[2] idh' eva Subhadda samaṇo, idha dutiyo samaṇo, idha tatiyo samaṇo, idha catuttho samaṇo. Suññā parappavādā samaṇehi aññe, ime ca[3] Subhadda bhikkhū sammā vihareyyuṃ, asuñño loko[4] arahantehi assa.**

> **Ekūnatiṃso[5] vayasā Subhadda**
> **Yaṃ pabbajiṃ[6] kiṃ-kusalānuesī.**
> **Vassāni paññāsa-samādhikāni**
> **Yato ahaṃ pabbajito Subhadda,**
> **Ñāyassa[7] dhammassa padesa-vattī.**
> **Ito bahiddhā samaṇo pi n'atthi,**

dutiyo pi samaṇ n'atthi, tatiyo pi samaṇo n'atthi, catuttho pi samaṇo n'atthi. Suññā parappavādā samaṇehi aññe, ime ca Subhadda bhikkhū sammā vihareyyuṃ, asuñño loko arahantehi assâti.'

27. And the Exalted One spake :— 'In whatsoever doctrine and discipline, Subhadda, the Aryan eightfold path is not found, neither in it is there found a man of true saintliness of the first, or of the second, or of the third, or of the fourth degree. And in whatsoever doctrine and discipline, Subhadda, the Aryan

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1. *Quoted* Kathā Vatthu 601.
2. *Two lines here recur at* Majjhima i. 63 *and at* Aṅguttara ii. 238.
3. S[cdt] idheva *both here and below. See* Sum. *and* Mil. 130.
4. S[cdt] lokethi.
5. K -sa (*with* -so *in footnote*).
6. S[dt] -ji.
7. Sum. ñāṇassa. *But see* Aṅg. v. 184; S. v, 388.

eightfold path is found, in it is found the man of true saintliness of the first, and the second, and the third, and the fourth degree[1]. Now in this doctrine and discipline, Subhadda, is found the Aryan eightfold path, and in it too, are found, Subhadda, the men of true saintliness of all the four degrees. Void are the systems of other teachers—void of true saints. And in this one, Subhadda, may the brethren live the Life that's Right, so that the world be not bereft of Arahants[2].

> 'But twenty-nine was I when I renounced
> The world, Subhadda, seeking after Good.
> For fifty years and one year more, Subhadda,
> Since I went out, a pilgrim have I been
> Through the wide realm of System and of Law—
> Outside of that no victory can be won ![3]

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1. On these degrees in the religious life, see M. I, 63; A. II, 238. They are described in my 'Buddhism' (21st ed., pp. 108 foil.).
2. 'Arahants are those who have reached Nirvana, the 'supreme goal, the highest fruit' of the Aryan Eightfold Path. To live 'the Life that's Right' (sammā) is to live in the Noble Path, each of the eight divisions of which is to be sammā, round, right and perfect, normal and complete. To live right (sammā) is therefore to have :— (1) Right views, free from superstition ; (2) right aims, high and worthy of the intelligent and earnest man; (3) right speech, kindly, open, truthful; (4) right conduct, in all concerns of life ; (5) right livelihood, bringing hurt or danger to no living thing; (6) right perseverance, in all the other seven; (7) right mindfulness, the watchful, active mind; (8) right contemplation, earnest thought on the deep mysteries of life. In each of these the word right is sammā, and the whole paragraph being on the Aryan Path, the allusion is certainly to this central doctrine of the Buddhist Dhamma.

   Buddhaghosa says that bhikkhu sammā viharati, who, having himself entered the Aryan Path, leads his brother into it, and this is, no doubt, good Buddhism. But it is a practical application of the text, a theological exegesis, and not a philological explanation. Even so it seems to lay the stress too much on 'bereft,' and too little on 'Arahants.'
3. Literally 'There is no samana.' See note on § 26. I have followed, though with some doubt, Childers's punctuation. Buddhaghosa refers

'Yea, not of the first. nor of the third, nor of the fourth degree. Void are the systems of other teachers —void of true saints. But in this one, Subhadda, may the brethren live the perfect life, that the world be not bereft of Arahants.'

28. Evaṃ vutte Subhaddo paribbājako Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca: 'Abhikkantaṃ bhante, abhikkantaṃ bhante ! Seyyathā pi bhante nikkujjitaṃ vā ukkujjeyya, paṭicchan-naṃ vā vivareyya, mūḷhassa vā maggaṃ ācikkheyya, andhakāre vā telappajotaṃ dhāreyya cakkhumanto rūpāni dakkhintîti, evam eva Bhagavatā aneka-pariyāyena dhammo pakāsito. Esâhaṃ bhanto Bhagavantaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi dhammañ ca bhikkhu-saṃghañ ca. Labheyyâhaṃ[1] Bhagavato santike pabbajjaṃ, labheyyaṃ[2] upasampadan' ti.

[3] 'Yo kho Subhadda añña-titthiya-pubbo imasmiṃ dhamma-vinaye ākaṅkhati pabbajjaṃ, ākaṅkhati upasampadaṃ, so cattāro māse parivasati. Catunnaṃ māsānaṃ accayena āraddha-cittā bhikkhū pabbājenti upasampādenti bhikkhu-bhāvāya. Api ca m'ettha puggala-vemat-tatā viditā' ti.

28. And when he had thus spoken, Subhadda, the Wanderer, said to the Exalted One :— 'Most excellent, lord, are the words of thy mouth, most excellent! Just as if a man were to set up that which is thrown down, or were to reveal that which is hidden away, or were to point out the right road to him who has gone astray, or were to bring a lamp into the darkness, so that those who have eyes can see external forms;—just even so, lord, has the truth been made known to me, in many a figure, by the Exalted One. And I, even I, betake myself, lord, to the Exalted

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padesa-vatti to samano ; and ito, not to padesa, but to magga, understood; and it is quite possible that this is the correct explanation. On samādhikāni see the comment at Jātaka II, 383 : Walters, 'On Yuan Chwāng,' II, 33, and Ed. Hardy, 'Buddhismus,' p. 44. Both Paññānanda and Samarasekhara render it as above.

1. S[c] K *insert* bhante.
2. S[d] -yāhaṃ.
3. *Recurs* D. i. 176; M. i. 391, 494; S. ii. 21, etc.

One as my refuge, to the truth, and to the Order. I would fain be accepted as a probationer under the Exalted One, as a full member in his Order.'

29. 'Sace bhante añña - titthiya - pubbā imasmiṃ dhamma-vinaye ākaṅkhantā pabbajjaṃ, ākaṅkhantā upasampadaṃ, cattāro māse parivasanti, catunnaṃ māsānaṃ accayena āraddha-cittā bhikkhū pabbājenti upasampādenti bhikkhu-bhāvāya, ahaṃ cattāri vassāni pariva-sissāmi, catunnaṃ accayena āraddha-cittā bhikkhū pabbājentu upasampādentu bhikkhu-bhāvāyâti.'

Atha kho Bhagavā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi: 'Tena h' Ānanda Subhaddaṃ pabbājethâti.'

'Evaṃ bhante' ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato paccassosi.

29. 'Whosoever, Subhadda, has formerly been a follower of another doctrine, and thereafter desires to be received into the higher or the lower grade in this doctrine and discipline, he remains on probation for the space of four months ; and at the end of the four months, the brethren, exalted in spirit, receive him into the lower or into the higher grade of the order. Nevertheless in this case I acknowledge the difference in persons.'

'If, lord, whosoever has formerly been a follower of another doctrine, and then desires to be received into the higher or the lower grade in this doctrine and discipline,—if, in that case, such a person remains on probation for the space of four months ; and at the end of the four months, the brethren, exalted in spirit, receive him into the lower or into the higher grade of the Order—I too, then, will remain on probation for the space of four months ; and at the end of the four months let the brethren, exalted in spirit, receive me into the lower or into the higher grade of the Order!'

But the Exalted One called the venerable Ānanda, and said:— 'As it is, Ānanda, receive Subhadda into the Order!'

'Even so, lord!' said the venerable Ānanda, in assent, to the Exalted One.

30. Atha kho Subhaddo paribbājako āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ etad avoca :

'Lābhā vo āvuso Ānanda, suladdhaṃ vo āvuso Ānanda, ye[1] ettha Satthārā[2] sammukhā antevāsâbhisekena abhisittā'[3] ti.

Alatha kho Subhaddo paribbājako Bhagavato santike pabbajjaṃ, alattha upasampadaṃ. Acirûpasampanno kho pan' āyasmā Subhaddo eko vūpakaṭṭho appamatto ātāpī pahitatto viharanto. Na cirass' eva yass' atthāya kulaputtā sammad eva agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajanti, tad anuttaraṃ brahmacariya-pariyosānaṃ diṭṭhe 'va dhamme sayaṃ abhiññā sacchikatvā upasampajja vihāsi : 'Khīṇā jāti, vusitaṃ brahmacariyaṃ, kataṃ karaṇīyaṃ, nâparaṃ itthattāyâti' abbhaññāsi.

Aññataro kho pan' āyasmā Subhaddo arahataṃ ahosi.

So Bhagavato pacchimo sakkhi-sāvako ahosîti.

30. And Subhadda, the Wanderer, said to the venerable Ānanda :— 'Great is your gain, friend Ānanda, great is your good fortune, friend Ānanda, in that you all have been sprinkled with the sprinkling of discipleship in this brotherhood at the hands of the Master himself!'

So Subhadda, the Wanderer, was received into the higher grade of the Order under the Exalted One ; and from immediately after his ordination the venerable Subhadda remained alone and separate, earnest, zealous, and resolved. And ere long he attained to that supreme goal of the higher life[4], for the sake of which the clansmen go out from all and every household gain and comfort to become houseless wanderers yea, that supreme goal did he, by himself, and while yet in this visible world, bring himself to the knowledge of, and continue to realize, and to see face to face! And he became conscious that birth was at an end,

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1. S[cdt] yo.
2. S[cdt] Satthari.
3. S[c] -to; S[d] abhipitto.
4. That is, Nirvana. Compare Mangala Sutta 10, 11, and the Dhammapada, verses 180, 354, and above, Chap. I, § 7.

that the higher life had been fulfilled, that all that should be done had been accomplished, and that after this present life there would be no beyond!

So the venerable Subhadda became yet another among the Arahants; and he was the last disciple whom the Exalted One himself converted[1].

Hiraññavatiya-Bhāṇavāraṃ Niṭṭhitaṃ Pañcamaṃ.

End of the Hiraññavatiya portion, being the Fifth Portion for Recitation.

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1. Buddhaghosa says that the last five words in the text (the last twelve words in my translation) were added by the Theras who held the Council. On Subhadda's ordination he has the following interesting note:— 'The Thera (that is, Ānanda), they say, took him on one side, poured water over his head from a water vessel, made him repeat the formula of meditation on the impermanency of the body (see my "Buddhist Birth Stories," p. 161), shaved off his hair and beard, clad him in the yellow robes, made him repeat the "Three Refuges," and led him back to the Exalted One. The Exalted One himself admitted him then into the higher rank of the brotherhood, and pointed out to him a subject for meditation (kammatthāna). He accepted this, and walking up and down in a quiet part of the grove, he thought and meditated upon it, till overcoming the Evil Spirit, he had acquired Arahantship, and with if the discriminating knowledge of all the Scriptures (Patisambhidā). Then, returning, he came and took his seat beside the Exalted One.

   According to this, no set ceremony for ordination (Saṅgha-kammam), as laid down in the Vinaya, took place; and it is otherwise probable that no such ceremony was usual in the earliest days of Buddhism.

CHAPTER VI

6. 1. Atha kho Bhagavā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi:

'Siyā kho pan' Ānanda tumhākam evam assa: "Atīta-satthukaṃ pāvacanaṃ, n'atthi no Satthā" ti. Na kho pan' etaṃ Ānanda evaṃ daṭṭhabbaṃ. Yo vo Ānanda mayā Dhammo ca Vinayo ca desito paññatto, so vo mam' accayena Satthā.

1. Now the Exalted One addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said :— 'It may be, Ānanda, that in some of you the thought may arise, "The word of the master is ended, we have no teacher more! But it is not thus, Ānanda, that you should regard it. The Truths, and the Rules of the Order, which I have set forth and laid down for you all, let them, after I am gone, be the Teacher to you.'

2. 'Yathā kho pan' Ānanda etarahi bhikkhū aññam-aññaṃ āvuso-vādena samudācaranti, na vo mam' accayena evaṃ samudācaritabbaṃ. Theratarena Ānanda bhikkhunā navakataro bhikkhu nāmena vā gottena vā āvuso-vādena vā[1] samudācaritabbo, navakatarena bhikkhunā therataro bhikkhu "bhante" ti vā "āyasmā" ti vā samudācaritabbo.

2. 'Ānanda! when I am gone address not one another in the way in which the brethren have heretofore addressed each other—with the epithet that is. of "Āvuso" (Friend). A younger brother may be addressed by an elder with his name, or his family name, or the title "Friend. But an elder should be addressed by a younger brother as "Sir" or as "Venerable Sir[2]." '

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1. Sst *om.*
2. Bhante or āyasmā. This question has been fully discussed by Prof. Franke in the 'Journal of the Pāli Text Society,' 1908.

3. [1] **'Ākaṅkhamāno Ānanda saṃgho mam' accayena khuddânukhuddakāni sikkhāpadāni samūhantu.**

3. 'When I am gone, Ānanda, let the Order, if it should so wish, abolish all the lesser and minor precepts[2] .'

4. 'Channassa Ānanda bhikkhuno mam' accayena brahma-daṇḍo kātabbo' ti.

'Katamo pana bhante brahma-daṇḍo' ti ?

'Channo Ānanda bhikkhu yaṃ iccheyya taṃ vadeyya, so bhikkhūhi n'eva vattabbo na ovaditabbo na anusāsitabbo' ti.

4. 'When I am gone, Ānanda, let the higher penalty be imposed on brother Channa.'

'But what, lord, is the higher penalty ?'

'Let Channa say whatever he may like, Ānanda, the brethren should neither speak to him, nor exhort him, nor admonish him[3].'

5. Atha Bhagavā bhikkhūāmantesi:

[4] **'Siyā kho pana bhikkhave eka-bhikkhussa pi kaṅkhā vā vimati[5] vā Buddhe vā dhamme vā saṃghe vā magge vā paṭipadāya vā. Pucchatha bhikkhave. Mā pacchā vippaṭisārino ahuvattha : " Sammukhī-bhūto no Satthā ahosi, na mayaṃ**

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1. *Quoted* Mil. 142 (*reading* samūhanatu).
2. According to tradition (trans. by Rhys Davids and Oldenberg, 'Vinaya Texts,' III, 377 foll.) the Order considered this matter shortly after the Buddha's death, and declined to avail themselves of this permission. As to what these lesser precepts were see Rhys Davids, 'Questions of King Milinda.' I, 202 foll.
3. This brother is represented as an obstinate, perverse man; so destitute of the proper *esprit de corps* that he dared to take part with the sisterhood, and against the brotherhood, in a dispute which had arisen between them. But after the social penalty here referred to had been duly imposed upon him, even his proud and independent spirit was tamed ; he became humble; his eyes were opened; and he, also, attained to the 'supreme goal' of the Buddhist faith. (The passages are shown in the index to 'Vinaya Texts.')
4. *Recurs* Aṅg. ii. 79, 80.
5. SS *vary between* i *and* ī.

sakkhimha[1] Bhagavantaṃ sammukhā paṭipucchitun" ' ti.

Evaṃ vutte te bhikkhū tuṇhī ahesuṃ.

Dutiyam pi kho Bhagavā. . .

Tatiyam pi kho Bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi:

'Siyā kho pana bhikkhave eka-bhikkhussa pi kaṅkhā vā vimati vā Buddhe vā dhamme vā saṃghe vā magge vā paṭipadāya vā. Pucchatha bhikkhave. Mā pacchā vippaṭisārino ahuvattha: "sammukhī-bhūto no Satthā ahosi, na mayaṃ sakkhimha Bhagavantaṃ sammukhā paṭipucchitun" ' ti.

Tatiyam pi kho te bhikkhū tuṇhī ahesuṃ.

Atha kho Bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi :

'Siyā kho pana bhikkhave Satthu-gāravena pi[2] na puccheyyātha. Sahāyako pi[3] bhikkhave sahāyakassa ārocetûti.'

Evaṃ vutte te bhikkhū tuṇhī ahesuṃ.

5. Then the Exalted One addressed the brethren, and said:— 'It may be, brethren, that there may be doubt or misgiving in the mind of some brother as to the Buddha, or the doctrine, or the path, or the method[4]. Inquire, brethren, freely. Do not have to reproach yourselves afterwards with the thought :— "Our teacher was face to face with us, and we could not bring ourselves to inquire of the Exalted One when we were face to face with him." '

And when he had thus spoken the brethren were silent.

And again the second and the third time the Exalted One addressed the brethren, and said:— 'It may be, brethren, that there may be doubt or misgiving in the mind of some brother as to the Buddha, or the doctrine, or the path, or the method. Inquire, brethren, freely. Do not have to reproach yourselves afterwards with the thought— "Our teacher was face to face with us, and we could not bring ourselves to inquire of the Exalted One when we were face to face with him." '

And even the third time the brethren were silent.

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1. K -hā; Aṅg. nāsakkhimha (*omitting* mayaṃ).
2. *So all* MSS. *and* K *and* Aṅg.
3. S[cdt] *omit* ; K Sum *and* Aṅg. *have it.*
4. Comp. D. II, 287.

Then the Exalted One addressed the brethren, and said :— 'It may be, brethren, that you put no questions out of reverence for the teacher. Let one friend communicate to another.'

And when he had thus spoken the brethren were silent.

6. Atha kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca:

'Acchariyaṃ bhante abbhutaṃ[1] bhante ! Evaṃ pasanno ahaṃ bhante imasmiṃ bhikkhu-saṃghe, n'atthi eka-bhikkhussa[2] pi kaṅkhā vā vimati vā Buddhe vā dhamme vā saṃghe vā magge vā[3] paṭipadāya vā' ti.

'Pasādā kho tvaṃ Ānanda vadesi. Ñaṇam eva h'ettha Ānanda Tathāgatassa: "N'atthi imasmiṃ bhikkhusaṃghe, n'atthi eka-bhikkhussa pi kaṅkhā vā vimati vā Buddhe vā dhamme vā saṃghe vā magge vā paṭipadāya vā. Imesaṃ hi Ānanda pañcannaṃ bhikkhu-satānaṃ yo pacchimako bhikkhu so sotâpanno avinipāta-dhammo niyato sambodhi-parāyano' ti.

6. And the venerable Ānanda said to the Exalted One :— 'How wonderful a thing is it, lord, and how marvellous! Verily, I believe that in this whole assembly of the brethren there is not one brother who has any doubt or misgiving as to the Buddha, or the doctrine, or the path, or the method !'

'It is Out of the fullness of faith that thou hast spoken, Ānanda! But, Ānanda, the Tathāgata knows for certain that in this whole assembly of the brethren there is not one brother who has any doubt or misgiving as to the Buddha, or the doctrine, or the path, or the method ! For even the most backward, Ānanda, of all these five hundred brethren has become converted, is no longer liable to be born in a state of suffering, and is assured of hereafter attaining to the Enlightenment [of Arahantship][4].

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1. K abbhūtaṃ.
2. K n'atthi imasmiṃ bhikkhu-saṃghe eka-bhikkhussāpi. Aṅg. *also adds* im° bh°.
3. S[cdt] *omit* magge vā.
4. Compare abover, Chap. II, § 7. By 'the most backward' according to Buddhaghosa, the Exalted One referred to Ānanda, and he said this to encourage him.

7. Atha kho Bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi :

'Handa dāni bhikkhave āmantayāmi vo: "Vayadhammā saṃkhārā, appamādena sampādethâti."

Ayaṃ Tathāgatassa pacchimā vācā.

7. Then the Exalted One addressed the brethren, and said:— 'Behold now, brethren, I exhort you, saying:— "Decay is inherent in all component things! Work out your salvation with diligence !" '

This was the last word of the Tathāgata !

8. Atha kho Bhagavā paṭhamajjhānaṃ samāpajji. Paṭhamajjhānā vuṭṭhahitvā dutiyajjhānaṃ samāpajji. Dutiyajjhānā vuṭṭhahitvā tatiyajjhānaṃ samāpajji. Tatiyajjhānā vuṭṭhahitvā catutthajjhānaṃ samāpajji. Catutthajjhānā vuṭṭhahitvā ākāsânañcâyatanaṃ samāpajji. Ākāsânancâyatana-samāpattiyā vuṭṭhahitvā viññāṇañcâyatanaṃ samāpajji. Viññāṇañcâyatana-samāpattiyā vuṭṭhahitvā ākiñcaññâyatanaṃ samāpajji. Ākiñcaññâyatana-samāpattiyā vuṭṭhahitvā nevasaññā-nâsaññâya-tanaṃ samāpajji. Navasaññā-nâsaññâyatana-samāpattiyā uṭṭhahitvā saññā-vedayita-nirodhaṃ samāpajji.[1]

Atha kho āyasmā Ānando ayasmantaṃ Anuruddhaṃ etad avoca:

'Parinibbuto bhante Anuruddha Bhagavā' ti.

'Na āvuso Ānanda Bhagavāparinibbuto, saññā-vedayita-nirodhaṃ samāpanno' ti.

8. Then the Exalted One entered into the first stage of Rapture[2]. And rising out of the first stage he passed into the second. And rising out of the second he passed into the third. And rising out of the third stage he passed into the fourth. And rising out of the fourth stage of Rapture, he entered into the state of mind to which the infinity of space is alone present[3]. And passing out of the mere consciousness of the infinity of space he

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1. *Comp.* Ang. iv. 410-448 *on these* 9 anupubba-vihāras.
2. The full text and an explanation of this Rapture will be found in the translator's 'Buddhism,' pp. 174-6.
3. Compare above, Chap. III, § 33, p. 119.

entered into the state of mind to which the infinity of thought is alone, present. And passing out of the mere consciousness of the infinity of thought he entered into a state of mind to which nothing at all was specially present. And passing out of the consciousness of no special object he fell into a state between consciousness and unconsciousness. And passing out of the state between consciousness and unconsciousness he fell into a state in which the consciousness both of sensations and of ideas had wholly passed away[1].

Then the venerable Ānancla said to the venerable Anuruddha :— 'O my lord, O Anuruddha, the Exalted One is dead !'

'Nay! brother Ānanda the Exalted One is not dead. He has entered into that state in which both sensations and ideas have ceased to be !'

9. Atha kho Bhagavā saññā-vedayita-nirodha-samāpattiyā vuṭṭhahitvā nevasaññā-nâsaññâyatanaṃ samāpajji. Nevasaññā-nâsaññāyatana-samāpattiyā vuṭṭhahitvā ākiñcaññâyatanaṃ samāpajji. Ākiñcaññâyatana-samāpattiyā vuṭṭhahitvā viññāṇañcâyatanaṃ samāpajji. Viññāṇañcâ-yatana-samāpattiyā vuṭṭhahitvā ākāsânañcâyatanaṃ samāpajji. Ākāsânañcâyatana-samāpattiyā vuṭṭhahitvā catut-thajjhānaṃ samāpajji. Catutthajjhānā vuṭṭhahitvā tatiyajjhā-naṃ samāpajji. Tatiyajjhānā vuṭṭhahitvā dutiyajjhānaṃ samāpajji. Dutiyajjhānā vuṭṭhahitvā paṭhamajjhānaṃ samāpajji. Paṭhamajjhānā vuṭṭha-hitvā dutiyajjhānaṃ samāpajji. Dutiyajjhānā vuṭṭhahitvā tatiyajjhānaṃ samāpajji. Tatiyajjhānā vuṭṭhahitvā catutthajjhānaṃ samapajji. Catutthajjhānā vuṭṭhahitvā samanantarā Bhagavā parini-bbāyi.

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1. These nine states are called in the Milinda, p. 176, the nine Anupubba-Vihāras. We have therefore, in this list, a technical, scholastic, attempt to describe the series of ideas involved in what was considered the highest thought. No one, of course, can have known what actually did occur; and the eight boundary lines between the nine states are purely conjectural.

9. Then the Exalted One passing out of the state in which both sensations and ideas have ceased to be, entered into the state between consciousness and unconsciousness. And passing out of the state between consciousness and unconsciousness he entered into the state of mind to which nothing at all is specially present. And passing out of the consciousness of no special object he entered into the state of mind to which the infinity of thought is alone present. And passing out of the mere consciousness of the infinity of thought he entered into the state of mind to which the infinity of space is alone present. And passing out of the mere consciousness of the infinity of space he entered into the fourth stage of Rapture. And passing out of the fourth stage he entered into the third. And passing out of the third stage he entered into the second. And passing out of the second he entered into the first. And passing out of the first stage of Rapture he entered into the second. And passing out of the second stage he entered into the third. And passing out of the third stage he entered into the fourth stage of Rapture. And passing out of the last stage of Rapture he immediately expired.

10. Parinibbute Bhagavati saha parinibbānā mahā-bhūmicālo ahosi bhiṃsanako lomahaṃso deva-dundubhiyo ca phaliṃsu.

Parinibbute Bhagavati saha parinibbānā Brahmā Shampati imaṃ gāthaṃ abhāsi :

'Sabbe 'va[1] nikkhipissanti bhūtā loke samussayaṃ,
Yathā etādiso Satthā loke appaṭipuggalo
Tathāgato balappatto sambuddho parinibbuto'ti.

Parinibbute Bhagavati saha parinibbānā Sakko de vānam indo imaṃ gāthaṃ abhāsi :

'Aniccā vata saṃkhārā uppāda-vaya-dhammino,
Uppajjitvā nirujjhanti, tesaṃ vūpasamo sukho' ti.

Parinibbute Bhagavati saha parinibbānā āyasmā Anuruddho imā gāthāyo abhāsi:

1. S[cdt] *om.* va.

'Nâhu assāsa-passāso ṭhita-vittassa tādino.
Anejo santim ārabbha yaṃ kālam akarī munī
Asallīnena cittena vedanaṃ[1] ajjhavāsayi:
Pajjotass' eva nibbhānaṃ vimokho cetaso ahûti.[2]

Parinibbute Bhagavati saha parinibbānā āyasmā Ānando imaṃ gāthaṃ abhāsi :

'Tadā 'si yaṃ bhiṃsanakaṃ tadā 'si loma-haṃsanaṃ
sabbâkara-varûpete Sambuddhe parinibbute' ti.[3]

Parinibbute Bhagavati tattha ye te bhikkhū avīta-rāgā appekacce bāhā paggayha kandanti, chinna-papātaṃ[4] papatatanti āvaṭṭanti[5] vivaṭṭanti:[6] 'Atikhippaṃ Bhagavā parinibbuto, atikhippaṃ Sugato parinibbuto, atikhippaṃ cakkhuṃ loke antarahitan' ti.

Ye pana te bhikkhū vīta-rāgā te satā sampajānā adhivāsenti, 'Aniccā saṃkhārā, taṃ kut' ettha labbhā' ti.

10. When the Exalted One died there arose, at the moment of his passing out of existence, a mighty earthquake, terrible and awe-inspiring : and the thunders of heaven burst forth .

When the Exalted One died, Brahmā Sahampati, at the moment of his passing away from existence, uttered this stanza:—

They all, all beings that have life, shall lay
Aside their complex form—that aggregation
Of mental and material qualities,
That gives them, or in heaven or on earth,
Their fleeting individuality!
E'en as the teacher—-being such a one,
Unequalled among all the men that are,
Successor of the prophets of old time,

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1. S[d] vedhanaṃ.
2. Thera-Gathā 905, 6.
3. Thera-Gathā 1046.
4. K chinnapātaṃ viya.
5. S[dt] āvaṭṭanti, *here and onwards,* in 5. 12 -enti; S[c] -enti.
6. S[dt] vivaṭṭanti, *here and onwards.* S[c]- enti (S[d] enti *corrected to* anti).

Mighty by wisdom, and in insight clear— Hath died ![1]'

When the Exalted One died, Sakka, the king of the gods, at the ;moment of his passing away from existence, uttered this stanza :—

'They're transient all, each being's parts and powers,
Growth is their very nature, and decay.
They are produced, they are dissolved again :
To bring them all into subjection—that is bliss[2].

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1. Brahma, the first cause, the highest result of Indian theological speculation, the one God of the Indian Pantheists, is represented as using expressions full of deep allusions to the most characteristic Buddhist doctrines. The Samussaya is the result of the temporary collocation of the 'aggregations' (khandha) of mental and material qualities which give to each being (bhūto, that is, man, animal, god, ghost, fairy, or what not) its outward and visible shape, its individuality. Loka is here not the world in our sense, but the 'locality' in the Buddhist universe which such an individual occupies until it is dissolved. (Comp. Chap. II, §§ 12, 26.) Brahmā appears therefore as a veritable Doctor in theology, and I have been obliged to expand the translation to bring out all the meaning in the text.
2. On this celebrated verse see below the Introduction to Maha-Sudassana-Sutta. It must be the original of the first verse in the Chinese work, Fa Kheu Pi Hu (Beal, Dhammapada, p. 32), though it is there so changed that every clause has lost its point.

   'Whatever exists is without endurance,
   And hence the terms 'flourishing' and 'decaying.'
   A man is born, and then he dies.
   Oh, the happiness of escaping from this condition!'

   The very meahing which is here the most essential connotation of sahkhira is lost in the phrase 'whatever exists.' By a misapprehension of the, no doubt, difficult word Dhamma, which, however, never means 'term,' the second clause has lost its point. And by a grammatical blunder the third clause in the Chinese confines the doctrine, erroneously, to man. In a Chinese tale, called Ngan shih niu, translated by Mr. Beal, in the 'Indian Antiquary' for May, 1880, the following verses occur; and they are possibly another reflection of this stanza:—

When the Exalted One died, the venerable Anuruddha, at the moment of his passing away from existence, uttered these stanzas :—

'When he who from all craving want was free,
Who to Nirvana's tranquil state had reached,
When the great sage finished his span of life,
No gasping struggle vexed that steadfast heart!
All resolute, and with unshaken mind,
He calmly triumphed o'er the pain of death.
E'en as a bright flame dies away, so was
The last emancipation of his heart.'

When the Exalted One died, the venerable Ānanda, at the moment of his passing away from existence, uttered this stanza:—

'Then was there terror !
Then stood the hair on end !
When he endowed with every grace—
The supreme Buddha—died ![1]'

[2]When the Exalted One died, of those of the brethren who were not yet free from the passions, some stretched out their

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'All things that exist are transitory,
They must of necessity perish and disappear;
Though joined together, there must be separation ;
Where there is life there must be death.'

Compare the constantly repeated .phrase:— 'Whatsoever hath an origin in that is inherent the necessity of dissolution.' The perception of this is emphatically called the Eye for the Truth : and the doctrine is referred to in the next section.

1. In these four stanzas we seem to have the way in which the death of the Buddha would be regarded, as the early Buddhist thought, by four representative persons—the exalted God of the theologians; the Jupiter of the multitude (allowing in the case of each of these for the change in character resulting from their conversion to Buddhism); the holy, thoughtful Arahant; and the loving, childlike disciple.
2. Nearly = V, § 6; and below, VI, 19.

arms and wept, and some fell headlong on the ground, rolling to and fro in anguish at the thought:—'Too soon has the Exalted One died! Too soon has the Happy One passed away! Too soon has the Light gone out in the world!'

But those of the brethren who were free from the passions [the Arahants] bore their grief collected and composed at the thought:— 'Impermanent are all component things ! How is it possible that [they should not be dissolved] ?'

11. Atha kho āyasmā Anuruddho bhikkhū āmantesi :

'Alaṃ āvuso mā socittha mā paridevittha. Na nu etaṃ āvuso Bhagavatā paṭigacc' eva akkhātaṃ, sabbeh' eva piyehi manāpehi nānā-bhāvo vinā-bhāvo aññathābhāvo ? Taṃ kut'ettha āvuso labbhā ? Yan taṃ jātaṃ bhūtaṃ saṃkhataṃ paloka-dhammaṃ tam vata mā palujjîti n'etaṃ ṭhānaṃ vijjati. Devatā āvuso ujjhāyantîti.'[1]

[2] **'Kathaṃ-bhūtā pana bhante āyasmā Anuruddho devatā manasikarotîti ?'**

'Sant' āvuso Ānanda devatā ākāse paṭhavi-saññiniyo kese pakiriya kandanti, bāhā paggayha kandanti, chinna-papātaṃ papatanti āvaṭṭanti vivaṭṭanti: "Atikhippaṃ Bhagavā parinibbuto, atikhippaṃ Sugato parinibbuto, atikhippaṃ cakkhuṃ like antarahitan" ti.

'Sant' āvuso Ānanda devatā paṭhaviyā paṭhavi-saññiniyo kese pakiriya kandanti, bāhā paggayha kandanti, chinna-papātaṃ[3] papatanti āvaṭṭanti vivaṭṭanti: "Ati-khippaṃ Bhagavā parinibbuto, atikhippaṃ Sugato parinibbuto, atikhippaṃ cakkhuṃ loke antarahitan" ti.

'Yā pana devatā vīta-rāgā tā satā sampajānā adhivāsenti, "Aniccā saṃkhārā, taṃ kut'ettha labbhā" ' ti.

11. Then the venerable Anuruddha exhorted the brethren, and said :— 'Enough, my brethren ! Weep not, neither lament! Has not the Exalted One formerly declared this to us, that it is in the very nature of all things near and dear unto us, that we

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1. St vijjhāyantîti.
2. See 5. 12.
3. K pātaṃ viya.

must divide ourselves from them, leave them, sever ourselves from them ? How then, brethren, can this be possible— that whereas anything whatever born, brought into being, and organized, contains within itself the inherent necessity of dissolution—how then can this be possible that such a beinjr should not be dissolved ? No such condition can exist ! Even the spirits, brethren, will reproach us[1].'

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1. Ugghāyanti. I have followed the reading of my own MS:, which is confirmed by the Sumangala Vilāsinī and the Mālālaṅkara-vatthu. Vigghāyanti, which Childers reads, would be questionable Buddhism. The spirits do not become extinct ; that is, not as a general rule, as would be implied by the absolute statement :— 'Even the spirits, brethren, become extinct.' It is no doubt true that all spirits, from the lowest to the highest, from the most insignificant fairy to the God of theological speculation, are regarded as temporary. But when they cease to exist as gods or spirits (devatā), they do not go out, they are not extinguished (vigghāyanti); they continue to exist in some other form. And though that other form would, from the European point of view, be a different being, as there would be no continuity of consciousness, no passage of a 'soul' from the one to the other; it would, from the Buddhist point of view, be the same being, as it would be the resultant effect of the same Karma. There would follow on the death of a devatā, not extinction, but a transmutation of force, a transmigration of character, a passing on, an inheritance of Karma. Only in the exce. ingly rare case of an anagimin, of which an instance will be found above Chap. II, § 7, could it be said that a spirit becomes extinct.

   The expression 'of worldly mind,' here and above in V, 6, is in Pāli pathavi-saññiniyo, an ambiguous phrase which has only as yet been found in this connexion. The word is here opposed to vttariga, 'free from passion,' and I have therefore taken it in a spiritual sense. There is another possibility, viz. that it is used in an intellectual sense, 'making the idea of earth present to their mind' ; and this would be in accordance with the use of saññi in the Kasina meditations, in which spirits, like men, were supposed to indulge; see Dīgha II, 108. But how easily, especially in Buddhism, the intellectual merges into the religious may be seen from such a Kasina phrase as maraiia-safinino, used at Mahāvamsa V, 159, of good men.

'But of what kind of spirits, Sir, is the venerable Anuruddha thinking ?'

'There are spirits, brother Ānanda, in the sky, but of worldly mind, who dishevel their hair and weep, and stretch forth their arms and weep, fall prostrate on the ground, and roll to and fro in anguish at the thought : — "Too soon has the Exalted One died ! Too soon has the Light gone out in the world !"

'There are spirits, too, Ānanda, on the earth, and of worldly mind, who tear their hair and weep, and stretch forth their arms and weep, fall prostrate on the ground, and roll to and fro in anguish at the thought:— "Too soon has the Blessed One died ! Too soon has the Happy One passed away! Too soon has the Light gone out in the world !"

'But the spirits who are free from passion bear it, calm and self-possessed, mindful of the saying which begins:— "Impermanent indeed are all component things. How then is it possible [. . . that such a being should not be dissolved] ?[1]" '

12. Atha kho āyasmā ca Anuruddho āyasmā ca Ānando taṃ rattâvasesaṃ dhammiyā kathāya vītināmesuṃ. Atha kho āyasmā Anuruddho āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi:

'Gacch' āvuso Ānanda, Kusināraṃ pavisitvā Kosinārakānaṃ Mallānaṃ ārocehi: "Parinibbuto Vāseṭṭhā Bhagavā, yassa dāni kālaṃ maññathâti." '

'Evaṃ bhate' ti kho āyasmā Ānanda āyasmato Anuruddhassa paṭissutvā pubbaṇha-samayaṃ nivāsetvā patta-cīvaraṃ ādāya atta-dutiyo Kusināraṃ pāvisi.

Tena kho pana samayena Kosinārakā Mallā santhâgāre sannipatitā hout ten' eva karaṇīyena. Atha kho āyasmā Ānando yena Kosinārakānaṃ Mallānaṃ santhâgāraṃ ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Kosinārakānaṃ Mallānaṃ ārocesi : 'Parinibbuto Vāseṭṭhā Bhagavā, yassa dāni kālaṃ maññathâti.'

Idam āyasmato Ānandassa sutvā Mallā ca Malla-puttā ca Malla-suṇisā[2] ca Malla-pajāpatiyo ca aghāvino dummanā

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1. See the end of the first paragraph of this section.
2. S^cdt^ suni°.

ceto-dukkha-samappitā app ekacce kese pakiriya kandanti, bāhā paggayha kandanti, chinna-papātam[1] papatanti āvaṭṭanti vivaṭṭanti vivaṭṭanti : 'Atikhippaṃ Bhagavā parinibbuto, atikhippaṃ Sugato parinibbuto, atikhippaṃ cakkhuṃ loke antarahitan; ti.

12. Now the venerable Anuruddha and the venerable Ānanda spent the rest of that night in religious discourse. Then the venerable Anuruddha said to the venerable Ānanda :— 'Go now, brother Ānanda, into Kusinārā and inform the Mallas of Kusinārā, saying:— "The Exalted One, O Vāsetthas, is dead ; do, then, whatever seemeth to you fit!" '

'Even so, lord!' said the venerable Ānanda in assent, to the venerable Anuruddha. And having robed himself early in the morning, he took his bowl, and went into Kusinārā with one of the brethren as an attendant.

Now at that time the Mallas of Kusinārā were assembled in the council hall concerning that very matter.

And the venerable Ānanda went to the council hall of the Mallas of Kusinārā; and when he had arrived there, he informed them, saying :— 'The Blessed One, O Vāsetthas, is dead ; do, then, whatever seemeth to you fit!'

And when they had heard this saying of the venerable Ānanda, the Mallas, with their young men and their maidens and their wives, were grieved, and sad, and afflicted at heart. And some of them wept, dishevelling their hair, and some stretched forth their arms and wept, and some fell prostrate on the ground, and some reeled to and fro in anguish at the thought:— Too soon has the Exalted One died! Too soon has the Happy One passed away! Too soon 'has the Light gone out in the world !'

13. Atha kho Kosinārakā Mallā purise āṇāpesuṃ:[2] 'Tena hi bhaṇe Kusinārāyaṃ gandha-mālañ ca sabbañ ca tāṭâvacaraṃ[3] sannipātethâti.'

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1. K pātaṃ viya *See* v. 21.
2. S^{dt} ānā°.
3. S^{ct} tal°.

Atha kho Kosinārakā Mallā gandha-mālañ ca sabbañ ca tāḷâvacaraṃ[1] pañca ca dussa-yuga-satāni ādāya yena Upavattanaṃ[2] Mallānaṃ sāla-vanaṃ yena Bhagavato sarīraṃ ten' upasaṃkamiṃsu, upasaṃkamitvā Bhagavato sarīraṃ naccehi gītehi vāditehi mālehi gandhehi sakkarontā garukarontā mānentā pūjentā cela-vitānāni karontā maṇḍala-mālāni paṭiyādentā evaṃ taṃ divasaṃ vītināmesuṃ.

Atha kho Kosinārakānaṃ Mallānaṃ etad ahosi : "Ativikālo kho ajja Bhagavato sarīraṃ jhāpetuṃ. Svedāni mayaṃ Bhagavato sarīraṃ jhāpessāmâti.' Atha kho Kosinārakā Mallā Bhagavato sarīraṃ naccehi gītehi vāditehi mālehi gandhehi sakkarontā garukarontā mānentā pūjentā cela-vitānāni karontā maṇḍala-mālāni paṭiyādentā dutiyam pi divasaṃ vītināmesuṃ, tatiyam pi divasaṃ vītināmesuṃ, vatuttham pi divasaṃ vītināmesuṃ, pañcamam pi divasaṃ vītināmesuṃ, chaṭṭham pi divasaṃ vītināmesuṃ.

13. Then the Mallas of Kusinārā gave orders to their attendants, saying :— 'Gather together perfumes and garlands, and all the music in Kusinira!'

And the Mallas of Kusinārā took the perfumes and garlands, and all the musical instruments, and five hundred suits of apparel, and went to the Upavattana, to the Sāla Grove of the Māllas, where the body of the Exalted One lay. There they passed the day in paying honour, reverence, respect, and homage to the remains of the Exalted One with dancing, and hymns, and music, and with garlands and perfumes ; and in making canopies of their garments, and preparing decoration wreaths to hang thereon[3].

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1. S^{cdt} tāl°.
2. S^{cdt} -tān°.
3. The dress of the Mallas consisted probably of mere lengths of muslin or cotton cloth; and a suit of apparel consisted of two or, at the outside, of three of these—one to wrap around the loins, one to throw over the shoulders, and one to use as a turban. To make a canopy on occasions of state they would join such pieces together: to make the canopy into a tent they would simply add walls of the same material; and the only decoration, as simple as it is

Then the Mallas of Kusinārā thought :—

'It is much too late to burn the body of the Exalted One to-day. Let us now perform the cremation to-morrow.' And in paying honour, reverence, respect, and homage to the remains of the Exalted One with dancing, and hymns, and music, and with garlands and perfumes; and in making canopies of their garments, and preparing decoration wreaths to hang thereon, they passed the second day too, and then the third day. and the fourth, and the fifth, and the sixth day also.

14. Atha kho sattamaṃ divasaṃ Kosinārakānaṃ Mallānaṃ etad ahosi: 'Mayaṃ Bhagavato sarīraṃ naccehi gītehi vāditehi mālehi gandhehi sakkarontā garukarontā mānenta pūjentā, dakkhiṇena dakkhiṇaṃ nagarassa haritvā bāhirena bāhiraṃ dakkhiṇato nagarassa Bhaga vato sarīraṃ jhāpessāmâti.'

Tena kho pana samayena aṭṭha Malla-pāmokkhā sīsaṃ nahātā[1] ahatāni vatthāni nivatthā: 'Mayaṃ Bhagavato sarīraṃ uccāressāmâti,' na sakkonti uccāretuṃ.

Atha kho Kosinārakā Mallā āyasmantaṃ Anuruddhaṃ etad avocum: 'Ko nu kho bhante hetu ko paccayo yena 'me[2] aṭṭha Malla-pāmokkhā sīsaṃ nahātā ahatāni vatthāni nivattha," na sakkonti uccāretun' ? ti.

'Aññathā kho Vāseṭṭhā tumhākaṃ adhippāyo, aññathā devatānaṃ adhippāyo' ti.

14. Then on the seventh day the Mallas of Kusinārā thought:—

'Let us carry the body of the Exalted One, by the south and outside, to a spot on the south, and outside of the city,—paying it honour, and reverence, and respect, and homage, with

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beautiful, would be wreaths of flowers, or single lotuses, hanging from the roof or stretched along the sides. Ever)- civil servant travelling on duty in remote districts in Ceylon has such a tent or canopy put up for him by the peasantry.

1. S[d] nhāta; K sīsanhātā (*and so below, but in* § 21 *adds* sīsaṃ *in a note*).
2. K yen' ime, *and so at* § 21.

dance, and song, and music, with garlands and perfumes,—and there, to the south of the city, let us perform the cremation ceremony!'

And thereupon eight chieftains among the Mallas bathed their heads, and clad themselves in new garments with the intention of bearing the body of the Exalted One. But, behold, they could not lift it up!

Then the Mallas of Kusinārā said to the venerable Anurudclha :— 'What, lord, can be the reason, what can be the cause, that eight chieftains of the Mallas who have bathed their heads, and clad themselves in new garments with the intention of bearing the body of the Exalted One, are unable to lift it up?'

'It is because you, O Vāsetthas, have one purpose, and the spirits have another purpose.'

15. 'Kathaṃ pana bhante devatānaṃ adhippāyo'? ti.

'Tumhākaṃ kho Vāseṭṭhā adhippāyo: "Mayaṃ Bhagavato sarīraṃ naccehi gītehi vāditehi mālehi gandhehi sakkarontā garukarontā mānentā pūjentā, dakkhiṇena dakkhiṇaṃ nagarassa haritvā, bāhirena bāhiraṃ dakkhiṇato nagarassa Bhagavato sarīraṃ jhāpessāmâti." Devatānaṃ kho Vāseṭṭhā adhippāyo: "Mayaṃ Bhagavato sarīraṃ dibbehi naccehi gītehi vāditehi mālehi gandhehi sakkarontā garukarontā mānentā pūjentā uttarena uttaraṃ nagarassa haritvā, uttarena dvārena nagaraṃ pavesetvā, majjhena majjhaṃ nagarassa haritvā, puratthimena dvārena nikkha-mitvā puratthimato nagarassa Makuṭa-bandhanaṃ nāma Mallānaṃ cetiyaṃ, ettha Bhagavato sarīraṃ jhāpessāmâti." '

'Yathā bhante devatānaṃ adhippāyo, tathā hotûti.'

15. 'But what, lord, is the purpose of the spirits ?'

'Your purpose, O Vāsetthas, is this :—Let us carry the body of the Exalted One, by the south and outside, to a spot on the south, and outside of the city,—paying it honour, and reverence, and respect, and homage, with dance, and song, and music, with garlands and perfumes,—and there, to the south of the city, let us perform the cremation ceremony. But the purpose of the spirits, Vāsetthasas, is this :—Let us carry the body of the Ex-

alted One by the north to the north of the city, and entering the city by the north gate, let us bring it through the midst of the city into the midst thereof. And going out again by the eastern gate,— paying honour, and reverence, and respect, and homage to the body of the Exalted One, with heavenly dance, and song, and music, and garlands, and perfumes,— let us carry it to the shrine of the Mallas called Makuta-bandhana, to the east of the city, and there let us perform the cremation ceremony.'

'Even according to the purpose of the spirits, so. lord, let it be.'

16. Tena kho pana samayena Kusinārā yāva sandhi-samala-saṅkaṭīrā[1] jannu[2]-mattena odhinā mandārava-pup-phehi santhatā hoti. Atha kho devatā ca Kosinārakā ca Mallā Bhagavato sarīraṃ dibbehi ca mānusakehi ca naccehi gītehi vāditehi mālehi gandhehi sakkarontā garukarontā mānentā pūjentā, uttarena uttaraṃ nagarassa haritvā, uttarena dvārena nagaraṃ pavesetvā, majjhena majjhaṃ nagarassa haritvā, puratthimena dvārena nikkhamitvā—puratthimato nagarassa Makuṭa-bandhanaṃ nāma Mallānaṃ cetiyaṃ—ettha Bhagavato sarīraṃ nikkhipiṃsu.

16. Then immediately all Kusinārā down even to the dust bins and rubbish heaps became strewn knee-deep with Mandārava flowers from heaven! and while both the spirits from the skies, and the Mallas of Kusinārā upon earth, paid honour, and reverence, and respect, and homage to the body of the Exalted One. with dance, and song, and music, with garlands, and with perfumes, they carried the body by the north to the north of the city; and entering the city by the north gate they carried it through the midst of the city into the midst thereof; and going out again by the eastern gate they carried it to the shrine of the Mallas, called Makuta-bandhana; and there, to the east of the city, they laid down the body of the Exalted One[3].

1. K sakaṭirā.
2. Ch jaṇṇu.
3. The point of this interesting legend is that the inhabitants of an Indian village of that time would have considered it a desecration

17. Atha kho Kosinārakā Mallā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ etad avocum: 'Kathaṃ mayaṃ bhante Ānanda Tathāgatassa sarīre paṭipajjāmâti ?'

'Yathā kho Vāseṭṭhā rañño cakkavattissa sarīre paṭipajjanti, evaṃ Tathāgatassa sarīre paṭipajjitabban' ti.

'Kathaṃ pana bhante Ānanda rañño cakkavattissa sarīre paṭipajjantîti ?'

'Rañño Vāseṭṭhā cakkavattissa sarīraṃ ahatena vat-thena veṭhenti, ahatena vatthena veṭhetvā vihatena kappāsena veṭhenti, vihatena kappāsena veṭhetvā ahatena vatthena veṭhenti, etena upāvena pañcahi yuga-satehi rañño cakkavattissa sarīraṃ veṭhetvā ayasāya tela-doṇiyā pakkhipitvā, aññissā ayasāya doṇiyā paṭikujjitvā, sabba-gandhānam citakaṃ karitvā rañño cakkavattissa sarīraṃ jhāpenti, cātummahāpathe rañño cakkavattissa thūpaṃ karonti, Evaṃ kho Vāseṭṭhā rañño cakkavattissa sarīre paṭipajjanti

'Yathā kho Vāseṭṭhā rañño cakkavattissa sarīre paṭipajjanti, evaṃ Tathāgatassa sarīre paṭipajjitabbaṃ. Cātummahāpathe Tathâgatassa thūpo kātabbo. Tattha ye mālaṃ vā gandhaṃ vā gandhaṃ vā vaṇṇakaṃ[1] vā āropessanti,[2] abbhivādessanti vā, cittaṃ va, pasādessanti, tesaṃ taṃ bhavissati dīgharattaṃ hitāya sukhāyâti.'

17. [3]Then the Mallas of Kusinārā said to the venerable Ānanda :— 'What should be done, lord, with the remains of the Tathāgata ?'

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or pollution to bring a dead body into or through their village. Authorities differ as to the direction in which it should be taken to avoid this. The old custom, according to Caland (p. 23) was to take it to the East or the West. Later priestly books (Manu, for instance, V, 93) say to the North. The Mallas wanted to go to the South. The remedy proposed by the spirits who are shocked at this impropriety, is more shocking still.

1. S[c] vaṇṇaṃ ; K cuṇṇakaṃ. *See* 5.11.
2. K *adds* vā.
3. Compare Chap. V, §§ 11, 12.

'As men treat the remains of a king of kings, so, Vāsetthas, should they treat the remains of a Tathāgata.'

'And how, lord,' do they treat the remains of a king of kings?'

'They wrap the body of a king of kings, Vāsetthas, in a new cloth. When that is done they wrap it in carded cotton wool. When that is done they wrap it in a new cloth,—and so on till they have wrapped the body in five hundred successive layers of both kinds. Then they place the body in an oil vessel of iron, and cover that close up with another oil vessel of iron. They then build a funeral pyre of all kinds of perfumes,
and burn the body of the king of kings. And then at the four cross roads they erect a cairn to the king of kings. This. Vāsetthas, is the way in which they treat the remains of a king of kings.

'And as they treat the remains of a king of kings, so, Vāsetthas, should they treat the remains of the Tathāgata. At the four cross roads a cairn should be erected to the Tathāgata. And whosoever shall there place garlands or perfumes or paint, or make salutation there, or become in its presence calm in heart—that shall long be to them for a profit and a joy.'

18. Atha kho Kosinārakā Mallā purise āṇāpesuṃ, Tena hi bhaṇe Mallānaṃ vihataṃ kappāsaṃ sannipātethâti.'

Atha kho Kosinārakā Mallā Bhagavato sarīraṃ ahatena vatthena veṭhesuṃ, ahatena vatthena veṭhetvā vihatena kappāsena veṭhesuṃ, vihatena kappāsena veṭhetvā ahatena vatthena veṭhesuṃ, etena upāyena pañcahi yuga-satehi Bhagavato sarīraṃ veṭhetvā ayasāya tela-doṇiyā pakkhi-pitvā aññissā ayasāya doṇiyā paṭikujjitvā sabba-gandhānaṃ citakaṃ karitvā Bhagavato sarīraṃ citakaṃ āroposuṃ.

18. Therefore the Mallas gave orders to their attendants, saying :— 'Gather together all the carded cotton wool of the Mallas !'

Then the Mallas of Kusinārā wrapped the body of the Exalted One in a new cloth. And when that was done, they wrapped it in carded cotton wool. And when that was done, they wrapped it in a new cloth. —and so on till they had wrapped the

body of the Exalted One in five hundred layers of both kinds. And then they placed the body in an oil vessel of iron, and covered that close up with another oil vessel of iron. And then they built a funeral pyre of all kinds of perfumes, and upon it they placed the body of the Exalted One.

19. Tena kho pana samayena āyasmā Mahā-Kassapo Pāvāya Kusināraṃ addhāna-magga paṭipanno hoti mahatā bhikkhu-saṃghena saddhiṃ pañcamattehi bhikkhu-satehi. Atha kho āyasmā Mahā-Kassapo maggā okkamma[1] aññatarasmiṃ rukkhamūle nisīdi.

Tena kho pana samayena aññataro ājīvako Kusinārāya mandārava-pupphaṃ gahetvā Pāvaṃ addhāna-magga-paṭipanno hoti.

Addasā kho āyasmā Mahā-Kassapo[2] ājīvakaṃ dūrato 'va āgacchantaṃ. Disvā tam ājīvakaṃ etad avoca: 'Ap' āvuso amhākaṃ Satthāraṃ jānāsîti.'

'Āma āvuso jānāmi. Ajja sattāha-parinibbuto samaṇo Gotamo. Tato me idaṃ mandārava-pupphaṃ gahitan' ti.

Tattha ye te bhikkhū avīta-rāgā app ekacce bāhā paggayha kandanti, chinna-papātaṃ[3] papatani āvaṭṭanti vivaṭṭanti vivaṭṭanti; 'Atikhippaṃ Bhagavā parinibbuto, atikhippaṃ Sugato parinibbuto, atikhippam cakkhuṃ loke antarathitan' ti.

Ye pana te bhikkhū vīta-rāgā, te satā sampajānā adhivāsenti : 'Aniccā saṃkhārā, taṃ kut' ettha labbhā ?' ti.

19. Now at that time the venerable Mahā Kassapa was journeying along the high road from Pāvā to Kusinārā with a great company of the brethren, with about five hundred of the brethren. And the venerable Mahā Kassapa left the high road, and sat himself down at the foot of a certain tree.

Just at that time a certain naked ascetic[4] who had picked up a Mandārava flower in Kusinārā was coming along the high road to Pava.

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1. S^{cdt} uk^{o}.
2. K *inserts* taṃ.
3. K (*as before*) pātaṃ viya.
4. An Ājīvaka. See the note above at Vol. I, p. 71.

Now the venerable Mahā Kassapa saw the naked ascetic coming in the distance ; and when he had seen him he said to that naked ascetic:—

'O friend ! surely thou knowest our Master ?'

'Yea, friend! I know him. This day the Samana Gotama has been dead a week! That is how I obtained this Mandārava flower.'

On that of those of the brethren who were not yet free from the passions, some stretched out their arms and wept, and some fell headlong on the ground, and some reeled to and fro in anguish at the thought:— 'Too soon has the Exalted One died ! Too soon has the Happy One passed away ! Too soon has the Light gone out in the world !'

But those of the brethren who were free from the passions [the Arahants] bore their grief self-possessed and composed at the thought :— 'Impermanent are all component things! How is it possible that [they should not be dissolved] ?'

20. Tena kho pana samayena Subhaddo nāma buḍḍha-pabbajito tassaṃ parisāyaṃ nisinno hoti. Atha kho Subhaddo duḍḍha-pabbajito te bhikkhū etad avoca:

'Alaṃ āvuso mā socitthamā paridevittha. Sumuttā mayaṃ tena mahā-samaṇena. Uppadutā ca homa "Idaṃ vo[1] kappati, idaṃ vo na kappatîti," idāni pana mayaṃ yaṃ icchissāma taṃ karissāma, yaṃ na icchissāma taṃ na[2] karissāmâti.'

Atha kho āyasmā Mahā-Kassapo bhikkhū āmantesi;

'Alaṃ āvuso mā socittha mā paridevittha. Nanu etaṃ āvuso Bhagavatā paṭigacc' eva akkhātaṃ : "Sabbeh' eva piyehi manāpehi nānā-bhāvo vinā-bhāvo aññatthā-bhāvao, taṃ kut' ettha āvuso labbhā ? yan taṃ jātaṃ bhūtaṃ saṃkhataṃ paloka-dhammaṃ, taṃ vata mā pahrjjîti n'etaṃ ṭhānaṃ vijjatîti." '

20. Now at that time a brother named Subhadda, who had

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1. K (*text*) te; (*note*) vo.
2. S[ct] na taṃ.

been received into the Order in his old age, was seated in that company[1].

And Subhadda the recruit in his old age said to those brethren:— 'Enough, sirs! Weep not, neither lament! We are well rid of the great Samana. We used to be annoyed by being told:— "This beseems you, this beseems you not." But now we shall be able to do whatever we like; and what we do not like, that we shall not have to do!'

But the venerable Mahā Kassapa exhorted the brethren :— 'Enough, my brethren ! Weep not, neither lament! Has not the Exalted One formerly declared this, that it is in the very nature of all things near and dear unto us that we must divide ourselves from them, leave them, sever ourselves from them : How then, brethren, can this be possible—whereas anything whatever born, brought into being, and organized contains within itself the inherent necessity of dissolution—how then can this be possible that such a being should not be dissolved ? No such condition can exist!'

21. Tena kho pana samayena cattāro Malla-pāmokkhā sīsaṃ nahātā[2] ahatāni vatthāni nivatthā: 'Mayaṃ Bhagavato citakaṃ ālimpessāmâti' na sakkonti ālimpetuṃ.

Atha kho Kosinārakā Mallā āyasmantaṃ Anuruddhaṃ etad avocuṃ:

'Ko nu kho bhante Anuruddha hetu ko paccayo yena 'me[3] cattāro Malla-pāmokkhā sīsaṃ nahātā [4]ahatāni vatthani[4]

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1. At p. xxvi of the Introduction to his edition of the Vinaya, Prof. Oldenberg identifies this Subhadda with Subhadda the last convert, mentioned above at the end of Chap. V. They are different persons; the last convert being represented as a man of high character, incapable of the conduct here ascribed to this Subhadda. The last convert was a brahmin, traditionally supposed to be younger brother to Añña Kondañña, the first convert; this Subhadda had been a barber in the village Ātumā.
2. K sīsahnātā (*and below*); K Sī sīsaṃ nah°. *See* pp. 160, 172.
3. K yen' ime *as at* § 14.
4-4. Ch. ahatena vatthena.

nivatthā 'Mayaṃ Bhagavato citakaṃ ālimpes-sāmâti' na sakkoti ā,impetun ?' ti.

'Aññathā kho Vāseṭṭhā devatānaṃ adhippāyo' ti.

'Kathaṃ pana bhante devatānaṃ adhippāyo' ? ti.

"Devatānaṃ kho Vāseṭṭhā adhippāyo: "Ayaṃ āyasmā Mahā-Kassapo Pāvāya Kusināraṃ addhāna-magga-paṭi-panno mahatā bhikkhu-saṃghena saddhiṃ pañcamattehi bhikkhu-satehi, na tāva Bhagavato citako pajjalissati yāv' āyasmā-Kassapo Bhagavato [1]pāde sirasā na vandissatîti[1]." '

'Yathā bhante devatānaṃ adhippāyo tathā hotuti.'

21. Now just at that time four chieftains of the Mallas had bathed their heads and clad themselves in new garments with the intention of setting on fire the funeral pyre of the Exalted One. But, behold, they were unable to set it alight!

Then the Mallas of Kusinārā said to the venerable Anuruddha:— 'What, lord, can be the reason, and what the cause [of this] ?'

'The purpose of the spirits, O Vāsetthas, is different.'

'But what, sir, is the purpose of the spirits ?'

'The purpose of the spirits, O Vāsetthas, is this :— That venerable brother Mahā Kassapa is now journeying along the way from Pāvā to Kusinārā with a great company of the brethren, with five hundred brethren. The funeral pyre of the Exalted One shall not catch fire until the venerable Mahā Kassapa shall have been able reverently to salute the feet of the Exalted One.'

'Even according to the purpose of the spirits so, sir, let it be!'

22. Atha kho āyasmā Mahā-Kassapo yena Kusinārā-Makuṭa-bandhanaṃ[2] Mallānaṃ cetiyaṃ yena Bhagavato citako ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā ekaṃsaṃ cīva-raṃ katvā añjalim paṇāmetvā tikkhattuṃ citakaṃ padak-khiṇaṃ katvā, pādato vivaritvā Bhagavato pāde sirasā vandi.

Tāni pi kho pañca bhikkhu-satāni ekaṃsaṃ cīvaraṃ

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1 1. S[dt] pāde na sahatthā vandissatîti; *so* S[c] K, *omitting the* na.

2. K Kusinārāyaṃ Mak°.

katvā añjalim paṇāmetvā tikkhattuṃ citakaṃ padakkhi-ṇaṃ katvā katvā Bhagavato pāde sirasā vandiṃsu.

Vandite va pan' āyasmatā Mahā-Kassapena tehi ca pañcahi bhikkhu-satehi, sayam eva Bhagavato citako pajjali.

22. Then the venerable Mahā Kassapa went on to Makuta-bandhana of Kusinārā, to the shrine of the Mallas, to the place where the funeral pyre of the Exalted One was. And when he had come up to it he arranged his robe on one shoulder ; and after bowing down with clasped hands, he thrice walked reverently round the pyre, and then, uncovering the feet, he bowed down in reverence at the feet of the Exalted One.

And those five hundred brethren arranged their robes on one shoulder ; and bowing down with clasped hands, they thrice walked reverently round the pyre, and then bowed down in reverence at the feet of the Exalted One.

And when the homage of the venerable Mahā Kassapa and of those five hundred brethren was ended, the funeral pyre of the Exalted One caught fire of itself[1].

23. Jhāyamānassa[2] pana Bhagavato sarīrassa, yaṃ ahosi chavîti vā camman ti vā maṃsan ti vā hahārûti vā lasikā ti vā tassa n'eve chārikā paññāyittha na masi, sarīrān' eva avasissiṃsu.

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1. It is possible that we have here the survival of some ancient custom. Spence Hardy appropriately refers to a ceremony among Jews (of what place or time is not mentioned) in the following terms :—'Just before a Jew is taken out of the house to be buried, the relatives and acquaintances of the departed stand round the coffin; when the feet are uncovered; and each in rotation lays hold of the great toes, and begs pardon for any offence given to the deceased, and requests a favourable mention of them in the next world' ('Manual of Buddhism,' p. 348).

   The Buddhist bhikkhus in Siam and the great majority of those in Ceylon (the adherents of the Siyam-samāgama) always keep one shoulder uncovered. It is evident that the bhikkhus in Burma and those in Ceylon, who belong to the Amara-pura-samāgama, are more in accordance with ancient custom in wearing the robe ordinarily over both shoulders.
2. K *inserts* kho. *Comp.* udāna viii. 9.

Seyyathā pi nāma sappissa vā telassa vā jhāyamānassa n' eva chārikā paññāyati na masi, evam eva[1] Bhagavato sarīrassa jhāyamānassa yaṃ ahosi chaîti vā camman ti vā maṃsan ti vā nahārûti vā lasikā ti vā tassa n'eva chārikā paññāyittha na masi, sarīrān' eva avasissiṃsu. Tesañ ca pañcannaṃ dussa-yuga-satānaṃ dve va dussāni dayhiṃsu yañ ca sabba-abbhantarimaṃ yañ ca bāhiraṃ.

Daḍḍhe kho pana Bhagavato sarīre antalikkhā udaka-dhārā pātu bhavitvā Bhagavato citakaṃ nibbāpesi, [2]udaka-sālato pi[2] abbhunnamitvā Bhagavato citakaṃ nibbhāpesi. Kosinārakā pi Mallā sabba-gandhodakena Bhagavato citakaṃ nibbāpesuṃ.

Atha kho Kosinārakā Mallā Bhagavato sarīrāni sattā-haṃ santhâgāre satti-pañjaraṃ karitvā dhanu-pākāraṃ parikkhipitvā naccehi gītehi vāditehi mālehi gandhehi sakkariṃsu parikariṃsu mānesuṃ pūjesеṃ.

23. Now as the body of the Exalted One burned itself away, from the skin and the integument, and the flesh, and the nerves, and the fluid of the joints, neither soot nor ash was seen. Only the bones remained behind. Just as one sees no soot or ash when ghee or oil is burned ; so, as the body of the Exalted One burned itself away, from the skin and the integument, and the flesh, and the nerves, and the fluid of the joints, neither soot nor ash was seen. Only the bones remained behind. And of those five hundred pieces of raiment the very innermost and outermost were both consumed.

And when the body of the Exalted One had been burnt up, there came down streams of water from the sky and extinguished the funeral pyre of the Exalted One ; and there burst forth streams of water from the storehouse of the waters [beneath the earth], and extinguished the funeral pyre of the Exalted One. The Mallas of Kusinārā also brought water scented with all kinds of per

1. SS evaṃ.
2.2. S[ct] *omit* udaka-sālato pi; S[d] *omits down to* hibbā-pesi (*continues* Kosin°) ; K udakaṃ pi; Sum -sālake.

fumes, and extinguished the funeral pyre of the Exalted One[1].

Then the Mallas of Kusinārā surrounded the bones of the Exalted One in their council hall with a lattice work of spears, and with a rampart of bows; and there for seven days they paid honour, and reverence, and respect, and homage to them with dance, and song, and music, and with garlands and perfumes.

24. Assosi kho Rājā Māgadho Ajāta-sattu Vedehi-putto: 'Bhagavā kira Kusinārāyaṃ parinibbuto' ti.

Atha kho Rājā Māgadho Ajāta-sattu Vedehi-putto Kosinārakānaṃ Mallānaṃ dūtaṃ pāhesi: ' Bhagavā pi khat-tiyo ahaṃ pi khattiyo. Aham pi arahāmi Bhagavato sarīrānaṃ bhāgaṃ, aham pi Bhagavato sarīrānaṃ thūpañ ca mahañ ca karissāmîti.'

Assosuṃ kho Vesālikā Licchavī: 'Bhagavā kira Kusinārāyaṃ parinibbuto' ti. Atha khoVesālikā Licchavī Kosinārakānaṃ Mallānaṃ dūtaṃ pāhesuṃ: 'Bhagavā pi khattiyo mayam pi khattiyā. Mayam pi arahāma Bhagavato sarīrānaṃ bhāgaṃ, mayam pi Bhagavato sarīrānaṃ thūpañ ca mahañ ca karissāmâti.'

Assosuṃ kho Kāpilavatthavā Sakyā: 'Bhagavā kira Kusinārāyaṃ parinibbūto' ti. Atha kho Kāpilavatthavā Sakyā Kosinārakānaṃ. Mallānaṃ dūtaṃ pāhesuṃ : 'Bhagavā amhākaṃ ñâti-seṭṭho. Mayam pi arahāma Bhagavato sarīrānaṃ bhāgaṃ mayam pi Bhagavato sarīrānaṃ thūpañ ca mahañ ca karissāmâti.'

1. There is something very quaint in the way in which the faithful Mallas are here represented as bringing coals to Newcastle. The 'storehouse of the waters' is in Pāli udaka-sālā, on which Buddhaghosa has two theories: first, that the Sāla trees around shed down a miraculous rain from their trunks and branches and leaves; and next, that the waters burst up from the earth and became as it were a diadem of crystal round the pyre. On the belief that water thus burst up miraculously through the earth, see 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' pp. 64, 67. If the reading be correct it is scarcely possible that sāla can here have anything to do with Sāla trees ; but the other interpretation is open to the objections that sill a means in open hall rather than a storehouse, and that the belief in a 'storehouse of water' has not, as yet, been found elsewhere.

Assosuṃ kho Allakappakā[1] Bulayo[2] : 'Bhagavā kirā Kusinārāyaṃ parinibbuto' ti. Atha kho Allakappakā Bulayo Kosinārakānaṃ Mallānaṃ dūtaṃ pahesuṃ : 'Bhagavā pi khattiyo mayam pi khattiyā. Mayam pi arahāma Bhagavato sarīrānaṃ bhāgaṃ, mayam pi Bhagavato sarīrānaṃ thūpañ ca mahañ ca karissāmâti.'

Assosuṃ kho Rāmagāmakā Koliyā:[3] 'Bhagavā kira Kusinārāyaṃ parinibbuto' ti. Atha kho Rāmagāmakā Koliyā Kosinārakānaṃ Mallānaṃ dūtaṃ pāhesuṃ : 'Bhagavā pi khattiyo mayam pi khattiyā. Mayam pi arahāma Bhagavato sarīrānaṃ bhāgaṃ, mayam pi Bhagavato sarīrānaṃ bhāgaṃ, mayam pi Bhagavato sarīrānaṃ thūpañ ca mahañ ca karissāmāti.'

Assosi kho Veṭhadīpako[4] brāhmaṇo: 'Bhagavā kira Kusinārāyaṃ parinibbuto' ti. Atha kho Veṭhadīpako brāh-maṇo Kosinārakānaṃ Mallānaṃ dūtaṃ pāhesi: 'Bhagavā pi khattiyo aham asmi brāhmaṇo. Aham pi arahāmi Bhagavato sarīrānaṃ bhāgaṃ, aham pi Bhagavato sarīrānaṃ thūpañ ca mahañ ca karissāmîti.'

Assosuṃ kho Pāveyyakā Mallā; 'Bhagavā kira Kusinā-rayaṃ parinibbuto' ti. Atha kho Pāveyyakā Mallā Kosi-nārakānaṃ Mallānaṃ dūtam pahesuṃ : 'Bhagavā pi Khattiyo mayam pi khattiyā. Mayam pi arahām Bhagavato sarīrānaṃ bhāgaṃ, bhāgaṃ, mayam pi Bhagavato sarīrā-naṃ thūpañ ca mahañ ca karissāmâti.'

24. Now the king of Magadha, Ajātasattu, the son of the queen of the Videha clan, heard the news that the Exalted One had died at Kusinārā.

Then the king of Magadha, Ajātasattu, the son of the queen of the Videha clan, sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying,— 'The Exalted One was a Kshatriya and so am I. I am worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Exalted One. Over the

1. S[ct] *adds* pi; S[d] allakappakapilayo.
2. K Bhūlayo (*text*), Bulayo (*note*), *and below,* § 27.
3. K koḷ° *always.*
4. K Veṭṭhad°, *and below,* § 27.

remains of the Exalted One will I put up a sacred cairn, and in their honour will I celebrate a feast!'

And the Licchavis of Vesālī heard the news that the Exalted One had died at Kusinārā. And the Licchavis of Vesālī sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying:— 'The Exalted One was a Kshatriya and so are we . We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Exalted One. Over the remains of the Exalted One will we put up a sacred cairn, and in their honour will we celebrate a feast!'

And the Sākiyas of Kapila-vatthu heard the news that the Exalted One had died at Kusinārā. And the Sākiyas of Kapila-vatthu sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying :— 'The Exalted One was the pride of our race. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Exalted One. Over the remains of the Exalted One will we put up a sacred cairn, and in their honour will we celebrate a feast!'

And the Bulis of Allakappa heard the news that the Exalted One had died at Kusinārā. And the Bulis of Allakappa sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying:— 'The Exalted One was a Kshatriya and so are we. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Exalted One. Over the remains of the Exalted One will we put up a sacred cairn, and in their honour will we celebrate a feast!'

And the Koliyas of Rāmagāma heard the news that the Exalted One had died at Kusinārā. And the Koliyas of Rāmāgama sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying:— 'The Exalted One was a Kshatriya and so are we. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Exalted One. Over the remains of the Exalted One will we put up a sacred cairn, and in their honour will we celebrate a feast!'

And the brahmin of Vethadīpa heard the news that the Exalted One had died at Kusinārā. And the brahmin of Vethadīpa sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying:— 'The Exalted One was a Kshatriya, and I am a brahmin. I am worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Exalted One. Over the remains of the Exalted One will I put up a sacred cairn, and in their honour will we celebrate a feast!'

And the Mallas of Pāvā heard the news that the Exalted One had died at Kusinārā.

Then the Mallas of Pāvā sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying :— 'The Exalted One was a Kshatriya and so are we. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Exalted One. Over the remains of the Exalted One will we put up a sacrea cairn, and in their honour will we celebrate a feast!'

25. Evaṃ vutte Kosinārakā Mallā te saṃghe gaṇe etad avocuṃ:

'Bhagavā amhākaṃ gāma-kkhette parinibbuto. Na mayaṃ dassāma Bhagavato sarīrānaṃ bhāgan' ti.

Evaṃ vutte Doṇo brāhmaṇo te saṃghe gaṇe etad avoca:

Suṇantu bhonto mama eka-vākyaṃ.
Amhākaṃ Buddho ahu khanti-vādo.
Na hi sādhu yaṃ[1] uttama-puggalassa
Sarīra-bhaṅge[2] siya[3] sampahāro.
Sabbe 'va bhonto sahitā samaggā
Sammodamānā karom' aṭṭha bhāge,
Vitthārikā[4] hontu disāsu thūpā
Bahujjano[5] cakkhumato pasanno' ti.

'Tena hi brāmaṇa tvaṃ yeva[6] Bhagavato sarīrāni aṭṭhaddhā samaṃ suvibhattaṃ vibhajāhîti.'

'Evaṃ bhe' ti[7] kho Doṇo brāhmaṇo tesaṃ saṃghānaṃ gaṇānaṃ paṭissutvā Bhagavato sarīrāni aṭṭhadhā samaṃ suvibhattaṃ vibhajitvā te saṃghe gaṇe etad avoca:

'Imaṃ me bhonto kumbhaṃ[8] dadantu,[9] aham pi kumbhassa thūpañ ca mahañ ca karissāmîti.'

1. S^{dt} sādhayaṃ : *so* K.
2. K. bhāge.
3. SS siyā.
4. S^{t} -tā; S^{c} -ko.
5. K bahū janā.
6. K tvañceva. SS tvaññeva.
7. K 'evaṃ bhoti' *twice*.
8. K tumbaṃ, *and below*.
9. K dentu.

Adaṃsukho te Doṇassa brāmaṇassa kumbhaṃ.

25. When they heard these things the Mallas of Kusinārā spoke to the assembled crowds, saying:— 'The Exalted One died in our village domain. We will not give away any part of the remains of the Exalted One !'

When they had thus spoken, Dowa the brahmin addressed the assembled crowds, and said:—

'Hear, gracious sirs, one single word from me.
Forbearance was our Buddha wont to teach.
Unseemly is it that over the division
Of the remains of him who was the best of beings
Strife should arise, and wounds, and war !
Let us all, sirs, with one accord unite
In friendly harmony to make eight portions.
Wide spread let cairns spring up in every land
That in the Light of the world mankind may trust!'

'Do thou then, O brahmin, thyself divide the remains of the Exalted One equally into eight parts, with fair division[1].'

'Be it so, sirs !' said Dona the brahmin, in assent, to the assembled brethren. And he divided the remains of the Exalted One equally into eight parts, with fair division. And he said to them :— 'Give me, sirs, this vessel, and I will set up over it a sacred cairn, and in its honour will I establish a feast.'

And they gave the vessel to Dona the brahmin.

26. Assosuṃ kho Pipphalivaniyā Moriyā: 'Bhagavā kira Kusinārāyaṃ parinibbuto' ti. Atha kho Pipphaliva-niyā Moriyā Kosinārakānaṃ Mallānaṃ pāhesuṃ: 'Bhagavā pi khattiyo mayam pi khattiyā. Mayam pi arahāma Bhagavato sarīrānaṃ bhāgam, mayam pi Bhagavato sarīrānaṃ thūpañ ca mahañ ca karissāmâti.'

'N'atthi Bhagavato sarīrānāṃ bhāgo, vibhattāni[2] Bhagavato sarīrāni, ito aṅgā ṃ harathāti.' Te tato angāraṃ hariṃsu.[3]

1. Here again the commentator expands and adds to the comparatively simple version of the text.
2. S^cdt vibhatti.
3. K āhar°.

26. And the Moriyas of Pipphalivana heard the news that the Exalted One had died at Kusinārā.

Then the Moriyas of Pipphalivana sent a messenger to the Mallas. saying:— 'The Exalted One was a Kshatriya and so are we. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Exalted One. Over the remains of the Exalted One will we put up a sacred cairn, and in their honour will we celebrate a feast!'

And when they heard the answer, saying:— 'There is no portion of the remains of the Exalted One left over. The remains of the Exalted One are all distributed,' then they took away the embers.

27. Atha kho Rājā Māgadho Ajātasattu Vedehi-putto Rājagahe Bhagavato sarirānaṃ thūpañ ca mahañ ca akāsi.

Vesālikā pi Licchavī Vesāliyaṃ Bhagavato sarīrānaṃ thūpañ ca mahañ ca akaṃsu.

Kāpilavatthavā pi Sakyā Kapila-vatthusmiṃ Bha-gavato sarīrānaṃ thūpañ ca mahañ ca akaṃsu.

Allakappakā pi Bulayo[1] Allakappe Bhagavato sarīrā-naṃ thūpañ ca mahañ ca akaṃsu.

Rāmagāmakā pi Koliyā Rāmagāme Bhagavato sarīrā-naṃ thūpañ ca mahañ ca akaṃsu.

Veṭhadīpako pi brāhmaṇo Veṭhadīpe Bhagavato sarīrā-naṃ thūpañ ca mahañ ca akāsi.

Pāveyyakā pi Mallā Pāvāyaṃ Bhagavato sarīrānaṃ thūpañ ca mahañ ca akaṃsu.

Kosinārakā pi Mallā Kusinārāyaṃ Bhagavato sarīrā-naṃ thūpañ ca mahañ ca akaṃsu.

Doṇo pi brāhmaṇo kumbhassa[2] thūpañ ca mahañ ca akāsi.

Pipphalivaniyā pi Moriyā Pipphalivane aṅgārānaṃ thūpañ ca mahañ ca akaṃsu.

Iti aṭṭ' assa[3] sarīra-thūpā navamo kumbha[4]-thūpo dasamo aṅgāra-thūpo. Evam etaṃ bhūta-pubban ti.

1. K Bhūlayo ; S[d] Buḷayo (*here only*).
2. K tumbassa.
3. K *omits* : (*text*) aṭṭha sarīratthūpā; (*note*) aṭṭhasarīat thūpānanca.
4. K tumba.

27. So the king of Magadha, Ajātasattu, the son of the queen of the Videha clan, made a cairn in Rājagaha over the remains of the Exalted One, and celebrated a feast.

And the Licchavis of Vesālī made a cairn in Vesālī over the remains of the Exalted One, and celebrated a feast.

And the Sākiyas of Kapila-vatthu made a cairn in Kapila-vatthu over the remains of the Exalted One, and celebrated a feast.

And the Bulis-of Allakappa made a cairn in Allakappa over the remains of the Exalted One, and celebrated a feast.

And the Koliyas of Rāmagāma made a cairn in Rāmagāma over the remains of the Exalted One, and celebrated a feast.

And Vetthadipaka the brahmin made a cairn in Vethadīpa over the remains of the Exalted One, and celebrated a feast.

And the Mallas of Pāvā made a cairn in Pāvā over the remains of the Exalted One, and celebrated a feast.

And the Mallas of Kusinārā made a cairn in Kusinārā over the remains of the Exalted One, and celebrated a feast.

And Dona the brahmin made a cairn over the vessel [in which the remains had been collected] and celebrated a feast.

And the Moriyas of Pipphalivana made a cairn over the embers, and celebrated a feast.

Thus were there eight cairns (Thupas) for the remains, and one for the vessel, and one for the embers. This was how it used to be[1].

28. Aṭṭha-doṇaṃ cakkhumato sarīraṃ, satta-doṇaṃ Jambu-dīpe mahenti,

Ekañ ca doṇaṃ purisa-varuttamassa Rāmagāme nāga rājā mahenti.

Ekā pi dāṭhā Tidivehi pūjitā, ekā pana Gandhāra-pure mahīyati,

1. Here closes Buddhaghosa's long and edifying commentary. He has no note on the following verses, which he says were added by Theras in Ceylon. The additional verse found in the Phayre MS. was in the same way probably added in Burma.

Kāliṅga-rañño vijite pun ekaṃ, ekaṃ puna nāga-rājā mahenti.[1]

Tass' eva tejena ayaṃ vasundharā āyāga-seṭṭhehi mahī alaṃkatā.

Evam imaṃ cakkhumato sarīraṃ susakkataṃ sakkata-sakkatehi.

Devinda-nāginda-narinda-pūjito manussa-seṭṭhehi tath' eva pūjito

Taṃ vandatha pañjalikā bhavitvā, Buddho[2] have kappa-satehi dullahbo[3] ti.]

Eight measures of relics there were of him of the far-seeing eye,

Of the best of the best of men. In India seven are worshipped,

And one measure in Rāmagāma, by the kings of the serpent race.

One tooth, too, is honoured in heaven, and one in Gandhara's city,

One in the Kālinga realm, and one more by the Nāga race.

Through their glory the bountiful earth is made bright with offerings painless—

For with such are the Great Teacher's relics best honoured by those who are honoured,

By gods and by Nāgas and kings, yea, thus by the noblest of humans—

Bow down with clasped hands!

Hard, hard is a Buddha to meet with through hundreds of ages!]

Mahā-Parinibbāna-Suttaṃ Niṭṭhitaṃ.[4]

End of the Book of the Great Decease.

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1. *See* Buddha Vaṃsa 68.
2. S^ct K Buddhā . . . dullabhā. *Comp.* v. 23.
3. K *and* B^p *add* :
   Cattāḷīsa-samā dantā kesā lomā ca sabbaso,
   Devā hariṃsu ekekaṃ cakkhavāḷa-param.
   parāti.
4. *So* S^cd; S^t Nibbāna-Suttaṃtaṃ Niṭṭhitaṃ; K Mahā- Parinibbāna Suttam Niṭ^o.

INTRODUCTION
TO THE
Mahā-Sudassana-Sutta

The Seventeenth is the Mahāsudassana Sutta. There is a Jātaka known as Mahāsuddassana Jātaka in Fausboll's edition of the Jatakas, but it differs from the Sutta in some important particulars. The Sudassana story in a Sutta form finds mention in the cullaniddesa as a typical example of the Jātakas then known to the Buddhists. "The Sutta commences with a long description of the riches and glory of Mahāsudassana and reveals in its details".

The Mahāsudassana seems to afford a useful example both of the extent to which the theory may be accepted, and of the limitations under which it should always be applied. It must at once be admitted that whether the whole story is based on sum-story, or whether certain parts or details of it are derived from things first spoken about the sun or not, it is still essentially Buddhistic.

The Sutta is like a fairy tale which describes the greatest king, the royal city and its palace of Righteousness. It describes the extent of his kingdom and his enjoyment. The object of this Sutta is perhaps to show that all is vanity except righteousness. This Sutta also teaches us that everything is impermanent, that which has come into being must pass away. To attain this object the author had recourse to rhetorical phrases and other figurative expressions, the use where of was not peculiar to Buddhist literature.

M. Senart in his valuable Work, "La legende du Bouddha", has treced the rhetorical Phrases used in the description of the seven treasures mentioned in this Sutta to their earliest appearance in the Vedic hymns. But this does not exhaust the interesting bearing of Buddhist literature on the history of philosophy so far as Buddhist forms of speech are concerned.

The eloquent description in the Mahāsudassana Sutta of the magnificence and lost glory of the ancient city kusāvatī, the capital of king Sudassana, was a literary development in Pāli in the edification of the Buddha's explanations offered in the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta, for his choosing as the place for his passing away in a daub town like kusīnārā of his day.

Mahā-Sudassana-Sutta

The Great King of Glory[1]

CHAPTER I

1. 1. Evam me sutaṃ. Ekaṃ samayaṃ Bhagavā Kusinārāyaṃ viharati Upavattane Mallānaṃ sāla-vane antarena yamaka-sālānaṃ[2] parinibbāna-samaye.

1. Thus have I heard. The Exalted One was once staying at Kusinārā in the Upavattana, the Sāla grove of the Mallas, between the twin Sāla trees, at the time of his death.

2. Atha kho āyasmā Ānando yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. Ekamantaṃ nisinno kho āyamā Ānando Bhagavantam etad avoca:

'Mā bhante Bhagavā imasmiṃ kuḍḍa[3]-nagarake ujjaṅgala-nagarake sākha-nagarake[4] parinibbhāyi. Santi bhante aññni mahā-nagarāni seyyathîdaṃ Campā Rājagahaṃ Sāvatthi Sāketaṃ[5] Kosambi[6] Bārāṇasi,[7] ettha Bhagavā parinibbāyatu. Ettha bahū khattiyamahāsālā brāhmaṇa-mahāsālā, gahapati-mahāsālā Tathā gate abhippasannā, te Tathāgatassa sarīrā-pūjaṃ karissantīti ?

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1. Sudassana means 'beautiful to see, having a glorious appearance,' and is the name of many kings and heroes in Indian legend.
2. B^m antare yamaka-sālānaṃ ; B^p antare yatapaka-sāla.
3. *So* S^dt S^c kuḍḍha; B^m K khuddaka (*so* B^p *below*) ; B^p kudda. *See* xvi. 5. 17, p. 146.
4. K usākhā.
5. SS Saketaṃ.
6. SS Kosambi; B^m K bī.
7. SS Bārāṇasi; B^m K sī.

2. Now the venerable Ānanda went up to the place where the Exalted One was, and bowed down before him, and took his seat respectfully on one side. And when he was so seated, the venerable Ānanda said to the Exalted One :—

'Let not the Exalted One die in this little wattle-and-daub town, in this town in the midst of the jungle, in this branch township. For, lord, there are other great cities, such as Champā, Rājagaha, Sāvatthi, Sāketa, Kosambi, and Benares. Let the Exalted One die in one of them. There there are many wealthy nobles and brahmins and heads of houses, believers in the Tathāgata, who will pay due honour to the remains of the Tathāgata.'

3. 'Mā h'evaṃ Ānanda avaca "kuḍḍa-nagarakaṃ[1] ujjaṅgala-nagarakaṃ sākha-nagarakan[2] ti." Bhūta-pubbaṃ Ānanda rājā Mahā-sudassano nāma ahosi khattiyo muddhâvasitto[3] cāturanto vijitāvī janapadatthāvariyap-patto. Rañño Ānanda Mahā-sudassanassa ayaṃ Kusinārā Kusāvatī nāma rājadhāni[4] ahosi. [5]Sā kho Ānanda Kusāvatī[5] pacchimena ca puratthimena[6] ca dvādasa-yojanāni ahosi[7] āyāmena, uttarena ca dakkhiṇena ca satta-yojanāni vitthārena. Kusāvatī Ānanda rājadhāni iddhā c' eva ahosi phītā ca bahu-janā ca ākiṇṇa-manussā ca subhikkhā ca. Seyyathā pi Ānanda devānaṃ Āḷaka-mandā[8] nāma rājadhāni iddhā c'eva[9] phītā ca bahu-janā ca ākiṇṇa-yakkhā ca subhikkhā ca,[10] evam eva kho Ānanda Kusāvatī rājadhāni iddhā c'eva ahosi phītā ca bahu-

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1. *So* S[dt]; S[c] kuḍḍha; B[mp] K khuddaka.
2. B[m] sākhā-, *but* sākha-*above*; K sākhā-.
3. *So* SS K ; B[m] muddhâbhis° ; B[p] muddhâbhis°, *but in* § 7 muddhâvas°.
4. SS -dhāni, *and so throughout* ; K -dhānī; B[m] -ṭhānī; B[p] ṭhāni, *throughout*.

5.5. B[mp] K Ch *omit*.

6. B[m] puratthimena ca pacchimena ca.
7. S[d] B[mp] Ch *omit*.
8. SS K Āla°.
9. K *adds* ahosi.
10. SS *omit* subhikkhā ca.

janā ca ākiṇṇa-manussā ca subhikkhā ca. Kusāvatī Ānanda rājdhāni dasahi saddehi avivittā ahosi divā c' eva rattī[1] ca, seyyathîdaṃ hatthi-saddena assa-saddena[2] ratha-saddena bheri-saddena mutiṅga-saddena[3] vīṇā-saddena gīta-saddena samma-saddena tāḷa-saddena "asnātha[4] pivatha khādathâti" dasamena saddena.

3. 'Say not so, Ānanda ! Say not so, Ānanda, that this is but a small wattle-and-daub town, a town in the midst of the jungle, a branch township. Long ago, Ānanda, there was a king, by name Mahā-Sudassana, a king of kings, a righteous man who ruled in righteousness, an anointed Kshatriya[5], Lord of the four quarters of the earth, conqueror, the protector of his people, possessor of the seven royal treasures. This Kusinārā, Ānanda, was the royal city of king Mahā-Sudassana, under the name of Kusāvatî, and on the east and on the west it was twelve leagues in length, and on the north and on the south it was seven leagues in breadth. That royal city Kusāvatî, Ānanda, was mighty, and prosperous, and full of people, crowded with men, and provided with all things for food. Just, Ānanda, as the royal city of the gods, Ālakamandā by name, is mighty, prosperous, and full of people, crowded with the gods, and provided with all kinds of food, so, Ānanda, was the royal city Kusāvatī mighty and prosperous, full of people, crowded with men, and provided with all kinds of food. Both by day and by night, Ānanda, the royal city Kusāvatī resounded with the ten cries ; that is to say, the noise

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1. *So* SS *and* Ch B^m rattiñ ; K rattiṃ.
2. S^d *omits.*
3. B^{mp} K mudiṅga; S^{cd} *and* S^t (*corrected for* mutiṅga-saddena *repeated*) *add* panava- saddena. *Comp.* Dh.S. 621; Asl. 319; Jāt. i.3.
4. K asatha.
5. Khattiyo muddhāvasitto, which does not occur in the Mahāparinibbāna, the Mahāpadana, and the Lakkhana Suttas, and other places where this stock description of a king of kings is found. It is omitted also in the Lalita Vistara. The Burmese Phayre MS. of the India Office reads here muddābhisitto, but this *is* an unnecessary correction. The epithet is probably inserted here from § 7 below.

of elephants, and the noise of horses, and the noise of chariots; the sounds of the drum, of the tabor, and of the lute ; the sound of singing, and the sounds of the cymbal and of the gong ; and lastly, with the cry:— "Eat, drink, and be merry[1]!" '

4. 'Kusāvatī Ānanda rājadhāni sattahi pākārehi parikkhittā ahosi. Tattha[2] eko pākāro sovaṇṇamayo, eko rūpimayo,[3] eko veḷuriyamayo, eko phalikamayo, eko lohitaṅkamayo,[4] eko masāragallamayo, eko sabbaratanamayo.

4. 'The royal city Kusāvatī, Ānanda, was surrounded by Seven Ramparts. Of these, one rampart was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal, and one of agate, and one of coral, and one of all kinds of gems !

5. 'Kusāvatiyā Ānanda rājadhāniyā catunnaṃ vaṇṇānaṃ dvārāni ahesuṃ. Ekaṃ dvāraṃ sovaṇṇamayaṃ, ekaṃ rūpimayaṃ ekaṃ veḷuriya-mayam, ekaṃ phalika-mayaṃ. Ekam-ekasmiṃ[5] dvāre satta[6] esikā nikhātā ahesuṃ tiporisaṅgā catu-porisā[7] ubbedhena. Ekā esikā sovaṇṇamayā ekā rūpimayā, ekā veḷuriyamayā, ekā phalikamayā,[8] ekā lohitaṅkamayā, ekā masāragallamayā, ekā sabbaratana[9] mayā.

5. 'To the royal city Kusāvatī, Ānanda, there were Gates of four colours. One gate was of gold, and one of silver, and one of jade, and one of crystal. At each gate seven pillars were fixed ; in height as three times or as four times the height of a man. And one pillar was of gold, and one of silver, and one of

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1. This enumeration is found also at Jātaka I, 3, only that the chank is added there—wrongly, for that makes the number of cries eleven.
2. S^{d} ettha, B^{m} K *omit.*
3. B^{mp} K *throughout* rūpiyamayo.
4. B^{m} aṅga, *andonwards.*
5. B^{m} ekekasmiṃ.
6. S^{c} sattā; S^{d} sattha; S^{t} satthahi; B^{mp} K satta satta.
7. S^{ct} porisa; *then* S^{ct} *add* nikhātā dasa porisā; B^{mp} K *read for the whole,* ti-porisaṅga-tiporisā.
8. SS *omit.*
9. SS sattaratana.

beryl, and one of crystal, and one of agate, and one of coral, and one of all kinds of gems.

6. 'Kusāvatī Ānanda rājadhāni sattahi tāla-pantīhi parikkhittā ahosi. Ekā tāla-panti sovaṇṇamayā ekā rūpimayā ekā veḷuriyamayā, ekā phalikamayā, ekā lohi-taṅkamayā, ekā masāragallamayā, ekā sabbaratanamayā. Sovaṇṇamayassa tālassa sovaṇṇamayo khandho ahosi, rūpi-mayāni pattāni ca phalāni ca. Rūpimayassa tālassa rūpimayo khandho ahosi sovaṇṇamayāni pattāni ca phalāni ca. Veḷuriyamayassa tālassa veḷuriyamayo khandho ahosi phalikamayāni pattāni ca phalāni ca. Phalikamayassa tālassa phalikamayo khandho ahosi veḷuriyamayāni pattāni ca phalāni ca. Lohitaṅkamayassa tālassa lohitaṅkamayo khandho ahosi masāragallamayāni pattāni ca phalāni ca. Masāragallamayassa tālassa masā-ragallamayo khandho ahosi lohitaṅkamayāni pattāni ca phalāni ca. Sabbaratanamayassa tālassa sabbaratanamayo khandho ahosi sabbaratana-mayāni pattāni ca phalāni ca. Tāsaṃ kho pan' Ānanda tāla-pantīnaṃ vāteritānaṃ saddo ahosi vaggu ca rajanīyo ca kamanīyo[1] ca madanīyo ca. Seyyathā pi Ānanda pañcaṅgikassa turiyassa suvinītassa suppaṭipatālitassa[2] kusalehi[3] samannāhatassa[4] saddo hoti vaggu ca rajanīyo ca kamanīyo ca madanīyo ca, evam eva kho Ānanda tāsaṃ tāla-pantīnaṃ vāteri-tānaṃ saddo ahosi vaggu ca rajanīyo ca kamanīyo ca madanīyo ca. Ye kho pan' Ānanda tena[5] samayena Kusāvatiyā rājadhāniyā dhuttā ahesuṃ soṇḍa pipāsā, te tāsaṃ tāla-pantīnaṃ vātetitānaṃ saddena paricāresuṃ.[6]

6. 'The royal city Kusāvatī, Ānanda, was surrounded by Seven Rows of Palm Trees. One row was of palms of gold, and

1. K kammaniyo; BB *and* K *spell these words with* -niyo, *Cp.* § 29, 32.
2. *So* S^t S^c suppaṭikālitassa; S^d suppaṭipatulitassa; B^m suppaṭitāli°; B^p supatāḷi°; K suppaṭitāḷi°. *But see* §§ 29, 32.
3. B^m sukusalehi.
4. K sus°; K Sī susamannāg°; SS samannāg°.
5. SS *add* kho pana.
6. S^c *here and at* §§ parivār°; *Sc* S^{dt} *at* §§

one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal, and one of agate, and one of coral, and one of all kinds of gems.

'And the Golden Palms had trunks of gold, and leaves and fruits of silver. And the Silver Palms had trunks of silver, and leaves and fruits of gold. And the Palms of Beryl had trunks of beryl, and leaves and fruits of crystal. And the Crystal Palms had trunks of crystal, and leaves and fruits of beryl. And the Agate Palms had trunks of agate, and leaves and fruits of coral. And the Coral Palms had trunks of coral, and leaves and fruits of agate. And the Palms of every kind of Gem had trunks and leaves and fruits of every kind of gem.

[1] 'And when those rows of palm trees, Ānanda, were shaken by the wind, there arose a sound sweet, and pleasant, and charming, and intoxicating.

'Just, Ānanda, as the five kinds of instruments yield, when well played upon, to the skilful man, a sound sweet, and pleasant, and charming, and intoxicating—just even so, Ānanda, when those rows of palm trees were shaken by the wind, there arose a sound sweet, and pleasant, and charming, and intoxicating.

'And whoever, Ānanda, in the royal city Kusāvatī were at that time gamblers, drunkards, and given to drink, they used to

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1. This section should be compared with one in the Sukhāvatī-vyûha, translated by Professor Max Müller as follows ('Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' 1880, p. 170):—

   'And again, O Śāriputra, when those rows of palm trees and strings of bells in that Buddha country are moved by the wind, a sweet and enrapturing sound proceeds from them. Yes, O Sâriputra, as from a heavenly musical instrument consisting of a hundred thousand kotis of sounds, when played by Aryas, a sweet and enrapturing sound proceeds ; a sweet and enrapturing sound proceeds from those rows of palm trees and strings of bells moved by the wind.

   'And when the men there hear that sound, reflection on Buddha arises in their body, reflection on the Law, reflection on the Assembly.'

   Compare also below, § 32, and Jâtaka I, 32.

dance round together to the sound of those palms when shaken by the wind.'

7. 'Rājā[1] Ānanda Mahā-sudassano sattahi ratanehi samannāgato ahosi catūhi ca iddhīhi. Katamehi sattahi ?

Idh' Ānanda rañño Mahā-sudassanassa tadahu 'posathe paṇṇarase sīsaṃ nahātassa[2] uposathikassa upari-pāsādavara-gatassa dibbaṃ cakka-ratanaṃ pātur ahosi sahassâraṃ sanemikaṃ sanābhikaṃ sabbâkāra-paripūaṃ. Disvā rañño, Mahā-sudassanassa etad ahosi : "Sutaṃ kho pana m' etaṃ[3]: 'Yassa rañño khattiyassa mud-dhâvasittassa[4] tadahu 'posathe paṇṇarase sīsaṃ hahā-tassa uposathikassa upari-pāsāda-vara-gatassa dibbaṃ cakkaratanaṃ pātu bhavati sahassâraṃ sanemikaṃ[5] sanābhikaṃ sabbâkāra-paripūraṃ, so hoti rājā cakkavattîti. Assaṃ nu kho ahaṃ rājā cakkavattîti."

7. 'The Great King of Glory, Ānanda, was the possessor of Seven Precious Things, and was gifted with Four Marvellous Powers.

'What are those seven ?

[6]'In the first place. Ānanda, when the Great King of Glory, on the Sabbath day[7], on the day of the full moon, had purified himself, and had gone up into the upper story of his palace to keep the sacred day, there then appeared to him the heavenly Treasure of the Wheel,[8] with its nave, its tire, and all its thousand spokes complete.

'When he beheld it the Great King of Glory thought:—

1. § 7 *foll. in* M. iii., 172 *foll.*
2. B^{mp} nātassa, *and below. See above* p. 163.
3. B^{mp} K pan' etaṃ; K (Sī) pana metaṃ.
4. *So here* B^{m}.
5. B^{p} sanemikkaṃ.
6. The following enumeration is found word for word in several other Pāli Suttas, and occurs also, in almost identical terms, in the Lalita Vistara (Calcutta edition, pp. 14-19).
7. Uposatha, a weekly sacred day ; being full-moon day, new-moon day, and the two equidistant intermediate days. Comp. §12.
8. This is the disk of the sun.

' "This saying have I heard, 'When a king of the warrior race, an anointed king, has purified himself on the Sabbath day, on the day of the full moon, and has gone up into the upper story of his palace to keep the sacred day ; if there appear to him the heavenly Treasure of the Wheel, with its nave, its tire, and all its thousand spokes complete—that king becomes a king of kings invincible.' May I, then, become a king of kings invincible[1].'

8. 'Atha kho Ānanda rājā Mahā-sudassano uṭṭhāy' āsanā, ekaṃsaṃ uttarâsaṅgaṃ karitvā, vāmena hatthena bhiṅkāraṃ[2] gahetvā[3], dakkhiṇena hatthena cakka-ratanaṃ abbhukkiri[4] : "Pavattatu bhavaṃ cakkaratanaṃ, abhivijinātu bhavaṃ cakka-ratanan ti." Atha kho taṃ Ānanda cakka-ratanan ti." Atha kho taṃ Ānanda cakka-ratanaṃ puratthimaṃ disaṃ pavatti,[5] anvad[6] eva rājā Mahā-sudassano saddhiṃ caturaṅginiyā senāya. Yasmiṃ kho pan' Ānanda padese cakka-ratanaṃ patiṭṭhāsi, tattha rājā Mahā-suddssano vāsaṃ upagacchi[7] saddhiṃ caturaṅginiyā senāya.

8. 'Then, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory rose from his seat, and reverently uncovering from one shoulder his robe, he held in his left hand a pitcher, and with his right hand he sprinkled water up over the Wheel, as he said :—

' "Roll onward, O my lord, the Wheel! O my lord, go forth and overcome !"

'Then the wondrous Wheel, Ānanda, rolled onwards towards the region of the East, and after it went the Great King of Glory, and with him his army, horses, and chariots, and elephants, and men. And in whatever place, Ānanda, the Wheel stopped, there the Great King of Glory took up his abode,

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1. A king of the rolling wheel.
2. B^m K *insert* suvaṇṇ-
3. B^p *adds* dakkhiṇena hatthena siṅgāraṃ gahetvā.
4. B^p abbhūkiri (B^m K *agree with* SS).
5. B^m pavattati.
6. S^c anvād; B^p anud, but B^m anvad; K anu deva; K (Sī) anvadeva, *and so* Sum.
7. S^{dt} upagañchi.

and with him his army, horses, and chariots, and elephants, and men.

9. 'Ye kho pan' Ānanda puratthimāya disāya paṭirājāno te rājānaṃ Mahā-sudassanaṃ upasaṃkamitvā evam āhaṃsu:

' "Ehi kho Mahārāja, sāgataṃ[1] Mahārāja, sakan te Mahārāja, anusāsa Mahārājâti."

'Rājā Mahā-sudassano evam āha: "Pāṇo na hantabbo. Adinnaṃ n' ādātabbaṃ. Kāmesu micchā na caritabbā. Musāna bhāsitabbā.[2] Majjaṃ na pātabbaṃ. Yathabhuttañ ca bhuñjathâti.".

'Ye kho pan' Ānanda puratthimāya disāya paṭirājāno te[3] rañño Mahā-sudassanassa anuyuttā[4] ahesuṃ.

9. 'Then, Ānanda, all the rival kings in the region of the East came to the Great King of Glory and said :—

' "Come, O mighty king! Welcome. O mighty king! All is thine, O mighty king! Do thou, O mighty king, be a Teacher to us!"

Thus spake the Great King of Glory :— "Ye shall slay no living thing. Ye shall not take that which has not been given. Ye shall not act wrongly touching the bodily desires. Ye shall speak no lie. Ye shall drink no maddening drink. Ye shall eat as ye have eaten[5]."

'Then, Ānanda, all the rival kings in the region of the East became subject unto the Great King of Glory.

10. 'Atha kho taṃ Ānanda cakka-ratanaṃ puratthimaṃ samuddaṃ[6] ajjhogahetvā[7] paccuttaritvā dakkhiṇaṃ disaṃ

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1. S[t] sāgata; B[m] svāgatan te; B[p] K svāgataṃ *here and below.*
2. B[m] bhaṇitabbā, *and below.*
3. SS tesaṃ.
4. B[m] anuyantā; K anuyantā (Sī) anuyuttā.
5. Yathābhuttam bhuñjatha. Buddhaghosa has no comment on this. I suppose it means, 'Observe the rules current among you regarding clean and unclean meats.' If so, the Great King of Glory disregards the teaching of the Āmagandha Sutta (translated in my 'Buddhism,' p. 131).
6. S[d] sudassanaṃ, B[p] samuddhaṃ.
7. B[p] K -gāhetvā, *and below.*

pavatti[1] . . . pe . . . dakkhiṇaṃ samuddaṃ ajjhogahetvā paccuttaritvā pacchimaṃ disaṃ pavatti . . . pe[2] . . . pacchimaṃ samuddaṃ ajjhogahetvā paccuttaritvā[3] uttaraṃ disaṃ pavatti, anvad eva rājā Mahā-sudassano saddhiṃ caturaṅginiyāsenāya. yasmiṃ kho pan' Ānanda padese cakka-ratanaṃ patiṭṭhāsi, tattha rājā Mahā-sudassano vāsaṃ upagacchi saddhiṃ caturaṅginiyā senāya.

'Ye kho pan' Ānanda uttarāya disāya paṭirājāno, te rājānaṃ Mahā-sudassanaṃ upasaṃkamitvā evam āhaṃsu:

' "Ehi kho Mahārāja, sāgataṃ Mahārāja, sakan te Mahārāja, anusāsa Mahārājâti."

'Rājā Mahā-sudassano eam āha: "Pāṇo no hantabbo. Adinnaṃ n' ādātabbaṃ. Kāmesu micchā na caritabbā. Musā na bhāsitabbā. Majjaṃ na pātabbaṃ. Yathā-bhuttañ ca bhunjathâti."

'Ye kho pan' Ānanda uttarāya disāya paṭirājāno, te rañño Mahā-sudassanassa anuyuttā ahesuṃ.

10. 'But the wondrous Wheel, Ānanda, having plunged down into the great waters in the East, rose up out again, and rolled onward to the region of the South [and there all happened as had happened in the region of the East. And in like manner the wondrous Wheel rolled onward to the extremest boundary of the West and of the North ; and there, too, all happened as had happened in the region of the East].

11. 'Atha kho taṃ Ānanda cakka-ratanaṃ samudda-pariyantaṃ paṭhaviṃ abhivijinitvā Kusāvatiṃ[4] rājādhāniṃ paccāgantvā rañño Mahā-sudassanassa anepura-dvāre attha-karaṇa-pamukhe[5] akkhāhataṃ[6] maññ aṭṭhāsi rañño Mahā-sudassanassa ante-puraṃ upasobhayamānaṃ.

Rañño Ānanda Mahā-sudassanassa evarūpaṃ cakka-ratanaṃ pātur ahosi.

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1. Bᵐ K pavattati, *and below.*
2. Sᶜᵈ Bᵖ *omit* pe.
3. SS *omit.*
4. Sᵈ -vati; Sᵗ -vati.
5. Bᵖ mukhe.
6. Sᵈ akkhātaṃ.

11. 'Now when the wondrous Wheel, Ānanda, had gone forth conquering and to conquer over the whole earth to its very ocean boundary, it returned back again to the royal city of Kusāvatī and remained fixed on the open terrace in front of the entrance to the inner apartments of the Great King of Glory, as a glorious adornment to the inner apartments of the Great King of Glory.

'Such, Ānanda, was the wondrous Wheel which appeared to the Great King of Glory.'

12. 'Puna ca paraṃ Ānanda rañña Mahā-sudassanassa hatthi-ratanaṃ pātur ahōsi, sabba-seto sattappatiṭṭho iddhimā vehāsaṃ-gamo Uposatho nāga-rājā. Disvā[1] rañño Mahā-sudassanassa cittaṃ pasīdi: "Bhaddakaṃ vata bho hatthi-yānaṃ sace damathaṃ upeyyâti." Atha kho tam[2] Ānanda hatthi-ratanaṃ seyyathā pi nāma bhaddo hatthâjānīyo[3] dīgha-rattaṃ suparidanto evam evaṃ[4] damathaṃ[5] upagacchi. Bhūta-pubbaṃ Ānanda rājā Mahā-sudassano eva hatthi-ratanaṃ vīmaṅsamāno pubbaṇha-samayaṃ bhirūhitvā samudda-pariyantaṃ paṭhaviṃ anusaṃsāyitvā[6] Kusāvatiṃ rājadhāniṃ paccāgantvā pātarāsaṃ akāsi. Rañño Ānanda Mahā-sudas-sanassa evarūpaṃ hatthi-ratanaṃ pātur ahosi.

12. 'Now further, Ānanda, there appeared to the Great King of Glory the Elephant Treasure[7], all white, seven-fold firm[8], wonderful in power, flying through the sky—the Elephant-King,

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1. B^{mp} taṃ disvā.
2. SS *omit.*
3. B^{p} gandhahatthajāniyo.
4. B^{mp} K eva.
5. B^{p} damataṃ, *and below.*
6. S^{c} asaṃsāyitvā; S^{t} B^{mp} K anusāyitvā; *see below.*
7. Hatthi-ratana.
8. Satta-ppatittho, that is, perhaps, in regard to its four legs, two tusks, and trunk. The expression is curious, and Buddhaghosa has no note upon it. It is quite possible that it merely signifies 'exceeding firm,' the number seven being used without any hard and fast interpretation.

whose name was. "The Changes of the Moon[1]."

'When he beheld it the Great King of Glory was pleased at heart at the thought:—

' "Auspicious were it to ride upon the Elephant, if only it would submit to be controlled!"

'Then, Ānanda, the wondrous Elephant—like a fine elephant of noble blood long since well trained—submitted to control.

'And long ago, Ānanda, when the Great King of Glory, to test that wondrous Elephant, had mounted on to it early in the morning, it passed over along the broad earth to its very ocean boundary, and then returned again, in time for the morning meal, to the royal city of Kusāvati[2].

'Such, Ānanda, was the wondrous Elephant that appeared to the Great King of Glory.

13. 'Puna ca paraṃ Ānanda rañño Mahā-sudassanassa assa-ratanaṃ pātur ahosi, sabba-seto kāka sīso[3] muñjakeso iddhimā vehāsaṃ-gamo Valāhako nāma assa-rājā. Disvā[4] rañño Mahā-sudassanassa cittaṃ pasīdi: "Bhaddakaṃ vata bho assa-yānaṃ sace damathaṃ upeyyâti." Atha kho taṃ[5] Ānanda assa-ratanaṃ seyyathā pi nāma bhaddo assâjānīyo[6] dīgha-rattaṃ suparidanto evam evaṃ damathaṃ upagacchi.[7] Bhūta-pubbaṃ Ānanda rājā Mahā-sudassano tam eva assa-

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1. Uposatho. In the Lalita Vistara its name is 'Wisdom' (Bodhi). Uposatha is the name for the sacred day of the moon's changes—first, and more especially the full-moon day; next, the new-moon day; and lastly, the days equidistant between these two. It was, therefore, a weekly sacred day, and, as Childers says, may often be well rendered 'Sabbath.'
2. Compare on this and § 29 my 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' p. 85, where a similar phrase is used of Kanthaka.
3. B^{m} Kāla-siso [*for* kāḷa-]. Sum kāka-gīvā viya . . . kāḷa-vaṇṇena sīsena.
4. B^{mp} *insert* taṃ *before* disvā.
5. SS *omit.*
6. B^{m} assājāniyo; B^{p} assajāniyo.
7. S^{c} upagañchi.

ratanaṃ vīmaṅsamāno pubbaṇha-samayaṃ abhirūhitvā samudda-pariyantaṃ paṭhaviṃ anusāyitvā[1] Kusāvatiṃ rājadhāniṃ paccāgantavā pāta-rāsam akāsi. Rañño Ānanda Mahā-sudassanassa evarūpaṃ assa-ratanaṃ pātur ahosi.

13. 'Now further, Ānanda, there appeared to the Great King of Glory the Horse Treasure[2], all white with a crow-black head, and a dark mane, wonderful in power, flying through the sky—the Charger-King, whose name was "Thunder-cloud[3]."

'When he beheld it, the Great King of Glory was pleased at heart at the thought:—

' "Auspicious were it to ride upon that Horse if only it would submit to be controlled !"

'Then, Ānanda, the wondrous Horse—like a fine horse of the best blood long since well trained— submitted to control.

'When long ago, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory, to test that wondrous Horse, mounted on to it early in the morning, it passed over along the broad earth to its very ocean boundary and then returned again, in time for the morning meal, to the royal city of Kusāvatī.

'Such, Ānanda, was the wondrous Horse that appeared to the Great King of Glory.

14. Puna ca paraṃ Ānanda rañño Mahā-sudassanassa maṇi-ratanaṃ pātur ahosi. [4]So ahosi[4] maṇi-veḷuriyo subbo jātiā atthaṃso suparikamma-kato accho vip-passanno sabbâkāra-sampanno. Tassa kho pan' Ānanda maṇi-ratanassa ābhā samantā yojanaṃ phuṭā ahosi. Bhūta-pubbaṃ Ānanda

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1. S[c] anusāyāyitvā ; B[p] anusāritvā.
2. Assa-ratanam.
3. Valāhako. Compare the Valāhassa-Jātaka (Fausböll, No. 196), of which the Chinese story translated by Mr. Beal at pp. 332-40 of his 'Romantic History,' etc., is an expanded and altered version. In the Valāhakā Samyutta of the Samyutta Nikāya the spirits of the skies are divided into Unha-valāhakā Devā, Sīta-valāhakā Devā, Abbha-valāhakā Devā, Vāta-valāhakā Devā, and Vassa-valāhakā Devā, that is, the cloud-spirits of cold, heat, air, wind, and rain respectively.

4.4. K *om.*

rājā Mahā-sudassano tam eva maṇi-ratanaṃ vīmaṅsamāno caturaṅgini[1]-senaṃ san-nayhitvā maṇi-dhajaggaṃ[2] āropetvā rattandhakāra-timisāyaṃ pāyāti.[3] Ye kho pan' Ānanda samantā gāmā ahesuṃ, te ten' obhāsena kammante payojesuṃ "Divā ti" maññamānā. Rañño Ānanda Mahā-sudassanssa evarūpam maṇi-ratanaṃ pātur ahosi.

14. 'Now further, Ānanda, there appeared to the Great King of Glory the Gem-Treasure[4]. That Gem was the Veluriya, bright, of the finest species, with eight facets, excellently wrought, clear, transparent, perfect in every way.

'The splendour, Ānanda, of that wondrous Gem spread round about a league on every side.

'When, long ago, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory, to test that wondrous Gem, set all his fourfold army in array and raised aloft the Gem upon his standard top, he was able to march out in the gloom and darkness of the night.

'And then too, Ānanda, all the dwellers in the villages round about, set about their daily work, thinking :— "The day-light hath appeared."

'Such, Ānanda, was the wondrous Gem that appeared to the Great King of Glory.'

15. 'Puna ca paraṃ Ānanda rañño Mahā-Sudas-sanassa itthi-ratanaṃ pātur ahosi, abhirūpā dassanīyā pāsādikā paramā vaṇṇa-pokkharatāya samannāgatā, nâtīdīghā nâtirassā nâtikisā nâtiṭhūlā nâtikāḷī[5] nâccodātā, atikkantā mānusaṃ[6] vaṇṇaṃ appattā dibbaṃ[7] vaṇṇaṃ. Tassa kho pan' Ānanda itthi-ratanassa evarūpo kāya-samphasso hoti, seyyathā pi nāma tūla-picuno vā kappāsa picuno vā. Tassa kho pan' Ānanda itthi-ratanassa sīte uṇhāni gattāni honti, uṇhe sītāni. Tassa kho pan' Ānanda itthi-ratanassa kāyato

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1. B^{m} K niṃ.
2. B^{m} K maṇiṃ dhajjaggaṃ.
3. B^{mp} K pāyāsi.
4. Mani-ratanam.
5. S^{c} kāli; S^{dt} kālī; B^{mp} K kāḷikā.
6. S^{c} mānusa; B^{m} si; K manussī.
7. B^{m} K dibba.

andana-gandho vāyati, mukhato uppala-gandho. Taṃ kho pan' Ānanda itthi-ratanaṃ rañño Mahā-Sudassanassa pubbuṭṭhāyinī ahosi pacchā-nipātinī kiṃkāra-paṭissāvinī[1] manāpa-cārinī piyavādini.[2] Taṃ kho pan' Ānaṇda itthi-ratanaṃ[3] rājānaṃ Mahā-sudassanaṃ manasā pi no aticārī, kuto pana kāyena. Rañño[4] Ānanda Mahā-sudassanassa evarūpaṃ itthi-ratanaṃ pātur ahosi.

15. 'Now further, Ānanda, there appeared to the Great King of Glory the Woman-Treasure[5], graceful in figure, beautiful in appearance, charming in manner, and of the most fine complexion ; neither very tall, nor very short; neither very stout, nor very slim ; neither very dark, nor very fair ; surpassing human beauty, she had attained unto the beauty of the gods[6].

'The touch too, Ānanda, of the skin of that wondrous Woman was as the touch of cotton or of cotton wool; in the cold her limbs were warm, in the heat her limbs were cool; while from her body was wafted the perfume of sandal wood and from her mouth the perfume of the lotus.

'That Pearl among Women too, Ānanda, used to rise up before the Great King of Glory, and after him retire to rest; pleasant was she in speech, and ever on the watch to hear what she might do in order so to act as to give him pleasure.

'That Pearl among Women too, Ānanda, was never, even in thought, unfaithful to the Great King of Glory— how much less then could she be so with the body !

'Such, Ānanda, was the Pearl among Women who appeared to the Great King of Glory.'

16. 'Puna ca paraṃ Ānanda rañño Mahā-sudassanassa gahapati-ratanaṃ pātur ahosi. Tassa kamma-vipākajaṃ

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1. S^c paṭissavīni; B^p K paṭisāvinī.
2. S^c B^p *omit.*
3. SS *omit.*
4. B^m K *insert* pan'.
5. Itthi-ratanam.
6. The above description of an ideally beautiful woman is of frequent occurrence.

dibba[1]-cakkhuṃ pātur ahosi yena nidhiṃ passati sassāmikam[2] pi assāmikam[3] pi. So rājānaṃ Mahā-sudas-sanaṃ upasaṃkamitvā evam āha: "Appossukko[4] tvaṃ deva hohi, ahaṃ te dhanena dhana-karaṇīyaṃ karissāmîti."

'Bhūta-pubbaṃ Ānanda rājā Mahā-sudassano tam eva gahapati-ratanaṃ vīmaṅsamāno nāvaṃ abhirūhitvā majjhe Gaṅgāya nadiyā sotaṃ ogāhetvā[5] gahapati-ratanaṃ etad avoca :

' "Attho me gahapati hiraññā[6]-suvaṇṇenâti.".

' "Tena hi mahā-rāja ekaṃ[7] va[8] tīramm[9] nāvā[10] upetûti."

' " Idh' eva me gahapati attho hiraññā[11]-suvaṇ-ṇenâti."

'Atha kho taṃ Ānanda gahapti-ratanaṃ ubhohi hatthehi udakaṃ omasitvā[12] pūraṃ hirañña-suvaṇṇassa kumbhiṃ uddharitvā rājānaṃ Mahā-sudassanaṃ etad avoca: "Alam ettāvatā mahā-rāja, katam ettāvatā[13] mahā-rājâti ?"

'Rājā Mahā-sudassano evam āha: "Alam ettāvatā gahapati, katam ettāvatā gahapati, pūjitam ettāvatā gahapatîti."

'Rañño Ānanda Mahā-sudassanassa evarūpaṃ gahapati-ratanaṃ pātur ahosi.

16. 'Now further, Ānanda, there appeared unto the Great King of Glory a Wonderful Treasurer[14], possessed, through good

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1. S[dt] dibbaṃ.
2. B[mp] sasāmikaṃ.
3. B[m] asām°.
4. B[p] sabbosukko; B[m] apposukko.
5. B[m] K ogāhitvā.
6. S[cd] hiraññe.
7. K eka-
8. B[m] K *omit.* SS vā.
9. S[d] tarīnaṃ ; S[t] tarītaṃ.
10. S[c] K nāvaṃ.
11. SS hiraññe.
12. B[p] omaṅsitvā.
13. B[p] *adds* maha-rāja, pūjitam ettāvatā.
14. Gahapati-ratanam. The word gahapati has been hitherto usually rendered 'householder,' but this may often, and would certainly

deeds done in a former birth, of a marvellous power of vision by which he could discover treasure, whether it had an owner or whether it had not.

'He went up to the Great King of Glory, and said :—

' "Do thou, O King, take thine ease ! I will deal with thy wealth even as wealth should be dealt with."

'Long ago, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory, to test that wonderful Treasurer, went on board a boat, and had it pushed out into the current in the midst of the river Ganges. Then he said to the wonderful steward :—

' "I have need, O Treasurer, of yellow gold !"

' "Let the ship then, O Great King, go alongside either of the banks."

' "It is here, O Treasurer, that I have need of yellow gold."

'Then the wonderful Treasurer reached down to the water with both his hands, and drew up a jar full of yellow gold, and said to the Great King of Glory :—

' "Is that enough, O Great King? Have I done enough, O Great King?"

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here, convey a wrong impression. There is no single word in English which is an adequate rendering of the term, for it connotes a social condition now no longer known among us. The gahapati was the head of a family, the representative in a village community of a family, the *pater familias.* So the god of fire, with allusion to the sacred fire maintained in each household, is called in the Rig-veda the grihapati, the *paler familiar,* of the human race. It is often sused in opposition to brāhmana very much as we used 'yeoman' in opposition to 'clerk' (Jātaka I, 83); and the two combined are used in opposition to people of other ranks and callings held to be less honourable than that of clerk or yeoman (Jātaka I, 218). The compound brāhmana-gahapatika as a collective term comes to be about equivalent to 'priests and laymen' (see, for instance, below, § 21, and Vinaya I, 35, 36). Then again the gahapati is distinct from the subordinate members of the family, who had not the control and management of the common property (Sāmañña Phala Sutta 133, = Tevijja Sutta I, 47); and it is this implication of the term that is emphasized in the text. Buddhaghosa uses, as an explanatory phrase, the words setthi-gahapati.

'And the Great King of Glory replied :—

' "It is enough, O Treasurer. You have done enough, O Treasurer. You have offered me enough, O Treasurer !"

'Such was the wonderful Treasurer, Ānanda, who appeared to the Great King of Glory.'

17. 'Puna ca paraṃ Ānanda rañño Mahā-sudassanassa pariṇāyaka-ratanaṃ pātur ahosi, paṇḍito viyatto[1] medhāvī paṭibalo rājānaṃ Mahā-sudassanaṃ upayāpetabbaṃ[2] upayāpetuṃ[2] apayāpetabbaṃ[3] apayāpetuṃ[4] ṭhapetabbaṃ ṭhapetuṃ.

So rājānaṃ Mahā-sudassanaṃ upasaṃkamitvā evam āha: "Appossukko tvaṃ deva hohi, aham anusāsis-sāmîti,"[5]

'Rañño Ānanda Mahā-sudassanassa evarūpaṃ pariṇāyaka-ratanaṃ pātur ahosi.

'Rājā Ānanda Mahā-sudassano imehi sattahi[6] ratanehi samannāgato ahosi.

17. 'Now further, Ānanda, there appeared to the Great King of Glory a Wonderful Adviser[7], learned, clever, and wise ; and qualified to lead the Great King of Glory to undertake what he ought to undertake, and to leave undone what he ought to leave undone.

'He went up to the Great King of Glory, and said :—

' "Do thou, O King, take thine ease ! I will be thy guide."

'Such, Ānanda, was the wonderful Adviser who appeared to the Great King of Glory.

'The Great King of Glory was possessed of these Seven Precious Things.

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1. S[t] vyatto.
2. K upeyyāp°.
3. K apeyyāp°.
4. B[p] aparāyāpetuṃ; K upeyyāp° (*where* up° *must be a misprint for* ap°).
5. S[c] B[p] anussā°; S[d] anusissamîti; S[t] anuham.
6. SS satta.
7. Parināyaka-ratanam. Buddhaghosa says that he was the eldest son of the king. The Lalita Vistara makes him a general.

18. '[1]Puna ca paraṃ[1] Ānanda rājā [2]Mahā sudassano catūhi iddhīhi samannāgato ahosi. Katamāhi[3] catūhi iddhīhi? Idh' Ānanda rāja Mahā-sudassano abhirūpo ahosi dassanīyho pāsādiko paramāya vaṇṇa-pokkharatāya samannāgato ativiya aññehi manussehi. Rājā Ānanda Mahā-sudassno imāya paṭhamāya[4] iddhiyā samnnāgato ahosi.

18. 'Now, further, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory was gifted with Four Marvellous Gifts[5].

'What are the Four Marvellous Gifts ?

'In the first place, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory was graceful in figure, handsome in appearance, pleasing in manner, and of most beautiful complexion, beyond what other men are.

'The Great King of Glory, Ānanda, was endowed with this First Marvellous Gift.

19. 'Puna ca paraṃ Ānanda rājā Mahā-sudassano dīghâyuko ahosi ciraṭṭhitiko ativiua aññehi manussehi. Rājā Ānanda Mahā-sudassano imāya dutiyāya iddhiyā samannāgato ahosi.

19. 'And besides that, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory was of long life, and of many years, beyond those of other men.

'The Great King of Glory, Ānanda, was endowed with this Second Marvellous Gift.

20. 'Puna ca paraṃ Ānanda rājā Mahā-suddassano appâbādho ahosi appâtaṅko sama-vepākiniyā gahaṇiyā samannāgato nâtisītāya nâccuṇhāya ativiya aññehi manussehi. Rājā Ānanda Mahā-sudassano imāya tatiyāya iddhiyā samannāgato ahosi.

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1. B[mp] *omit.*
2. SS *omit.*
3. SS katamehi. (*In* § 21 SS *have* imāhi.)
4. SS *omit.*
5. The Four Iddhis. Here again, as elsewhere, it will be noticed that there is nothing supernatural about these four Iddhis. See the passages quoted above, Vol. I, pp. 272 foll. They are merely attributes accompanying or forming part of the majesty (iddhi) of the King of kings.

20. 'And besides that, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory was free from disease, and free from bodily suffering ; and his internal fire was neither too hot nor too cold, but such as to promote good digestion, beyond that of other men[1].

'The Great King of Glory, Ānanda, was endowed with this Third Marvellous Gift.

21. 'Puna ca paraṃ Ānanda rājā Mahā-sudassano brāhmaṇa-gahapatikānaṃ piyo ahosi manāpo. Seyyathā pi Ānanda pitā puttānaṃ piyo hoti manāpo, evam eva kho Ānanda rājā Mahā-sudassano brāhmaṇa-gahapatikānaṃ piyo ahosi manāpo. Rañño pi Ānanda Mahā-sudas-sanassa brāhmaṇa-gahapatikā piyā ahesuṃ manāpā. Sey-yathā pi Ānanda pitu puttā honti manāpā, evam eva kho Ānanda rañño Mahā-sudassanassa brāhmaṇa-gahapa-tikā piyā ahesuṃ manāpā. Bhūta-pubbaṃ Ānanda rājā Mahā-sudassano caturaṅginiyā senāya uyyāna-bhūmiṃ niyyāsi. Atha kho Ānanda brāhmaṇa-gahapatikā rājā-naṃ Mahā-sudassanaṃ upasaṃkamitvā evam āhaṃsu: "Ataramāno deva yāhi yathā taṃ mayaṃ ciratarataṃ passeyyāmâti." Rājā pi Ānanda Mahā-sudassano sārathiṃ āmantesi: "Ataramāno sārathi rathaṃ pesehi yathā ahaṃ[1] brāhmaṇa-gahapatike ciratarataṃ passey-

1. The same thing is said of Ratthapāla in the Ratthapāla Sutta, where Gogerly renders the whole passage:— 'Ratthapāla is healthy, free from pain, having; a good digestion and appetite, being troubled with no excess of either heat or cold' ('Journal of the Ceylon Asiatic Society,' 1847-8, p. 98). The gahani is a supposed particular organ or function situate at the junction of the stomach and intestines. Moggallāna explains it, udare tu tathā pācanalasmim gahani (Abhidhāna-ppadīpikā 972), where Subhûti's Sinhalese version is 'kukshi, pākāgni,' and his English version, 'the belly, the internal fire which promotes digestion.' Buddhaghosa explains samavipākiyā kammaga-tejo-dhātuyā, and adds:— 'If a man's food is dissolved the moment he has eaten it, or if it remains like a lump, he has not the samavepākini gahani, but he who has appetite (bhattacchando) when the time for food comes round again, he has the samavepakini gahani,'—which is delightfully naive.
2. SS yathāhaṃ.

yan ti." Rājā Ānanda Mahā-sudassano imāya catutthāya[1] iddhiyā samannāgato ahosi.

'Rājā Ānanda Mahā-sudassano imāhi catūhi iddhīhi samannāgato ahosi.

21. 'And besides that, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory was beloved and popular with priests and with laymen alike. Just, Ānanda, as a father is near and dear to his own sons, just so, Ānanda, was the Great King of Glory beloved and popular with priests and with laymen alike. And just, Ānanda, as his sons are near and dear to a father, just so, Ānanda, were priests and laymen alike near and dear to the Great King of Glory.

'Once, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory marched out with all his fourfold army to the pleasure ground. There, Ānanda, the priests and laymen went up to the Great King of Glory, and said:—

' "O King, pass slowly by, that we may look upon thee for a longer time !"

'But the Great King of Glory, Ānanda, addressed his charioteer, and said :—

' "Drive on the chariot slowly, charioteer, that I may look upon my people [priests and laymen] for a longer time!"

'This was the Fourth Marvellous Gift, Ānanda, with which the Great King of Glory was endowed.

'These are the Four Marvellous Gifts, Ānanda, with which the Great King of Glory was endowed.'

22. 'Atha kho Ānanda rañño Mahā-sudassanassa etad ahosi : "Yan[2] nūnâhaṃ imāsu tālantarikāsu dhanu-sate dhanu-sale pokkharaṇīyo[3] māpeyyan ti."

'Māpisi kho[4] Ānanda rājā Mahā-sudassano tāsu tālantarikāsu dhanu-sate dhanu-sate pokkharaṇīyo. Tā kho pan' Ānanda pokkharaṇīyo catunnaṃ vaṇṇānaṃ itthakāhi citā

1. Bᵐ-tthiyā.
2. Bᵐᵖ yaṃ.
3. Bᵐ K -ṇiyo (*and onwards*).
4. Sᵈᵗ *insert* pana.

ahesuṃ, ekā itthakā[1] sovaṇṇamayā,[2] ekā rūpi-mayā,[3] ekā veḷuriyamayā, ekā phalikamayā. Tāsu kho pan' Ānanda pokkharaṇīsu cattāri cattāri[4] sopānāni ahesuṃ catunnaṃ, ekaṃ sopānaṃ sovaṇṇa-mayaṃ, ekaṃ rūpimayaṃ, ekaṃ veḷuriyamayaṃ, ekaṃ phalikamayaṃ. Sovaṇṇamayassa sopānassa sovaṇṇamayā thamabhā ahesuṃ, rūpimayā sūciyo[5] ca uṇhīsañ ca; rūpimayassa sopānassa rūpimayā rūpimayā thambhā ahesuṃ, sovaṇṇamayā sūciyo ca uṇhīsañ ca; veḷuriyamayassa sopānassa veḷuriyamayā thambhā ahesuṃ, phalikamayā sūciyo ca uṇhīsañ ca; phalikamayassa sopānassa phalikamayā thambhā ahesuṃ, veḷuriyamayā sūciyo ca unhīsañ ca. Tā kho pan' Ānanda pokkharaṇīyo dvīhi vedikāhi parikkhittā ahesuṃ, ekā vedikā sovaṇṇamayā ekā rūpi-mayā; sovaṇṇamayāya vedikāya vedikāka sovaṇṇamayā thambhā ahesuṃ rūpimayā sūciyo ca uṇhīsañ ca; rūpimayāya vedikāya rūpimayā thambhā ahesuṃ sovaṇṇamayā sūciyo ca uṇhīsañ ca.

22. 'Now to the Great King of Glory, Ānanda, there occurred the thought :—

' "Suppose, now, I were to make Lotus-ponds in the spaces between these palms, at every hundred bow-lengths."

'Then, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory, in the spaces between those palms, at distances of a hundred bow-lengths, made Lotus-ponds.

'And those Lotus-ponds, Ānanda, were faced with tiles of four kinds. One kind of tile was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal.

'And to each of those Lotus-ponds, Ānanda, there were four flights of steps, of four different kinds. One flight of steps was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal, The flight of golden steps had balustrades of gold,

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1. S^{c} itthakāyā ; S^{d} -kāyo.
2. S^{ct} suv^{o}.
3. B^{m} K rūpiyamāyā : *and onwards.*
4. K *omits.*
5. SS B^{mp} suciyo *here, but* sūciyo *below.*

with the cross bars and the figure-head of silver. The flight of silver steps had balustrades of silver, with the cross bars and the figure-head of gold. The flight of beryl steps had balustrades of beryl, with the cross bars and the figurehead of crystal. The flight of crystal steps had balustrades of crystal, with cross bars and figure-head of beryl.

'And round those Lotus-ponds there ran, Ānanda, a double railing. One railing was of gold, and one was of silver. The golden railing had its posts of gold, and its cross bars and its capitals of silver. The silver railing had its posts of silver, and its cross bars and its capitals of gold[1].

23. 'Atha kho Ānanda rañño Mahā-sudassanassa etad ahosi: "Yan nūnâhaṃ imāsu pokkharaṇīsu evarūpam mālaṃ ropāpeyyaṃ[2] uppalaṃ padumaṃ[3] kumudaṃ puṇḍarīkaṃ sabbotukaṃ sabba-janassa anācāran[4] ti." Ropāpesi kho Ānanda rājā Mahā-sudassano tāsu pokkharaṇīsu evarūpaṃ mālaṃ uppalaṃ padumaṃ kumudaṃ puṇḍa-rīkaṃ sabbotukaṃ sabbajanassa anācāraṃ.[5]

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1. Pokkharani, the word translated Lotus-pond, is an artificial pool or small lake for water-plants. There are some which are probably nearly as old as this passage still in good preservation in Anurādhapura in Ceylon. Each is oblong, and has its tiles and its four flights of steps, and some had railings. The balustrades, cross bars, figure-head, and railings are in Pāli thambha, sūciyo, unhīsa, and vedikā, of the exact meaning of which I am not quite confident. They do not occur in the description of the Lotus-lakes in Sukhāvatī. General Cunningham says that the cross bars of the Buddhist railings are called suciyo in the inscriptions at Bharahat ('The Stupa of Bharhut,' p. 127). Buddhaghosa, who is good enough to tell us the exact number of the ponds—to wit, 84,000, has no explanation of these words, merely saying that of the two vedikās one was at the limit of the tiles and one at the limit of the parivena. See below § 31 ; and Rhys Davids, Buddhist India,' Figures 6, 7; pp. 74-6.
2. SS ropāpeyya.
3. S[c] uppala-paduma-.
4. SS anācavan; B[mp] K anāvaṭṭan.
5. S[c] anācariṃ; B[m] K anāvaṭṭaṃ ; B[p] anāvaṭṭa.

'Atha kho Ānanda rañño Mahā-sudassanassa etad ahosi: "Yan nūnâhaṃ imāsaṃ pokkharaṇīnaṃ tīre nahapake[1] purise ṭhapeyyaṃ ye āgatâgataṃ janaṃ mahāpessantîti." Ṭhapesi kho Ānanda rājā Mahā-sudassano tāsaṃ pokkharaṇīnaṃ tīre nahāpade purise ye āgatâgataṃ janaṃ nahāpeyyuṃ.

'Atha kho Ānanda rañño Mahā-sudassanassa etad ahosi: "Yan nūnâhaṃ imāsaṃ pokkharaṇīnaṃ tīre eva-rūpaṃ dānaṃ paṭṭhapeyyaṃ annaṃ annatthikassa pānaṃ pānatthikassa vatthaṃ vatthatthikassa yānam yānatthi-kassa sayanaṃ sayanatthikassa itthiṃ itthatthikassa[2] hiraññat-thikassa suvaṇṇaṃ suvaṇṇatthikassâti." Paṭṭhapesi kho Ānanda rājā Mahā-sudassano tāsaṃ pokkharaṇīnaṃ tīre evarūpaṃ dānaṃ, annaṃ annatthikassa pānaṃ pānatthikassa vatthaṃ vatthatthikassa yānaṃ yānatthikassa sayanaṃ sayanatthikassa itthiṃ itthatthikassa hiraññaṃ hiraññatthikassa suvaṇṇaṃ suvaṇṇatthikassa.[3]

23. 'Now, to the Great King of Glory, Ānanda, there occurred the thought :—

' "Suppose, now, I were to have flowers of every season planted in those Lotus-ponds for all the people to have garlands to put on[4] —to wit, blue water-lilies and blue lotuses, white lotuses and white water-lilies."

[And the king had such flowers planted there accordingly.]

'Now, to the Great King of Glory, Ānanda, occurred the thought :—

' "Suppose, now, I were to place bathing-men on the banks of those Lotus-ponds, to bathe such of the people as come there from time to time."

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1. B^{mp} K nhā°, *and below.*
2. B^{m} K itthitthik, and *below.*
3. *All* MSS *and* K -kasâti as above.
4 'Now, to the Great King of Glory, Ānanda, occurred the thought:—. Literally 'have garlands planted for all the people to put on' —an elliptical expression revealing the ideas of that early time as to the only possible use of flowers. I think the reading should be anavaram.

'Now, to the Great King of Glory, Ānanda, occurred the thought :—

' "Suppose, now, I were to establish a perpetual grant by the banks of those Lotus-ponds—to wit, food for the hungry, drink for the thirsty, raiment for the naked, means of conveyance for those who have need of it, couches for the tired, wives for those who want wives, gold for the poor, and money for those who are in want."

'Then, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory established a perpetual grant by the banks of those Lotus ponds—to wit, food for the hungry, drink for the thirsty, raiment for the naked, means of conveyance for those who needed it, couches for the tired, wives for those who wanted wives, gold for the poor, and money for those who were in want.'

24. 'Atha kho Ānanda brāhmaṇa-gahapatikā pahūtaṃ sāpateyyaṃ ādāya rājāmạ Mahā-sudassanaṃ upasaṃkamitvā evam āhamsu: "Idaṃ deva pahūtaṃ sāpateyyaṃ devaṃ yeva[1] uddissa āhataṃ,[2] taṃ devo patigaṇhatûti."

' "Alaṃ bho, mama[3] pi[4] pahūtaṃ sāpateyyaṃ dhammikena balinā abhisaṃkhataṃ. Taṃ vo hotu, ito ca bhīyo harathâti."

"Te raññā paṭikkhittā ekamantaṃ apakkamma evaṃ samacintesuṃ: "Na kho etaṃ[5] amhākaṃ paṭirūpaṃ yaṃ mayaṃ[6] imāmo sāpateyyāni punda eva sakāni gharāni paṭihārāma.[7] Yan nūna mayaṃ rañño Mahā-sudas-sanassa nivesanaṃ māpeyyāmâti."

'Te rājānaṃ Mahā-sudassanaṃ upasaṃkamitvā evaṃ āhaṃsu: "Nivessanaṃ te deva māpessāmâti."

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1. B^{mp} K -devass' eva.
2. SS K āhataṃ; B^{m} ābhata; B^{p} ābhātaṃ. *See* p. 245.
3. S^{c} mam; K mamam.
4. B^{mp} p' idaṃ; K idaṃ.
5. B^{p} K evaṃ.
6. K *omits.*
7. B^{mp} paṭihareyyāmâti; K paṭihāreyyāma.

' "Adhivāsesi kho Ānanda rājā Mahā-sudassano tunhī-bhāvena."

24. 'Now, Ānanda, the people [priests and laymen] went to the Great King of Glory, taking with them much wealth. And they said :—

' "This abundant wealth, O King, have we broughthere for the use of the King of kings. Let the King accept it of us !"

' "I have enough wealth, my friends, laid up for myself, the produce of righteous taxation. Do you keep this, and take away more with you !"

'When those men were thus refused by the King they went aside and considered together, saying :—

' "It would not beseem us now, were we to take back this wealth to our own houses. Suppose, now, we were to build a mansion for the Great King of Glory."

'Then they went to the Great King of Glory, and said:—

' "A mansion would we build for thee, O King !"

'Then, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory signified, by silence, his consent.'

25. 'Atha kho Ānanda Sakko devānaṃ inndo rañño Mahā-sudassanassa cetasā ceto-parivitakkam aññāya Vissakammaṃ[1] deva-puttaṃ āmantesi: "Ehi tvaṃ samma[2] Vissakamma rañño Mahā-sudassanassa nivesanaṃ mā-pehi Dhammaṃ[3] nāma pāsādan ti."

' "Evaṃ bhaddan tavâti"[4] kho Ānanda Vissakammo deva-putto Sakkassa devānam indassa paṭossitvā, seyyathā pi nāma balavā puriso sammiñjitaṃ[5] vā bāhaṃ pasāreyya pasāritaṃ vā bāhaṃ sammiñjeyya, evam eva[6] devesu Tāvatiṃsesu antarahito rañño Mahā-sudassanassa purato

1. B[mp] Visukamma, *and below.*
2. B[p] *omits ;* SS mana.
3. S[dt] dhammikaṃ.
4. S[d] bhadantevâti; S[c] bhaddante vā ti; B[mp] bhaddan-tavâti; K bhaddaṃ tavâti.
5. B[p] sammiñcitaṃ.
6. SS evaṃ.

pātur ahosi. Atha kho Ānanda Vissakammo deva-putto rājānaṃ Mahā-sudassanaṃ etad avoca: "Nivesanan te deva māpessāmi[1] Dhammaṃ nāma pāsādan ti."

'Adhivā kho Ānanda rājā Mahā-sudassano tuṇhī-bhāvena. Māpesi kho Ānanda Vissakammo deva-putto rañño Mahā-sudassanassa nivesanaṃ Dhammaṃ nāma pāsādaṃ.

25. 'Now, Ānanda, when Sakka, the king of the gods, became aware in his mind of the thoughts that were in the heart of the Great King of Glory, he addressed Vissakamma the god, and said :—

' "Come now, Vissakamma, create me a mansion for the Great King of Glory—a palace which shall be called 'Righteousness'."

' "Even so, lord!." said Vissakamma, in assent, Ānanda, to Sakka, the king of the gods. And as instantaneously as a strong man might stretch forth his folded arm, or draw in his arm again when it was stretched forth, so quickly did he vanish from the heaven of the Great Thirty-Three, and appeared before the Great King of Glory.

'Then, Ānanda, Vissakamma the god said to the Great King of Glory :—

' "I would create for thee, O King, a mansion—a palace which shall be called 'Righteousness'!"

'Then, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory signified, by silence, his consent.

'So Vissakamma the god, Ānanda, created for the Great King of Glory a mansion—a palace to be called "Righteousness".'

26. 'Dhammo Ānanda pāsādo puratthimena ca pacchimena ca yojanaṃ āyāmena ahosi, uttarena ca dakkhiṇena ca addha-yojanaṃ vitthārena.

'Dhammassa Ānanda pāsādassa ti-porisaṃ uccattanena[2] vatthuṃ[3] citaṃ ahosi catunnaṃ vaṇṇānaṃ iṭṭha-kāhi,

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1. SS B^{mp} māpessāmîti.
2. S^{c} uccasatanena; B^{mp} K uccatarena.
3. B^{m} vatthu.

ekā iṭṭhakā sovannamayā, ekā rūpimayā,[1] ekā veḷu-riyamayā, ekā phalikamayā.

Dhammassa Ānanda pāsādassa caturāsīti-thambha-sahassāni ahesuṃ catunnaṃ vaṇṇānaṃ, eko thambho sovaṇṇamayo, eko rūpimayo, eko veḷuriyamayo, eko phali-kamayo.

'Dhammo Ānanda pāsādo catunnaṃ vaṇṇānaṃ Phalakehi santhato ahosi, ekaṃ sovaṇṇamayaṃ, ekaṃ rūpimayaṃ, ekaṃ veḷuriyamayaṃ, ekaṃ phalikamayaṃ.

'Dhammassa Ānanda pāsādassa cutu-vīsati sopānāni ahesuṃ catunnaṃ vaṇṇānaṃ, ekaṃ sopānaṃ sovaṇṇamayaṃ, ekaṃ rūpimayaṃ, ekaṃ veḷuriyamayaṃ, ekaṃ phalikamayaṃ. Sovaṇṇamayassa sopānassa sovaṇṇamayā thambhā ahesuṃ rūpimayā sūciyo[2] ca uṇhīsañ ca; rūpi-mayassa sopānassa rūpimayā thambhā ahesuṃ, sovaṇṇa-mayā sūciyo ca uṇhīsañ ca; veḷuriyamayassa sopānassa veḷuriyamayā thambhā ahesuṃ, phalikamayā sūciyo ca uṇhīsañ ca; phalikamayassa sopānassa phalikamayā thambhā ahesuṃ, veluriyamayā sūciyo ca unhīsañ ca.

'Dhamme Ānanda pāsāde[3] caturāsīti-kūṭâgāra-sahassāni ahesuṃ catunnaṃ vaṇṇānaṃ; ekaṃ kūṭâraṃ sovaṇṇamayam, ekaṃ rūpimayaṃ, ekaṃ veḷuriyamayaṃ. ekaṃ phalikamayaṃ. Sovaṇṇamaye kūṭâgāro rūpimayo pallaṃko paññatto ahosi; veḷuriyamaye kūṭâgāro dantamayo pallṃko paññatto ahosi; phalikamaye kūṭâgāre sāramayo[4] pallaṃko paññatto ahosi. Sovaṇṇamayassa kūṭâgārassa dvāre rūpimayo tālo ṭhito ahosi; tassa rūpimayo khandho sovaṇṇamayāni pattāni ca phalāni ca. Rūpimayassa kūṭâgārassa dvāre sovaṇṇamayo tālo thito ahosi; tassa sovaṇṇamayo khandho rūpimayāni ca phalikamayo tālo ṭhito ṭhito ahosi; tassa phalikakayo khandho veḷuriyamayāni pattāni ca phalāni ca. Phalikama-yassa kūṭâgārassa dvāre veḷuriyamayo tālo ṭhito

1. B^m K rūpiyamayā, *and below. So also in* §§ 85.
2. S^c suciyo, *and below.*
3. S^c *adds* va.
4. B^m Sum K (Sī) sāramayo; SS B^p K masāragalla-mayo. *Comp.* ii. 12.

ahosi; tassa veḷuriyamayo khandho phalikamayāni pattāni ca phalāni ca.

26. 'The Palace of Righteousness, Ānanda, was on the east and on the west a league in length, and on the north and on the south half a league in breadth.

'The ground-floor, Ānanda, of the Palace of Righteousness, in height as three times the height to which a man can reach, was built of bricks, of four kinds. One kind of brick was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal.

'To the Palace of Righteousness, Ānanda, there were eighty-four thousand pillars of four kinds. One kind of pillar was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal.

'The Palace of Righteousness, Ānanda, was fitted up with seats of four kinds. One kind of seat was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal.

'In the Palace of Righteousness, Ānanda, there were twenty-four staircases of four kinds. One staircase was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal. The staircase of gold had balustrades of gold, with the crossbars and the figure-head of silver. The staircase of silver had balustrades of silver, with the cross bars and the figure-head of gold, [isa] The staircase of beryl had balustrades of beryl, with the cross bars and the figure-head of crystal. The staircase of crystal had balustrades of crystal, with cross bars and figure-head of beryl.

'In the Palace of Righteousness, Ānanda, there were eighty-four thousand chambers of four kinds. One kind of chamber was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal.

'In the golden chamber a silver couch was spread ; in the silver chamber a golden couch; in the beryl chamber a couch of ivory ; and in the crystal chamber a couch of coral.

'At the door of the golden chamber there stood a palm tree of silver; and its trunk was of silver, and its leaves and fruits of silver.

'At the door of the beryl chamber there stood a palm tree of crystal ; and its trunk was of crystal, and its leaves and fruits of beryl.

'At the door of the crystal chamber there stood a palm tree of beryl; and its trunk was of beryl, and its leaves and fruits of crystal.'

27. 'Atha kho Ānanda rañño Mahā-sudassanassa etad ahosi: "Yan nūnâhaṃ Mahā-vyūhassa[1] kūṭâgārassa[2] dvāre sabba-sovaṇṇamayaṃ tāla-vanaṃ māpeyyaṃ yattha divā vihāraṃ nisīdissāmîti."

'Māpesi kho Ānanda rājā Mahā-sudassano Mahā-uyā-hassa kuṭâgārassa dvāre sabba-sovaṇṇamayaṃ tāla-vanaṃ, yattha divā vihāram nisīdi.[3]

27. 'Now there occurred, Ānanda, to the Great King of Glory this thought:—

' "Suppose, now, I were to make a grove of palm trees, all of gold, at the entrance to the chamber of the Great Complex[4], under the shade of which I may pass the heat of the day."

'Then, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory made a grove of palm trees, all of gold, at the entrance to the chamber of the Great Complex, under the shade of which he might pass the heat of the day.

28. 'Dhammo Ānanda pāsādo dvihi vedikāhi parik-khitto ahsi, ekā vedikā sovaṇṇamayā ekā rūpimayā; so-vaṇṇamayāya vedikāya sovaṇṇamayā thambhā ahesuṃ, rūpimayā sūciyo[5] ca uṇhīsañ ca; rūpimayāya vedikāya rūpimayā thambhā ahesuṃ, sovaṇṇamayā sūciyo ca uṇhīsañ ca.

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1. S[c] mahābyuhassa; S[dt] Mahāsuhassa, *afterwards*-vyūhassa *or*-vūhassa; B[m] K viyūhassa ; B[p] -viyuhassa, *afterwards* mahāvyuhassa (*never* ū).
2. SS *usually spell* kut°; BB *and* K kūt°
3. S[c] nisīdīti; S[dt] nisīfad
4. Mahāvyūhassa kutāgārassa dvāre. The 'Great Complex' contains a double allusion, in the same spirit in which the whole legend has been worked out: (1) To the Great Complex as a name of the Sun God regarded as a unity of the deities; and (2) To the Great Complex as a name of a particular kind of deep religious meditation or speculation.
5. S[c] suciyo, *and below.*

28. 'The Palace of Righteousnẹss, Ānanda, was surrounded by a double railing, One railing was of gold, and one was of silver. The golden railing had its posts of gold, and its cross bars and its figure head of silver. The silver railing had its posts of silver, and its cross bars and its figure-head of gold.

29. 'Dhammo Ānanda pāsādo dvīhi kiṅkiṇika-jālāhi[1] parikkhitto ahosi, ekaṃ jālaṃ sovaṇṇamayaṃ ekaṃ jālaṃ[2] rūpimayaṃ; sovaṇṇamayassa jālassa rūpimayā kiṅkiṇiyo[3] ahesuṃ, rūpimayassa jālassa sovaṇṇamayā kiṅ-kiṇiyo ahesuṃ. Tesaṃ kho pan' Ānanda kiṅkiṇika-jālānaṃ vāteritānaṃ saddo ahosi vaggu ca rajanīyo[4] ca kamanīyo[5] ca madanīyo[6] ca. Seyyathā Ānanda pañcaṅ-gikassa turiyassa suvinītassa suppa-tipatālitassa kusalehi samannāhatassa saddo hoti vaggu ca rajnīyo ca kamanīyo ca madanīyo ca, evam eva kho Ānanda tesaṃ kiṅkiṇika-jālānaṃ vāteritānaṃ saddo ahosi vaggu ca rajanīyo ca kamanīyo ca madanīyo ca. Ye kho pan' Ānanda tena samayena Kusāvatiyā rājadhāniyā dhuttā ahesuṃ soṇḍā pipāsā, te tesaṃ kiṅkiṇika-jālānaṃ vāteritānaṃ saddena parivāresuṃ[7].

29. 'The Palace of Righteousness, Ānanda, was hung round with two networks of bells. One network of bells was of gold, and one was of silver. The golden network had bells of silver, and the silver network had bells of gold.

'And when those networks of bells, Ānanda, were shaken by the wind there arose a sound sweet, and pleasant, and charming, and intoxicating.

'Just, Ānanda, as the seven kinds of instruments yield, when well played upon, to the skilful man, a sound sweet, and pleasant, and charming, and intoxicating—just even so, Ānanda,

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1. SS kiṅkinika; B^{mp} K kiṅkanika *throughout* ; B^{m} K jālehi.
2. S^{c} B^{m} K *omit, cp.* vedikā *above.*
3. B^{m} K kiṅkaṇiyo.
4. B^{m} K rajaniyo.
5. B^{m} khamaniyo; K khammaniyo, *and below, cp.* § 6.
6. K-niyo.
7. S^{ct} parivārayimsu; S^{d} parivāresuṃ; B^{mp} K paricā resuṃ.

when those networks of bells were shaken by the wind, there arose a sound sweet, and pleasant, and charming, and intoxicating.

'And whoever, Ānanda, in the royal city Kusāvatī were at that time gamblers, drunkards, and given to drink, they used to dance round together to the sound of those networks of bells when shaken by the wind.'

30. 'Niṭṭhito kho pan' Ānanda Dhammo pāsādo dudikkho[1] ahosi musati ckkhūni. Seyyathā pi Ānanda vassānaṃ pacchime māse sarada-samaye viddhe[2] vigata-valā-hake deve ādicco nabhaṃ abbhussukkamāno[3] dudikkho hoti musati cakkhūni, evam eva kho Ānanda Dhammo pāsādo dudikkho ahosi susati cakkūni.

30. 'When the Palace of Righteousness, Ānanda, was finished it was hard to look at, destructive to the eyes. Just, Ānanda, as in the last month of the rains in the autumn time, when the sky has become clear and the clouds have vanished away, the sun, springing up along the heavens, is hard to look at, and destructive to the eyes—just so, Ānanda, when the Palace of Righteousness was finished was it hard to look at, and destructive to the eyes."

31. 'Atha kho Ānanda rañño Mahā-sudassanassa etad ahosi: "Yan nunâhaṃ Dhammassa pāsādassa purato Dhammaṃ nāma pokkharaṇiṃ māpeyyan ti."

'Māpesi kho Ānanda rājā Mahā-sudassano Dhammassa pāsādassa purato Dhammaṃ nāma pokkharaṇiṃ.

'Dhammo[4] Ānanda pokkharaṇī puratthimena ca[5] pacchimena ca yojanaṃ āyāmena ca[6] ahosi, uttarena ca[7] dakkhiṇena ca addha[8]-yojanaṃ vitthārena.

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1. B^mp K duddikkho, *and below.*
2. B^mp viddhe; K visuddhe upaviddhe. SS *here* viṭṭhe; at A. i. 242, S. i. 65, It. 20 viddhe. *See* J. P. T. S., 1891, 73.
3. B^mp abbhuggamamāno; K abbhassak^o.
4. B^m K dhammā.
5. B^m *omits.*
6. B^m *omits.*
7. K *omits.*
8. B^m aḍḍha.

'Dhammo[1] Ānanda pokkharaṇī catunnaṃ vaṇṇānaṃ iṭṭhakāhi vitā ahosi, ekā iṭṭhakā sovaṇṇamayā, ekā rūpimayā, ekā veluriyamayā, ekā phalikamayā.

'Dhammāya ca[2] Ānanda pokkharaṇiyā catu-vīsati-sopānāni ahesuṃ catunnaṃ catunnaṃ vaṇṇānaṃ, ekaṃ sopānaṃ sovaṇṇamayaṃ, ekaṃ rūpimayaṃ, ekaṃ veḷuriya-mayaṃ, ekaṃ phalikamayaṃ. Sovaṇṇamayassa sopānassa sovaṇ-ṇamayā thambhā ahesuṃ rūpimayā sūciyo ca uṇhīsañ ca; rūpimayassa sopānassa rūpimayā thambhā ahesuṃ sovaṇ-ṇamayā sūciyo ca uṇhīsañ ca; veḷuriyamayatsa sopā-nassa veluriyamayā thambhā ahesuṃ phalikamayā sūcipo ca uṇhīsañ ca; phalikamayassa sopānassa phalikamayā thambhā ahesuṃ veḷuriyamayā sūciyo ca uṇhīsañ ca.

'Dhammo Ānanda pokkharaṇī dvīhi vedikāhi parik-khittā ahosi, ekā vedikā sovaṇṇamayā ekā rūpimayā; sovaṇṇamayāya vedikāya sovaṇṇamayā thambhā ahesuṃ rūpimayā sūciyo ca uṇhīsañ ca; rūpimayāya vedikāya rūpimayā thambhā ahesuṃ sovaṇṇamayā sūciyo ca uṇhīsañ ca.

31. 'Now there occurred, Ānanda, to the Great King of Glory this thought :—

' "Suppose, now, in front of the Palace of Righteousness, I were to make a Lotus-lake to bear the name of Righteous-ness'."

'Then, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory made a Lotus-lake to bear the name of "Righteousness".

'The Lake of Righteousness, Ānanda, was on the east and on the west a league in length, and on the north and on the south half a league in breadth.

'The Lake of Righteousness, Ānanda, was faced with tiles of four kinds. One kind of tile was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal.

'The Lake of Righteousness, Ānanda, had four and twenty flights of steps, of four different kinds. One flight of steps was

1. B^{m} K dhammā, *and twice below.*
2. B^{m} K *omits.*

of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal. The flight of golden steps had balustrades of gold, with the cross bars and the figure-head of silver. The flight of silver steps had balustrades of silver, with the cross bars and the figurehead of gold. The flight of beryl steps had balustrades of beryl, with the cross bars and the figure-head of crystal. The flight of crystal steps had balustrades of crystal, with cross bars and figure-head of beryl.

'Round the Lake of Righteousness, Ānanda, there ran a double railing. One railing was of gold, and one was of silver. The golden railing had its posts of gold, and its cross bars and its capitals of silver. The silver railing had its posts of silver, and its cross bars and its capitals of gold.

32. 'Dhammo Ānanda pokkharaṇī sattahi tāla-tantīhi parikkhittā ahosi, akā tāla-panti sovaṇṇamayā, ekā rūpi-mayā, ekā veḷuriyamayā, ekā phalikamayā, ekā lohi-taṅkamayā, dkā masāragallmayā, ekā sabbaratanamayā. Sovaṇṇamayassa tālassa sovaṇṇamayo khandho ahosi rūpimayāni pattāni ca phalāni ca. Rūpimayassa tālassa rūpimayo khandho ahosi sovaṇṇamayāni pattāni ca phalāni ca. Veḷuriyamayassa talassa veḷuriyamayo khandho ahosi phalikamayāni pattāni pattāni ca phalāni ca. Phalikamayassa tālassa phalikamayo khandho ahosi veḷuriyamayāni pattāni ca phalāni ca. Lohitaṅkamayassa tālassa lohitaṅka-mayo khandho ahosi masāragallamayāni pattāni ca phalāni ca. Masāragallamayassa tālassa masāragallamayo khan-dho ahosi lohitaṅkamayāni pattāni ca phalāni ca. Sab-baratanamayassa tālassa sabbaratanamayo khandho ahosi sabbaratanamayāni pattāni ca phalāni ca. Tāsaṃ kho pan' Ānanda tāla-pantīnaṃ vāteritānaṃ saddo ahosi vaggu ca rajanīyo ca kamanīyo[1] ca madanīyo ca. Seyyathā pi Ānanda pañcaṅgikassa turiyassa suvi-nītassa suppaṭipatālitassa kusalehi samannāhatassa saddo hoti vaggu ca rajanīyo ca kamanīyo ca madanīyo ca, evam eva kho Ānanda tāla-pantīnaṃ vāteritānaṃ saddo ahosi vaggu ca rajanīyo ca kamanīyo ca madanīyo ca. Ye kho pan' Ānanda

1. B[m] khamaniyo; K khammaniyo, *and below.*

tena samayena Kusāvatiyā rājadhāniyā dhuttā ahesuṃ soṇḍā pipāsā, te tāla-pantīnaṃ vāteritānaṃ saddena paricāresuṃ.[1]

32. 'The Lake of Righteousness, Ānanda, was surrounded by seven rows of palm trees. One row was of palms of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal, and one of agate, and one of coral, and one of all kinds of gems.

'And the golden palms had trunks of gold, and leaves and fruits of silver. And the silver palms had trunks of silver, and leaves and fruits of gold. And the palms of beryl had trunks of beryl, and leaves and fruits of crystal. And the crystal palms had trunks of crystal, and leaves and fruits of beryl. And the agate palms had trunks of agate, and leaves and fruits of coral. And the coral palms had trunks of coral, and leaves and fruits of agate. And the palms of every kind of gem had trunks and leaves and fruits of every kind of gem.

'And when those rows of palm trees, Ānanda, were shaken by the wind, there arose a sound sweet, and pleasant, and charming, and intoxicating.

'Just, Ānanda, as the seven kinds of instruments yield, when well played upon, to the skilful man, a sound sweet, and pleasant, and charming, and intoxicating,—just even so, Ānanda, when those rows of palm trees were shaken by the wind, there arose a sound sweet, and pleasant, and charming, and intoxicating.

'And whosoever, Ānanda, in the royal city Kusāvatī were at that time gamblers, drunkards, and given to drink, they used to dance round together to the sound of those palms when shaken by the wind."

33. 'Niṭṭhite kho pan' Ānanda Dhamme ca[2] **pāsāde**[3] **Dhammāya ca**[4] **pokkharaṇiyā, rājā Mahā-sudassano ye**[5] **tena samayena samaṇesu vā samaṇa-sammatā brāhmaṇesu vā**

1. SS parivāresum.
2. S^d va; B^m K *omits.*
3. B^m *inserts* niṭhitāya; K niṭṭhitāya ca.
4. K *omits.*
5. B^{mp} K *add* kho pna' Ānanda.

brāhmaṇa-sammatā te sabba-kāmehi santap-petvā Dhammaṃ pāsādaṃ abhirūhi.[1]

33. 'When the Palace of Righteousness, Ānanda, was finished, and the Lotus-lake of Righteousness was finished, the Great King of Glory entertained with all good things those of the Wanderers who, at that time, were held in high esteem, and those of the brahmins who, at that time, were held in high esteem. Then he ascended up into the Palace of Righteousness.'

Paṭhamaka[2]-Bhāṇavāraṃ

End of the First Portion for Recitation.

1. Ṭ -hīti.
2. Bᵐ paṭhama-.

CHAPTER II

2. 1. 'Atha kho Ānanda raññо Mahā-sudassanassa etad ahosi: "Kissa nu kho me idaṃ[1] kammassa phalaṃ, kissa kammassa vipāko, yenâhaṃ etarahi evaṃ mahiddhikho evaṃ mahânubhāvo ti ?"

'Atha kho Ānanda raññо Mahā-sudassanassa etad ahosi: "Tiṇṇaṃ kho me idaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ, tiṇṇaṃ kammānaṃ vipāko, yenâhaṃ etarahi evaṃ mahid-dhiko evaṃ mahânubhāvo, seyyathîdaṃ, dānassa damassa saṃyamassâti."[2]

1. 'Now there occurred, Ānanda, this thought to the Great King of Glory :—

' "Of what previous character, now, may this be the fruit, of what previous character the result, that I am now so mighty and so great ?"

'And then occurred, Ānanda, to the Great King of Glory this thought:—

' "Of three qualities is this the fruit, of three qualities the result, that I am now so mighty and so great,— that is to say, of giving, of self-conquest, and of self-control[3]." '

2. 'Atha kho Ānanda rājā Mahā-sudassano yena Mahā-vyūhaṃ kūṭâgāraṃ ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Mahā-vyūhassa kūṭâgārassa dvāre ṭhito udānaṃ udānesi: "Tiṭṭha kāma-vitakka! Tiṭṭha vyāpāda-vitakka! Tiṭṭha vihiṃsā-

1. S[cd] imaṃ.
2. K saññamassâti.
3. I have here translated kamma by 'previous character' and by 'quality.' The easiest plan would, no doubt, have been to preserve in the translation the technical term karma, which is explained at some length in 'Buddhism,' pp. 99-106.

vitakka! Ettāvatā kāma-vitakka ! Ettāvatā vyāpāda-vitakka! Ettāvatā vihiṃsā-vitakkâti!"

2. ' Now the Great King of Glory, Ānanda, ascended up into the chamber of the Great Complex; and there he broke out into a cry of intense emotion :—

' "Stay here, O thoughts of lust!
Stay here, O thoughts of ill-will!
Stay here, O thoughts of hatred!
Thus far only, O thoughts of lust!
Thus far only, O thoughts of ill-will!
Thus far only, O thoughts of hatred!"

3. 'Atha kho Ānanda rājā Mahā-sudassano Mahā-vyūhaṃ kuṭâgāraṃ pavisitvā sovaṇṇamaye pallaṅke nisinnlo, vivice' eva kāmehi vivicca akusalehi dhammehi savitakkaṃ savicāraṃ vivekajaṃ pīti-sukhaṃ paṭhamaj-jhānaṃ[1] upasampajja vihāsi. Vittakka-vicārānaṃ vūpe-samā ajjhattaṃ sampasādanaṃ cetaso ekodibhāvaṃ avitak-kaṃ avicāraṃ samādhijaṃ piti-sukhaṃ dutiyajjhānaṃ upasampajja vihāsi. Pītiyā ca virāgā upekhako ca vihāsi sato[2] sampajāno sukhañ ca kāyena paṭisaṃvedeti yan taṃ ariyā ācikkhanti "upekhako satimā sukha-vihārī" ti tatiyajjhānaṃ upasampajja vihāsi. Sukhassa ca pahānā dukkhassa ca pahānā bubb' eva somanassa-domanassānaṃ atthagamā[3] adukkhaṃ asukhaṃ upekhā-sati pārisuddhiṃ catutthajjhānaṃ upasampajja vihāsi.

3. 'And when, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory-had entered the chamber of the Great Complex, and had seated himself upon the couch of gold, having put away all passion and all unrighteousness, he entered into, and remained in, the First Rapture,—a state of joy and ease, born of seclusion, full of reflection, full of investigation.

'By suppressing reflection and investigation, he entered into and remained in, the Second Rapture,— a state of joy and

1. ŁB *always* paṭhamaṃ jhānaṃ, etc.
2. B^mp *add* ca.
3. B^np K atthaṅgamā.

ease, born of serenity, without reflection, without investigation, a state of elevation of mind, of internal calm.

'By absence of the longing after joy, he remained indifferent, conscious, self-possessed, experiencing in his body that ease which the noble ones announce, saying:— "The man indifferent and self-possessed is well at ease," and thus he entered into, and remained in, the Third Rapture.

'By putting away ease, by putting away pain, by the previous dying away both of gladness and of sorrow, he entered into, and remained in, the Fourth Rapture,— a state of purified self-possession and equanimity, without ease, and without pain[1].

4. 'Atha kho Ānanda rājā Mahā-sudassano Mahā-vyūhā kūṭâgārā nikkhamitvā sovaṇṇamayaṃ kūṭâgāraṃ pavisitvā rūpimaye pallaṅke nisinno mettā-sahagatena,cetasā ekaṃ disaṃ pharitvā vihāsi, tathā dutiyaṃ, tathā tatiyaṃ, tathā catutthaṃ. Iti uddham adho tiriyaṃ sabbadhi sabbattatāya sabbāvantaṃ lokaṃ mettā-saha-gatena cetasā vipilena mahaggatena appamāṇena averena avyāpajjhena pharitvā vihāsi . . . karuṇā-sahagatena cetasā . . . muditā-sahagatena cetasā . . . muditā-sahagatena cetasā . . . upekhā-sahagatena cetasā ekaṃ dosaṃ pharitvā vihāsi, tathā dutiyaṃ tathā tatiyaṃ, tathā catutthaṃ. Iti uddham adho tiriyaṃ sabbadhi sabbattatāya sabbāvantaṃ lokaṃ upekhā-sahagatena cetasā vipulena mahaggatena appa-māṇena averena avyāpajjhena pharitvā vihāsi.

4. 'Then, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory went out from the chamber of the Great Complex, and entered the golden chamber and sat himself down on the silver couch. And he let his

1. The above paragraphs are an endeavour to express the inmost feelings when they are first strung to the uttermost by the intense effects of deep religious emotion, and then feel the effects of what may be called, for want of a better word, the reaction. Most deeply religious natures have passed through such a crisis; and though the feelings are perhaps really indescribable, this passage is dealing, not with a vain mockery, but with a very real event in spritual experience. It implies neither hypnotism nor trance.

mind pervade one quarter of the world with thoughts of Love; and so the second quarter, and so the third, and so the fourth. And thus the whole wide world, above, below, around, and everywhere, did he continue to pervade with heart of Love, far-reaching, grown great, and beyond measure, free from the least trace of anger or ill-will.

'And he let his mind pervade one quarter of the world with thoughts of Pity ; and so the second quarter, and so the third, and so the fourth. And thus the whole wide world, above, below, around, and everywhere, did he continue to pervade with heart of Pity, far-reaching, grown great, and beyond measure, free from the least trace of anger or ill-will.

'And he let his mind pervade one quarter of the world with thoughts of Sympathy; and so the second quarter, and so the third, and so the fourth. And thus the whole wide world above, below, around, and everywhere, did he continue to pervade with heart of Sympathy, far reaching, grown great, and beyond measure, free from the least trace of anger or ill-will.

'And he let his mind pervade one quarter of the world with thoughts of Equanimity[1] ; and so the second quarter, and so the third, and so the fourth. And thus the whole wide world, above, below, around, and everywhere, did he continue to pervade with heart of Equanimity, far-reaching, grown great, and beyond measure, free from the least trace of anger or ill-will.

5. ' Rañño Ānanda Mahā-sudassanassa caturāsīti-nagara-sahassāni[2] ahesuṃ Kusāvatī-rājadhāni-pamukhāni;

'Caturāsīti-pāsāda-sahassāni ahesuṃ Dhamma-pāsāda-pamukhāni;

'Caturāsīti-kuṭâra-sahassāni ahesuṃ Mahā-vyūha-kutâgāra-pamukhāni;

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1. These are the four Appamaññas or infinite feelings, also called (e.g. below, § 13) the four Brahma-vihāras or Sublime Conditions. They are here very appropriately represented to follow immediately after the state of feeling described in the Raptures; but they ought to be the constant companions of a good Buddhist.
2. S[c] *often, and* S[dt] *occasionally* asītiṃ. *See* p. 3.

'Caturāsīti-pallaṅka-sahassāni ahesuṃ sovaṇṇamayāni rūpimayāni dantamayāni sāramayāni[1] gonakatthatāni[2] paṭalikatthatāni[3] kadali-miga[4]-paccattharaṇāni sa-uttara-cchadanāni[5] ubhato lohitakûpadhānāni[6];

'Catūrāsīti-nā-sahassāni ahesuṃ sovaṇṇâlaṅkārāni sovaṇṇa-dhajāni hema-jāla paṭicchannāni Uposatha-nāgarāja-pamukhāni;

'Caturāsīti-assa-sahassāni ahesuṃ sovaṇṇâlaṅkārāni sovaṇṇa-dhajāni hema-jāla-paṭicchannāni Valāhaka-assarāja-pamukhāni;

'Caturāsīti-ratha-sahassāni ahesuṃ sīha-camma-parivārāni vyaggha-camma-parivārāni[7] dīpi-camma-parivārāni paṇḍu-kambala-parivārāni sovaṇṇâlaṅkārāni sovaṇṇ-dhajāni hema-jāla-paṭicchannāni Vejayanta-ratha-pamu-khāni;

'Caturāsīti-maṇi-sahassāni ahesuṃ maṇi-ratana-pamukhāni;

'Caturāsīti-itthi-sahassāni ahesuṃ Subhadda-devī-pamukhāni;

'Caturāsīti-gahapati-sahassāni ahesuṃ gahapati-ratana-pamukhāni;

'Caturāsīti-khattiya-sahassāni ahesuṃ anuyuttāni[8] pariṇāyaka-ratana-pamukhāni ;

'Caturāsīti-dhenu-sahassāni ahesuṃ dukūla[9]-sanda-nāni[10] kaṅsûpadhāraṇāni[11];

'Caturāsīti-vattha-koṭi-sahassāni ahesuṃ khoma-

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1. K masāragallamayāni.
2. K *inserts* paṭikatthatāni; *so* B^{m} *which, however, omits* paṭalik°.
3. B^{p} paṭilakkhatāni.
4. B^{m} K *add* pavara.
5. B^{mp} K cchadāni.
6. S^{dt} B^{m} lohitakupa°.
7. B^{mp} K *throughout* byaggha.
8. B^{mp} K anuyantāni *throughout;* k (Sī) anuyuttāni.
9. S^{c} dukula; B^{mp} K duha ; K (Sī) dukula.
10. S^{c} saṃsandanāni.
11. S^{c} kiṅsupadhāranāni; K (Sī) kaṅsûpasandanāni.

sukhumānaṃ kappāsika-sukhumānaṃ[1] koseyya-sukhumā-naṃ[2] kambala-sukhumānaṃ;

'[3] Caturāsīti-thālipāka-sahassāni ahesuṃ sāyapātaṃ[4] bhattâbhihāro abhihariyittha.[5]

5. 'The Great King of Glory, Ānanda, had four and eighty thousand cities, the chief of which was the royal city of Kusāvatī:

'Four and eighty thousand palaces, the chief of which was the Palace of Righteousness :

'Four and eighty thousand chambers, the chief of which was the chamber of the Great Complex :

'Four and eighty thousand divans, of gold, and silver, and ivory, and sandal wood, spread with longhaired rugs, and cloths embroidered with flowers, and magnificent antelope skins; covered with lofty canopies; and provided at both ends with purple cushions :

'Four and eighty thousand state elephants, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network,—of which the king of elephants, called "the Changes of the Moon," was chief:

'Four and eighty thousand state horses, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network,—of which "Thunder-cloud," the king of horses, was the chief:

'Four and eighty thousand chariots, with coverings of the skins of lions, and of tigers, and of panthers,—of which the chariot called "the Flag of Victory" was the chief:

'Four and eighty thousand gems, of which the Wondrous Gem was the chief:

'Four and eighty thousand wives, of whom Subhaddā, the Queen of Glory[6], was the chief:

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1. S^t *omits.*
2. S^d *omits.*
3. B^mp K *insert* Raññо Ānanda Mahā-Sudassanassa.
4. B^mp K *always and* S^t *occasionally* sāyaṃ pātaṃ.
5. S^cd abhihāriy°; S^t abhihārīy°; B^p abhihariy°; K abhiharay°.
6. Subhaddā Devī. Subhaddā, 'glorious, magnificent,'is a not uncommon name both for men and women in Buddhist and post-Buddhistic Hindu literature.

'Four and eighty thousand yeomen, of whom the Wonderful Steward was the chief :

'Four and eighty thousand nobles, of whom the Wonderful Adviser was the chief:

'Four and eighty thousand cows, with jute trappings, and horns tipped with bronze :

'Four and eighty thousand myriads of garments, of delicate textures, of flax, and cotton, and silk, and wool:

'Four and eighty thousand dishes, in which, in the evening and in the morning rice was served[1].'

6. 'Tena kho pan' Ānanda samayena rañño Mahā-sudassanassa caturāsīti-nāga-sahassāni sāyapātaṃ upaṭṭhānaṃ āgacchanti.[2] Atha kho Ānanda rañño Mahā-sudassanassa etad ahosi: "Iāni kho me caturāsīti-nāga-sahassāni nāyapātaṃ upaṭṭhānaṃ āgacchanti. Yan nūna[3] vassa-satassa vassa-satassa accayena dve cattā-rīsaṃ[4] nāga-sahassāni[5] dve cattārīsaṃ nāga-sahassāni[5] sakiṃ sakiṃ upaṭṭhānaṃ āgaccheyyun ti."

'Atha kho Ānanda rājā Mahā-sudassano pariṇāyaka-ratanaṃ āmantesi: "Imāni kho me samma pariṇāyaka-ratana caturāsīti-nāga-sahassāni sāyapātaṃ upaṭṭhānaṃ āgacchanti, tena hi samma pariṇāyaka-ratana vassa-satassa vassa-satassa accayena dve cattārīsaṃ [6]nāga-sahassāni[6] dve cattārīsaṃ nāga-sahassāni sakiṃ sakiṃ upaṭṭhānaṃ āgacchantûti."

' "Evaṃ devâti" kho Ānanda pariṇāyaka-ratanaṃ rañño Mahā-sudassanassa paccassosi. Atha kho Ānanda rañño Mahā-sudassanassa aparena samāyena vassa-satassa vassa-

1. Most of the trappings and cloths here mentioned are the same as those referred to in the Moralities translated above, Vol. I, pp. 11, 12. The whole paragraph is four times repeated below.
2. SS gacchanti.
3. SS nūnâhaṃ.
4. B[m] K cattāḷīsaṃ.

5.5. S[c] *omits, but not in the repetitions;* B[m] *omits* : K *omits the first* nāgasanassāni.

6.6. B[m] K *omit, and below.*

satassa accayena dve cattārīsaṃ nāga-sahassāni dve cattārīsaṃ nāga-sahassāni sakiṃ sakiṃ upaṭṭhānaṃ āgamaṃsu.

6. 'Now at that time, Ānanda, the four and eighty thousand state elephants used to come every evening and every morning to be of service to the Great King of Glory.

'And this thought occurred to the Great King of Glory :—

' "These eighty-four thousand elephants come every evening and every morning to be of service to me. Suppose, now, I were to let the elephants come in alternate forty-two thousands, once each, every alternate hundred years!"

'Then, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory said to the Great Adviser :—

' "O, my friend, the Great Adviser! these eighty-four thousand elephants come every evening and every morning to be of service to me. Now, let the elephants come, O my friend, the Great Adviser, in alternate forty-two thousands, once each, every alternate hundred years!'

' "Even so, lord !" said the Wonderful Adviser, in assent, to the Great King of Glory.

'From that time forth, Ānanda, the elephants came in alternate forty-two thousands, once each, every alternate hundred years.'

7. 'Atha kho Ānanda Subhaddāya deviyā bahunnaṃ vassānaṃ bahunnaṃ vassa-satānaṃ bahunnuṃ vasa-sata-sahassānaṃ[1] accayena etad ahosi: "Cira-diṭṭho kho[2] me rājā Mahā-sudassano, yan nūnâhaṃ rājānaṃ Mahā-sudassanaṃ dassanāya upasaṁkameyyan ti."

'Atha kho Ānanda Subhadda devī itthâgāraṃ āmantesi: "Etha tumhe sīsāni nahāyatha[3] pītāni vatthāni pārū-patha,[4]

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1. Bm K *omit* sata.
2. Bmp K ciraṃ; Sc -diṭṭhi kho; Sdt -diṭṭhiko; Bm K diṭṭho kho; Bp ṭhito kho. *In the repetition all MSS.* diṭṭho.
3. Sc nahāyata; Bp nāyataṃ; Bm nhāyatha; K sīsa-nhāyatha (*and below*).
4. K pārupo (*and below*).

cira-diṭṭho[1] no rājā Mahā-sudassano, rājānaṃ Mahā-sudassanaṃ dassanāya upasaṃkamissāmâti."

' "Evaṃ ayye[2] ti" kho Ānanda itthâgāraṃ Subhaddāya deviyā paṭissutvā[3] sīsaṃ[4] nahāyitvā[5] pītāni vatthāni pārūpitvā yena Subhaddā devī ten' upasaṃkami.

'Atha kho Ānanda Subhaddā devī pariṇāyaka-ratanaṃ āmantesi: "Kappehi samma pariṇāyaka-ratana caturaṅ-giniṃ senaṃ. Cira-diṭṭho no rājā Mahā-sudassano, rājānaṃ Mahā-sudassanaṃ dassanāya upasaṃkamissāmâti."

' "Evaṃ devī" ti kho Ānanda pariṇāyaka-ratanaṃ Subhaddāya deviyā paṭissutvā caturaṅginiṃ senaṃ kap-pāpetvā Subhaddāya deviyā paṭivedesi: " Kappitā kho te devi caturaṅgini-senā, yassa dāni kālaṃ maññasīti."

7. 'Now, Ānanda, after the lapse of many years, of many hundred years, of many thousand years, there occurred to the Queen of Glory this thought:—

' "Tis long since I have beheld the Great King of Glory. Suppose, now, I were to go and visit the Great King of Glory."

'Then, Ānanda, the Queen of Glory said to the women of the harem :—

' "Arise now, dress your hair, and clothe yourselves in fresh raiment. 'Tis long since we have beheld the Great King of Glory. Let us go and visit the Great King of Glory!"

' "Even so, lady!" said the women of the harem, Ānanda, in assent, to the Queen of Glory. And they dressed their hair, and clad themselves in fresh raiment, and came near to the Queen of Glory.

'Then, Ānanda, the Queen of Glory said to the Great Adviser :—

' "Arrange, O Great Adviser, the fourfold army in array. Tis long since I have beheld the Great King of Glory. I am about to go to visit the Great King of Glory."

1. B^{m} K ciraṃ.
2. S^{dt} ayyā.
3. B^{p} paṭisutvā; K paṭissuṇitvā.
4. B^{mp} sīsani.
5 B^{m} nhāy°; B^{p} nāyitvā.

' "Even so, O Queen!" said the Great Adviser, Ānanda, in assent, to the Queen of Glory. And he set the fourfold army in array, and had the fact announced to the Queen of Glory in the words :—

' "The fourfold army, O Queen, is set for thee in array. Do now whatever seemeth to thee fit."

8. 'Atha kho Ānanda Subhaddā devī caturaṅginiyā senāya saddhiṃ itthâgārena yena Dhammo pāsādo ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā dhammaṃ pāsādaṃ abhirūhitvā yena Mahā-vyūhaṃ kūṭâgāraṃ ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Mahā-vyūhassa kūtârassa dvāra-bāhaṃ ālambitvā aṭṭhāsi.

'Atha kho Ānanda rājā Mahā-sudassano[1]: "Kin nu kho[2] mahato viya jana-kāyassa saddo ?" ti Mahā-vyūhā kūṭâgārā nikkhamanto addasa Subhaddaṃ deviṃ dvāra-bāhaṃ ālambitvā ṭhitaṃ. Disvā Subhaddaṃ deviṃ etad avoca: "Etth' eva devi[3] tiṭṭha, mā pāvisiti."[4]

8. 'Then, Ānanda, the Queen of Glory, with the fourfold army, repaired, with the women of the harem, to the Palace of Righteousness. And when she had arrived there she mounted up into the Palace of Righteousness, and went on to the chamber of the Great Complex. And when she had reached it, she stopped and leant against the side of the door.

'When, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory heard the noise he thought:—

' "What, now, may this noise, as of a great multitude of people, mean ?"

'And going out from the chamber of the Great Complex, he beheld the Queen of Glory standing leaning up against the side of the door. And when he beheld her, he said to the Queen of Glory :—

' "Stop there, O Queen ! Enter not!" '

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1. BB *and* K *add* saddaṃ sutvā.
2. K *adds* so.
3. B[m] devī.
4. B[m] pāvīsīti.

9. 'Atha kho Ānanda[1] rājā Mahā-sudassano aññataraṃ purisaṃ āmantesi: "Ehi tvaṃ ambho purisa Mahā-vyūhā kūṭâgārā sovaṇṇamayaṃ pallaṅkaṃ nīharitvā[2] sabba-sovaṇṇamaye tāla-vane paññāpehīti."[3]

' "Evaṃ devâti" kho Ānanda so puriso rañño Mahā-sudassanassa paṭissutvā Mahā-vyūhā kūṭâgārā sovaṇṇa-mayaṃ pallaṅkaṃ nīharitvā sabba-sovaṇnamaye tāla-vene paññāpesi.

'Atha kho Ānanda rājā Mahā-sudassano dakkhiṇena passena sīha-seyyaṃ kappesi pāde[4] pādaṃ accādhāya[5] sato sampajāno.

9. ' Then the Great King of Glory, Ānanda, said to one of his attendants :—

' "Arise, good man! take the golden couch out of the chamber of the Great Complex, and make it ready under that grove of palm trees which is all of gold."

' "Even so, lord!" said the man, in assent, to the Great King of Glory. And he took the golden couch out of the chamber of the Great Complex, and made it ready under that grove of palm trees which was all of gold.

'Then, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory laid himself down in the dignified way a lion does ; and lay with one leg resting on the other, calm and self-possessed.'

10. 'Atha kho Ānanda Subhaddāya deviyā etad ahosi: "Vippasannāni kho rañño Mahā-sudassanassa indriyāni, parisuddho[6] chavi-vaṇṇo pariyodāto, mā h'eva kho rājā Mahā-sudassano kālam akāsîti."

'Rājānaṃ Manā-sudassanaṃ etad avoca: "Imāni kho[7] te[8] deva caturāsīti-nagara-sahassāni Kusāvatī-rājadhāni-

1. SS *omit.*
2. B^{m} hiharitvā , *and below.*
3. B^{m} K paññap°.
4. B^{mp} K pādena.
5. S^{d} accādāya; B^{p} acchādhāya.
6. K parisuddhām.
7. B^{m} K *omit.*
8. S^{d} B^{p} *omit.*

pamukhāni, ettha deva chandaṃ janehi, jīvite apekhaṃ[1] karohi.

'Imāni te deva caturāsīti-pāsāda-sahassāni Dhamma-pāsāda-pamukhāni, ettha deva chandaṃ janehi, jīvite apekhaṃ karohi.

'Imāni te deva caturāsīti-kūṭâgāra-sahassāni Mahā-vyūha-kūṭâgāra-pamukhāni, ettha deva chandaṃ janehi, jīvite apekhaṃ karohi.

'Imāni te deva caturāsīti-pallaṅka-sahassāni sovaṇṇa-mayāni rūpimayāni dantamayāni sāramayāni goṇakat-thatāni paṭalikatthatāni kadali-miga-paccattharaṇāni sa-uttaraccha-danāni ubhato lohitakûpadhānāni, ettha deva chandaṃ janehi, jīvite apekhaṃ karohi.

' "Imāni te deva caturāsīti nāga sahassāni sovaṇṇâlaṅ-kārānisovaṇṇ-dhajāni hema-jāla-paṭicchannāni Uposatha-nāgarāja-pamukhāni, ettha deva chandaṃ jenehi jīvite apekhaṃ karohi.

' "Imāni te deva caturāsīti-assa-sahassāni sovaṇṇâlaṅ-kārānisovaṇṇ-dhajāni hema-jāla-paṭicchannāni Valāhaka-assarāja-pamukhāni, ettha deva chandaṃ jenehi jīvite apekhaṃ karohi.

' "Imāni te deva caturāsīti-ratha-sahassāni sīha-camma-parivārāni vyaggha-camma-parivārāni dīpi-camma-parivā-rāni paṇḍu-kambala-parivārāni sovaṇṇâlaṅkārāni sovaṇṇâ-dhajāni hema-jāla-paṭicchannāni Vejayanta-ratha-pamukhāni, ettha deva chandaṃ jenehi jīvite apekhaṃ karohi.

' "Imāni te deva caturāsīti-maṇi-sahassāni Maṇi-ratana-pamukhāni, ettha deva chandaṃ jenehi jīvite apekhaṃ karohi.

' "Imāni te deva caturāsīti-itthi-sahassāni Itthi-ratana-pamukhāni, ettha deva chandaṃ jenehi jīvite apekhaṃ karohi.

' "Imāni te deva caturāsīti-gahapati-sahassāni Gahapati-ratana-pamukhāni, ettha deva chandaṃ jenehi jīvite apekhaṃ karohi.

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1. S[d] *occasionally* apekhakaṃ; S[t] āpekhaṃ, *and so afterwards;* B[mp] K *throughout* apekkhaṃ.

‘ “Imāni te deva caturāsīti-khattiya sahassāni anuyuttāni pariṇāyaka-ratana-pamukhāni, ettha deva chandaṃ janehi, jīvite apekhaṃ karohi.

‘ “Imāni te deva caturāsīti-dhenu-sahassāni dudūla-sandanāni kaṅpadhārāni, ettha deva chandaṃ janehi, jīvite apekhaṃ karohi.

‘ “Imāni te deva caturāsīti-vattha-koṭi-sahassāni khoma-sukhumānaṃ kappāsika-sukhumānaṃ koseyya-sukhumānaṃ kambala-sukhumānaṃ, ettha deva chandaṃ janehi, jīvite apekhaṃ karohi.

‘ “Imāni te deva thālipāka-sahassāni sāyapātaṃ bhattâbhihāro abhihariyittha,[1] ettha deva chandaṃ janehi, jīvite apekhaṃ kārohîti.”

10. ‘Then, Ānanda, there occurred to the Queen of Glory this thought:—

‘ “How calm are all the limbs of the Great King of Glory! How clear and bright is his appearance! O may it not be that the Great King of Glory is dead[2]!’

‘ And she said to the Great King of Glory :—

‘ “ Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand cities, the chief of which is the royal city of Kusāvatī. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these ! quicken thy longing after life ! [191]

‘ “Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand palaces, the chief of which is the Palace of Righteousness. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these, quicken thy longing after life.

‘ “Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand chambers, the chief of which is the chamber of the Great Complex. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these, quicken thy longing after life.

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1. S[d] abhihāriyittha; S[t] bhihārīyittha; B[p] atihariyati; B[m] abhihariyati; K abbhiharayitta.
2. On the approach of death, explains the commentator, people are transfigured, shine forth. This idea may be the source of the legend of the Transfiguration translated above, p. 146, ‘Book of the Great Decease,’ IV, 37.

' "Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand divans, of gold, and silver, and ivory, and sandal wood, spread with long-haired rugs, and cloths embroidered with flowers, and magnificent antelope skins, covered with lofty canopies, and provided at both ends with purple cushions. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these, quicken thy longing after life.

' "Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand state elephants, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network,—of which the king of elephants, called ' the Changes of the Moon,' is chief. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these, quicken thy longing after life.

' "Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand state horses, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network,—of which 'Thundercloud,' the king of horses, is the chief. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these, quicken thy longing after life.

' "Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand chariots, with coverings of the skins of lions, and of tigers, and of panthers,—of which the chariot called 'the Flag of Victory' is the chief. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these, quicken thy longing after life.

' "Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand gems, of which the Wondrous Gem is the chief. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these, quicken thy longing after life.

' "Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand wives, of whom the Queen of Glory is the chief. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these, quicken thy longing after life.

' "Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand yeomen, of whom the Wonderful Steward is the chief. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these, quicken thy longing after life.

' "Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand nobles, of whom the Wonderful Adviser is the chief. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these, quicken thy longing after life.

' "Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand cows, with jute trappings, and horns tipped with bronze. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these, quicken thy longing after life.

' "Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand myriads of garments, of delicate textures, of flax, and cotton, and silk, and wool. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these, quicken thy longing after life.

' "Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand dishes, in which, in the evening and in the morning, rice is served. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these, quicken thy longing after life." '

11. 'Evaṃ vutte Ānanda[1] rājā Mahā-sudassano Subhaddaṃ[2] deviṃ[3] etad avoca: "Dīgha-rattaṃ kho maṃ[4] tvaṃ[5] devi iṭṭhehi[6] kantehi manāpehi[7] samudācaritvā,[8] atha ca pna maṃ tvaṃ pacchime kāle aniṭṭheni akantehi[9] amanāpehi samudācarasîti."

' "Kathañ carahi taṃ deva samudācarāmîti ?"

' "Evaṃ kho maṃ tvaṃ devi samudācara: Sabbeh' eva deva[10] piyehi manāpehi nānā-bhāvo vinā-bhāvo aññathā-bhāvo. Mā kho tvaṃ deva[11] sâpekho kālam akāsi. Dukkhā sâpekhassa kāla-kiriyā,[12] garahitā ca sâpekhassa kāla-kiriyā.

' "Imāni te deva caturāsīti-nagara-sahassāni Kusāvatī-rājadhāni-pamukhāni, etha deva chandaṃ pajaha, jīvite apekhaṃ[13] [14]mā akāsi.[14]

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1. SS *omit.*
2. S^c Subhadda.
3. S^c deviṃ.
4. S^c man; S^t pana.
5. S^c taṃ.
6. S^c iddhehi; S^dt idhehi; B^mp iṭhehi.
7. S^dt *omit;* B^m pīyehi man°.
8. B^mp samudācarittha.
9. B^m *inserts* apīyehi.
10. K *omits* (*here only*).
11. S^c āve; S^dt Ānanda deva.
12. B^mp kālaṃ, *and below*
13. K apekkhaṃ (*and onwards*).
14. S^cd B^m makasi *throughout;* S^t *in the first two clauses* mā karohi, *afterwards* mākāsi.

' "Imāni te deva caturāsīti-pāsāda-sahassāni[1] Dhamma-pāsā-pamukhāni, ettha deva chandaṃ pajaha, jīvite apekhaṃ mā akāsi.

' "Imāni te deva caturāsīti-kūṭâgāra-sahassāni[2] Mahā-vyūha-kūtâgāra-pamukhāni, ettha deva chandaṃ pajaha, jīvite apekhaṃ mā akāsi.

' "Imāni te deva caturāsīti-pallaṅka-sahassāni sovaṇṇa-mayāni rūpimayāni dantamayāni sāramayāni goṇakat-thatāni paṭalikatthatāni kadali-miga-paccattharaṇāni sa-uttaracchadanāni ubhato lohitakûpadhānāni, ettha deva chandaṃ pajaha, jīvite apekhaṃ mā akāsi.

' "Imāni te deva caturāsīti-nāga-sahassāni sovaṇṇ-âlaṅkārāni sovaṇṇa-dhajāni hema-jāla-paṭicchannāni Uposatha-nāgarāja-pamukhāni, ettha deva chandaṃ pajaha, jīvite apekhaṃ mā akāsi.

' "Imāni te deva caturāsīti assa-sahassāni sovaṇṇ-âlaṅkārāni sovaṇṇa-dhajāni hema-jāla-paṭicchannāni Valā-haka-assarāja-pamukhāni, ettha deva chandaṃ pajaha, jīvite apekhaṃ mā akāsi.

' "Imāni te deva caturāsīti ratha-sahassāni sīha-camma-parivārani vyaggha-comma-parivārāni paṇḍu-kambala-parivārāni sovaṇṇâlaṅkārāni sovaṇṇa-dhajāni hema-jāla-paṭicchannāni Vejayanta-ratha-pamukhāni, ettha deva chandaṃ pajaha, jīvite apekhaṃ mā akāsi.

' "Imāni te deva caturāsīti maṇi-sahassāni Maṇi-ratana-pamukhāni, ettha deva chandaṃ pajaha, jīvite apekhaṃ mā akāsi.

' "Imāni te deva caturāsīti itthi-sahassāni Subhaddā-devi-pamukhāni, ettha deva chandaṃ pajaha, jīvite apekhaṃ mā akāsi.

' "Imāni te deva caturāsīti-gahapati-sahassāni Gaha-pati-ratana pamukhāni, ettha deva chandaṃ pajaha, jīvite apekhaṃ mā akāsi.

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1. K pa *down to* mā akāsi.
2. K pa *down to the first* mā akāsi.

' "Imāni te deva caturāsīti-khattiya-sahassāni anuyuttāni Pariṇāyaka-ratana-pamukhāni, ettha deva chandaṃ pajaha, jīvite apekhaṃ mā akāsi.

' "Imāni te deva caturāsīti-dhenu-sahassāni dukūla-sandanāni kaṅsûpadhāraṇāni, ettha deva chandaṃ pajaha, jīvite apekhaṃ mā akāsi.

' "Imāni te deva caturāsīti-vattha-koṭi-sahassāni khoma-sukhumānaṃ kappāsika-sukhumānaṃ koseyya-sukhumā-naṃ kambala-sukhumānaṃ, ettha deva chandaṃ pajaha, jīvite apekhaṃ mā akāsi.

' "Imāni te deva caturāsīti-thālipāka-sahassāni sāya-pātaṃ bhattâbhihāro abhihariyaittha,[1] ettha deva chandaṃ pajaha, jīvite apekhaṃ mā akāsi.

11. 'When she had thus spoken, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory said to the Queen of Glory :—

' "Long hast thou addressed me, O Queen, in pleasant words, much to be desired, and sweet. Yet now in this last time you speak in words unpleasant, disagreeable, not to be desired."

' "How then, O King, shall I address thee ?"

' "Thus, O Queen, shouldst thou address me—The nature of all things near and dear to us, O King, is such that we must leave them, divide ourselves from them, separate ourselves from them[2] Pass not away, O King, with longing in thy heart. Sad is the death of him who longs, unworthy is the death of him who longs[3]. Think, O King, are these four and eighty thousand cities, the chief of which is the royal city of Kusāvatī. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

' "Think, O King, are these four and eighty thousand palaces, the chief of which is the Palace of Righteousness. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

' "Think, O King, are these four and eighty thousand

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1. S[c] abhiharīyittha; B[m] abhihariyati; K abhiharayitha. *See* p. 197.
2. The Pāli words are the same as those at the beginning of the constantly repeated longer phrase to the same effect in the ' Book of the Great Decease.'
3. Compare Jātaka, No. 34.

chambers, the chief of which is the chamber of the Great Complex. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

' "Think, O King, are these four and eighty thousand divans, of gold, and silver, and ivory, and sandalwood, spread with long-haired rugs, and cloths embroidered with flowers, and magnificent antelope skins, covered with lofty canopies, and provided at both ends with purple cushions. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

' "Think, O King, are these four and eighty thousand state elephants, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network,—of which the king of elephants, called ' the Changes of the Moon,' is the chief. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

' "Think, O King, are these four and eighty thousand state horses, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network,—of which 'Thundercloud,' the king of horses, is the chief. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

' "Think, O King, are these four and eighty thousand chariots, with coverings of the skins of lions, and of tigers, and of panthers,—of which the chariot called 'the Flag of Victory' is the chief. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

' "Think, O King, are these four and eighty thousand gems, of which the Wondrous Gem is the chief. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

' "Think, O King, are these four and eighty thousand wives, of which the Queen of Glory is the chief. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

' "Think, O King, are these four and eighty thousand yeomen, of whom Wonderful Steward is the chief. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

' "Think, O King, are these four and eighty thousand nobles, of whom the Wonderful Adviser is the chief. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

' "Think, O King, are these four and eighty thousand cows, with jute trappings, and horns tipped with bronze. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

' "Think, O King, are these four and eighty thousand myriads of garments, of delicate textures, of flax, and cotton, and silk, and wool. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

' "Think, O King, are these four and eighty thousand dishes, in which, in the evening and in the morning, rice is served. Cast away desire for these, long not after life." '

12. 'Evaṃ vutte Ānanda Subhaddā devī parodi assūni[1] pavattesi Atha kho Ānanda Subhaddā devī assūni pamajjitvā[2] rājānam Mahā-suddassanaṃ etad avoca: "Sabbeh' eva deva piyehi manāpehi nānā-bhāvo vinā-bhāvo aññathā-bhāvo. Mā kho tvaṃ deva sâpekho kālam akāsi. Dukkhā sâpekhassa kāla-kiriyā, garahitā ca sâpekhassa kāla-kiriyā.

' "Imāni te deva caturāsīti-nagara- sahassāni Kusāvatī-rajadhāni-pamukhāni, ettha deva chandaṃ pajaha, jīvite apekhaṃ mā akāsi.

' "Imāni te deva caturāsīti-pāsāda-sahassāni Dhamma-pāsāda-pamukhāni, ettha deva chandaṃ pajaha, jīvite apekhaṃ mā akāsi.

' "Imāni te deva caturāsīti-kūṭâgāra-sahassāni Mahā-vyūha-kūṭâgāra-pamukhāni, ettha deva chandaṃ pajaha, jīvite apekhaṃ mā akāsi.

' "Imāni te deva caturāsīti-pallaṅka-sahassāni sovaṇṇa-mayāni rūpimayāni dantamayāni sāramayāni goṇakat-thatāni paṭalikatthatāni kadali-miga-paccattharaṇāni sa-uttaracchadanāni ubhato lohitakûpadhānāni, ettha deva chandaṃ pajaha, jīvite apekhaṃ mā akāsi.

' "Imāni te deva caturāsīti nāga-sahassāni, sovaṇṇ-âlaṅkārāni sovaṇṇa-dhajāni hema-jāla-paṭicchannāni Uposatha-nāgarāja-pamukhāni, ettha deva chandaṃ pajaha, jīvite apekhaṃ mā akāsi.

' "Imāni te deva caturāsīti assa-sahassāni, sovaṇṇ-âlaṅkārāni sovaṇṇa-dhajāni hema-jāla-paṭicchannāni Valā-hakarssarāja-pamukhāni, ettha deva chandaṃ pajaha, jīvite apekhaṃ mā akāsi.

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1. S^{dt} B^{p} *both times* assuni.
2. Sum pamacchitvā ; B^{m} puñjitvā.

' "Imāni te deva caturāsīti tatha-sahassāni, sīha-camma-parivārāni vyaggha-camma-parivārāni paṇḍu-kambala-parivārāni sovaṇṇâlaṅkāni sovaṇn-dhajāni hema-jāla-paṭicchannāni Vejayanta-ratha-ramukhāni, ettha deva chandaṃ pajaha, jīvite apekhaṃ mā akāsi.

' "Imāni te deva caturāsīti maṇi-sahassāni, Maṇi-ratana-parivārāni ettha deva chandaṃ pajaha, jīvite apekhaṃ mā akāsi.

' "Imāni te deva caturāsīti itthi-sahassāni, Subhaddā-devi-pamukhāni, ettha deva chandaṃ pajaha, jīvite apekhaṃ mā akāsi.

' "Imāni te deva caturāsīti-gahapati-sahassāni, Gaha-pati-ratana pamukhāni, ettha deva chandaṃ pajaha, jīvite apekhaṃ mā akāsi.

' "Imāni te deva caturāsīti-khattiya-sahassāni, anu-yuttāni Pariṇāyaka-ratana-pamukhāni, ettha deva chandaṃ pajaha, jīvite apekhaṃ mā akāsi.

' "Imāni te deva caturāsīti-dhenu-sahassāni, dukūla-sandanāni kaṅsûpadhāraṇāni, ettha deva chandaṃ pajaha, jīvite apekhaṃ mā akāsi.

' "Imāni te deva caturāsīti-vattha-koṭi-sahassāni khoma-sukhumānaṃ kappāsika-sukhumānaṃ koseyya-sukhumā-naṃ kambala-sukhumānaṃ, ettha deva chandaṃ pajaha, jīvite apekhaṃ mā akāsi.

' "Imāni te deva caturāsīti-thālipāka-sahassāni sāya-pātaṃ bhattâbhihāro abhihariyittha, ettha deva chandaṃ pajaha, jīvite apekhaṃ mā akāsi."[1]

12. 'When he thus spake, Ānanda, the Queen of Glory wept and poured forth tears.

'Then, Ānanda, the Queen of Glory wiped away her tears, and addressed the Great King of Glory, and said:

' "The nature of all things near and dear to us, O King, is such that we must leave them, divide ourselves from them, separate ourselves from them. Pass not away, O King, with longing

1. *MSS.* akāsi.

in thy heart. Sad is the death of him who longs, unworthy is the death of him who longs. Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand cities, the chief of which is the royal city of Kusāvatī. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

Think, O King, are these four and eighty thousand palaces, the chief of which is the Palace of Righteousness. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

Think, O King, are these four and eighty thousand chambers, the chief of which is the chamber of the Great Complex. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

' "Think, O King, are these four and eighty thousand divans, of gold, and silver, and ivory, and sandalwood, spread with long-haired rugs, and cloths embroidered with flowers, and magnificent antelope skins, covered with lofty canopies, and provided at both ends with purple cushions. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

' "Think, O King, are these four and eighty thousand state elephants, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network,—of which the king of elephants, called 'the Changes of the Moon,' is the chief. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

' "Think, O King, are these four and eighty thousand state horses, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network,—[195J of which 'Thunder-cloud,' the king of horses, is the chief. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

' "Think, O King, are these four and eighty thousand chariots, with coverings of the skins of lions, and of tigers, and of panthers,—of which the chariot called 'the Flag of Victory' is the chief. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

' "Think, O King, are these four and eighty thousand gems, of which the Wondrous Gem is the chief. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

' "Think, O King, are these four and eighty thousand wives, of whom the Queen of Glory is the chief. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

' "Think, O King, are these four and eighty thousand yeomen, of whom the Wonderful Steward is the chief. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

' "Think, O King, are these four and eighty thousand nobles, of whom the Wonderful Adviser is the chief. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

' "Think, O King, are these four and eighty thousand cows, with jute trappings, and horns tipped with bronze. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

' "Think, O King, are these four and eighty thousand myriads of garments, of delicate textures, of flax, and cotton, and silk, and wool. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

' "Think, O King, are these four and eighty thousand dishes, in which, in the evening and in the morning, rice is served. Cast away desire for these, long not after life." '

13. 'Atha kho Ānanda rājā Mahā-sudassano na cirassa[1] eva kālam akā Seyyatha pi Ānanda gahapatissa vā gahapati-puttassa vā manuññaṃ bhojanam huttāvissa bhatta-sammado hoti, evam eva kho[2] rañño Mahā-sudassanassa māraṇantikā[3] vedanā ahosi. Kāla-kato[4] Ānanda rājā Mahā-sudassano sugatiṃ brahma-lokaṃ uppajji.[5] Rājā Ānanda Mahā-sudassano caturāsīti-vassa-sahassāni kumāra-kīḷikaṃ[6] kīḷi,[7] caturāsīti-vassa-sahassāni oparajjaṃ kāresi, caturāsīti-vassa-sahassāni rajjaṃ kāresi caturāsīti-vassa-sahassāni gihī[8]-bhūto Dhamme[9] pāsāde[10] brahmacariyaṃ cari.[11] So cattāro

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1. *So* S^ct B^p; S^d cirassen' ; K ciraṃ yeva; K (Sī) cirassa' eva.
2. B^m K *insert* Ānanda.
3. S^cd māran-; K mar^o.
4. S^ct *add* vā; K ca.
5. B^mp K upapajji.
6. SS kīlikaṃ; K kīḷim.
7. SS kīli; B^m kili.
8. S^c B^m K gihi; S^d gīhī; S^t gihī; B^p gīhi.
9. S^d dhammo.
10. S^d pāsāda.
11. B^p acari; K ācari.

brahma-vihāre bhāvetvā kāyassa bhedā[1] param maraṇā[1] Brahmalokûpago ahosi.

13. 'Then immediately, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory died. Just, Ānanda, as when a yeoman has eaten a hearty meal he becomes all drowsy, just so were the feelings he experienced, Ānanda, as death came upon the Great King of Glory.

'When the Great King of Glory, Ānanda, had died, he came to life again in the happy world of Brahma.

'For eight and forty thousand years, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory lived the happy life of a prince, for eight and forty thousand years he was viceroy and heir-apparent, for eight and forty thousand years he ruled the kingdom, and for eight and forty thousand years he lived, as a layman, the noble life in the Palace of Righteousness. And then, when full of noble thoughts he died, he entered, after the dissolution of the body, the world of Brahma[2].'

14. 'Siyā[3] kho [4]pana te Ānanda[4] evam assa[5] : "Añño nūna tena samayena rājā Mahā-sudassano ahosîti." Na kho [6]pana taṃ[6] Ānanda evaṃ daṭṭhabbaṃ. Ahaṃ tena samayena rājā Mahā-sudassano ahosiṃ.[7]

'Mama tāni caturāsīti-nagara-sahassāni Kusāvatī-rājadhāni-pamukhāni;

'Mama tāni caturāsīti-pāsāda-sahassāni Dhamma-pāsāda-pamukhāni;

'Mama tāni caturāsīti-kuṭâgāra-sahassāni Mahāvyūha-kuṭâgāra-pamukhāni;

1.1. B^p rammaṇā.

2. The 'noble thoughts' are the Brahma-vihāras, the sublime conditions described above, Chap. II, § 4. The 'noble life' is the Brahmacariyam, which does not mean the same as it does in Sanskrit. The adjective Brahma may have reference here also to the subsequent (and consequent?) rebirth in the Brahmaloka.

3. K *adds nu*

4.4. S^dt panete Ānanda; B^p panatenananda; K pan Ananra.

5. S^d eva tassa *corrected to* etassa.

6.6. B^mp K pan' etaṃ.

7. SS B^mp ahosin ti.

'Mama tāni caturāsīti-pallaṅka-sahassāni sovaṇṇamayāni rūpunayāni dantamayāni sāramayāni gonak-atthatāni paṭalikatthatāni kadali-miga-paccattharaṇāni sa-uttaracchadanāni ubhato lohitakûpadhānāni;

'Mama tāni caturāsīti-nāga-sahassāni sovaṇṇâlaṅkārāni sovaṇṇa-dhajāni hema-jāla-paṭicchannāni Uposatha-nāgarāja-pamukhāni;

'Mama tāni caturāsīti-assa-sahassāni sovaṇṇâlaṅ-kārāni sovaṇṇa-dhajāni hema-jāla-paṭicchannāni Valā-haka-assarāja-pamukhāni;

'Mama tāni caturāsīti-ratha-sahassāni sīha-camma-parivārāni vyaggha-camma-parivārāni dipi-camma-parivārāni paṇḍu-kambala-parivārāni sovaṇṇâlaṅkārāni sovaṇṇa-dhajāni hema-jāla-paṭicchannāni Vejayanta-ratha-pamukhāni;

'Mama tāni caturāsīti-maṇi-sahassāni maṇi-ratana-pamukhāni;

'Mama tāni caturāsīti-itthi-sahassāni Subhadda-devī-pamukhāni;

'Mama tāni caturāsīti-gahapati-sahassāni gahapati-ratana-pamukhāni;

'Mama tāni caturāsīti-khattiya-sahassāni anuyuttāni pariṇāyaka-ratana-pamukhāni;

'Mama tāni caturāsīti-dhenu-sahassāni dukūla-sandanāni kaṅsûpadhāraṇāni ;

'Mama tāni caturāsīti-vattha-koṭi-sahassāni khoma-sukhumānaṃ kappāsika-sukhumānaṃ koseyya-sukhumānaṃ kambala-sukhumānaṃ ;

'Mama tāni caturāsīti-thālipāka-sahassāni sāyapātaṃ bhattâbhihāro abhihariyittha[1]

14. 'Now it may be, Ānanda, that you may think "The Great King of Glory of that time was another person." But, Ānanda, you should not view the matter thus. I at that time was the Great King of Glory.

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1. *So* S^{cd} B^{p}-hārayo; S^{t} -hāriyittha; B^{m} K -harayittha.

'Mine at that time were the four and eighty thousand cities, of which the chief was the royal city of Kusāvatī.

'Mine were the four and eighty thousand palaces, of which the chief was the Palace of Righteousness.

'Mine were the four and eighty thousand chambers, of which the chief was the chamber of the Great Complex.

'Mine were the four and eighty thousand divans, of gold, and silver, and ivory, and sandalwood, spread with long-haired rugs, and cloths embroidered with flowers, and magnificent antelope skins, covered with lofty canopies and provided at both ends with purple cushions.

'Mine were the four and eighty thousand state elephants, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network,—of which the king of elephants, called "the Changes of the Moon," was the chief.

'Mine were the four and eighty thousand state horses, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network,—of which "Thundercloud," the king of horses, was the chief.

'Mine were the four and eighty thousand chariots with coverings of the skins of lions, and of tigers, and of panthers,—of which the chariot called "the Flag of Victory" was the chief.

'Mine were the four and eighty thousand gems, of which the Wondrous Gen was the chief.

'Mine were the four and eighty thousand wives, of whom the Queen of Glory was the chief.

'Mine were the four and eighty thousand yeomen, of whom the Wonderful Steward was the chief.

'Mine were the four and eighty thousand nobles, of whom the Wonderful Adviser was the chief.

'Mine were the four and eighty thousand cows, with jute trappings, and horns tipped with bronze.

'Mine were the four and eighty thousand myriads of garments, of delicate textures, of flax, and cotton, and silk, and wool.

'Mine were the four and eighty thousand dishes, in which,

in the evening and in the morning, rice was served.'

15. 'Tesaṃ kho pan' Ānanda caturāsīti-nagara-sahassanaṃ ekaṃ yeva[1] taṃ nagaraṃ hoti yan tena samayena ajjhāvasāmi, yadidaṃ Kusāvatī raja-dhānī.

'Tesaṃ kho pan' Ānanda caturāsīti-pāsād-sahassānaṃ eko yeva so pāsādo hoti yan tena samayena ajjhāvasāmi, yadidaṃ Dhammo pāsādo.

'Tesaṃ kho pan' Ānanda caturāsīti-kuṭâgāra-sahassānaṃ ekaṃ yeva taṃ kuṭâgāraṃ hoti yan tena samayena ajjhāvasāmi, yadidaṃ Mahā-vyūhaṃ kuṭâgāraṃ.

'Tesaṃ kho pan' Ānanda caturāsīti-pallaṅka-sahassānaṃ eko yeva so pallaṅko hoti yan tena samayena ajjhāvasāmi, yadidaṃ sovaṇṇamayo vā rūpimayo vā dantamayo vā sāramayo vā.

'Tesaṃ kho pan' Ānanda caturāsīti-nāga-sahassānaṃ eko yeva so nāga hoti yan tena samayena abhirūhāmi[2] yadidaṃ Uposatho nāga-rājā.

'Tesaṃ kho pan' Ānanda caturāsīti-assa-sahassānaṃ, eko yeva so asso hoti yan tena samayena abhirūhāmi, yadidaṃ Valāhako[3] assa-rājā.

'Tesaṃ kho pan' Ānanda caturāsīti-ratha-sahassānaṃ eko yeva so ratho hoti yan tena samayena abhirūhāmi, yadidaṃ Vejayanta ratho.

'Tesaṃ kho pan' Ānanda caturāsīti-itthi-sahassānaṃ ekā yeva sā itthi hoti yā maṃ[4] tena samayena paccupaṭ-ṭhāti khattiyanī[5] vā velāmikāni vā[6].

'Tesaṃ kho pan' Ānanda caturāsīti-vattha-sahassānaṃ ekaṃ yeva taṃ dussa-yugaṃ hoti yan tena samayena

1. K ekaññeva.
2. S^c K abhiruhāmi, *and below.*
3. S^c Valāho.
4. S^d ma; B^mp K *omit.*
5. S^c khattiyāni, B^p khattiyāyini ; B^m khattiyinī ; K -yayinī.
6 S^c Velamikāneva; B^p soyini vā; B^m vessinī vā ; K Vessāyinī vā ; K (Sī) Khattiyāyinī vā Velānimikānī vā.

paridahāmi khoma-sukhumaṃ vā kappāsika-sukhumaṃ vā koseyya-sukhumaṃ vā kambala-sukhumaṃ vā.

'Tesaṃ kho pan' Ānanda caturāsīti-thālipāka-sahassānaṃ eko yeva so thālipāko hoti yan nāḷikodana-paramaṃ bhuñjāmi tadūpiyañ[1] ca sūpeyyaṃ.

15. 'Of those four and eighty thousand cities, Ānanda, one was that city in which, at that time, I used to dwell—to wit, the royal city of Kusāvatī.

'Of those four and eighty thousand palaces, too, Ānanda, one was that palace in which, at that time, I used to dwell—to wit, the Palace of Righteousness.

'Of those four and eighty thousand chambers, too, Ānanda, one was that chamber in which, at that time, I used to dwell—to wit, the chamber of the Great Complex.

'Of those four and eighty thousand divans, too, Ānanda, one was that divan which, at that time, I used to occupy—to wit, one of gold, or one of silver, or one of ivory, or one of sandalwood.

'Of those four and eighty thousand state elephants, too, Ānanda, one was that elephant which, at that time, I used to ride—to wit, the king of elephants, " the Changes of the Moon."

'Of those four and eighty thousand horses, too, Ānanda, one was that horse which, at that time, I used to ride—to wit, the king of horses, "the Thunder-cloud."

'Of those four and eighty thousand chariots, too, Ānanda, one was that chariot in which, at that time, I used to ride—to wit, the cha ot called "the Flag of Victory."

'Of those four and eighty thousand wives, too, Ānanda, one was that wife who, at that time, used to wait upon me—to wit, either a lady of noble birth, or a Velāmikāni.

'Of those four and eighty thousand myriads of suits of apparel, too, Ānanda, one was the suit of apparel which, at that time, I wore—to wit, one of delicate texture, of linen, or cotton, or silk, or wool.

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1. S^c B^m K tadupiyañ.

'Of those four and eighty thousand dishes, too, Ānanda, one was that dish from which, at that time, I ate a measure of rice and the curry suitable thereto.'

16. 'Pass' Ānanda sabbe te saṃkhārā atītā niruddhā vipariṇatā. Evaṃ aniccā kho Ānanda saṃkhārā, evaṃ addhuvā kho Ānanda saṃkhārā, evaṃ anassāsikā kho Ānanda saṃkhārā, yāvañ c'idaṃ Ānanda alam eva sabba-saṃkhāresu nibbindituṃ, alaṃ virajjituṃ alaṃ vimuc-cituṃ.

16. 'See, Ānanda, how all these things are now past, are ended, have vanished away. Thus impermanent, Ānanda, are component things ; thus transitory, Ānanda, are component things; thus untrustworthy, Ānanda, are component things. Insomuch, Ānanda, is it meet to be weary of, is it meet to be estranged from, is it meet to be set quite free from the bondage of all component things !'

17. 'Chakkhattuṃ[1] kho panâhaṃ Ānanda abhijānāmi imasmiṃ padese sarīraṃ nikkhipitaṃ, tañ ca kho rājā vasamāno cakkavattī dhammiko dhamma-rājā cāturanto vijitāvī janapadatthāvariyappatto satta-ratana-saman-nāgato, ayaṃ sattamo sarīra-nikkhepo. Na kho panâhaṃ Ānanda taṃ padesaṃ samanupassāmi sadevake loke samārake sabrahmake sassamaṇa-brāhmaṇiyā pajāya sa-deva-manus-sāya yattha Tahāgato aṭṭhamaṃ sarīraṃ nikkhipeyyâti.'

Idam avoca Bhagavā. Idaṃ vatvā[2] Sugato athâparaṃ etad avoca Satthā :

'Aniccā vata saṃkhārā uppādavaya-dhammino,
Uppajjitvā nirujjhanti, tesaṃ vūpasamo sukho ti.'

17. 'Now I call to mind, Ānanda, how in this spot my body had been six times buried. And when I was dwelling here as the righteous king who ruled in righteousness, the lord of the four regions of the earth, the conqueror, the protector of hispeople, the possessor of the seven royal treasures—that was the seventh time.

1. S^c chakkhattu S^d chakkattuṃ ; B^p chakkattu ; K chakkhittuṃ.
2. K vatvāna.

'But I behold not any spot, Ānanda, in the world of men and gods, nor in the world of Mara, nor in the world of Brahma—no, not among the race of Samarcas or Brahmins, of gods or men,—where the Tathāgata for the eighth time will lay aside his body[1].'

Thus spake the Exalted One; and when the Happy One had thus spoken, once again the Teacher said:—

'How transient are all component things!
Growth is their nature and decay;
They are produced, they are dissolved again;
To bring them all into subjection—that is bliss[2].'

Mahā-Sudassana-Suttaṃ Niṭṭhitaṃ.[3]

End of the Maha-Sudassana-Sutta.

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1. The whole of this conversation between the Great King of Glory and the Queen is very much shorter in the Jātaka. This may be perhaps partly explained by the narrative style in which the stories are composed—a style incompatible with the repetitions of the Suttas, and confined to the facts of the story.

   But I think that no one can read this Sutta in comparison with the short passage found in the 'Book of the Great Decease' (above, Chip. V, § 18) without feeling that the latter is the more original of the two, and that the legend had not, when that passage or episode was first composed, attained to its present extended form.
2. On this celebrated verse, see the note at Mahāparinibbāna Sutta VI, 16, where it is put into the mouth of Sakka, the king of the gods. The principal word, samkhāra (states, or things, or phenomena), is discussed in the Introduction to this Sutta. See the 'Journal of the Pāli Text Society' for 1909, and below, p. 248.
3. Bp K -suttaṃ catuthaṃ; Bm suttaṃ niṭhitaṃ catutthaṃ.

INTRODUCTION
TO THE
Jana-vasabha Sutta

The Janavasabha Sutta, in which important topic, such as rebirths of the faithful upāsakās of Gautama, effect of name, great kings of four quarters, joy of the gods, the four ways of iddhi (miracle), the three ways of bliss, and the seven requisites of Samādhi or concentration, have been mentioned.

Prof. Rhys Davids says that after the prologue the story turns into a fairy tale, quite well told and very edifying and full of subtle humour.

This Sutta further refers to the Tāvatiṁsa gods, the gods of Paranimmita vasavatti, Nimmānarati, Yāma, Cātummahārājika heavens, and the assembly of king Vessavana kuvera.

This Suttā further informs us that 24,00,000 upāsakas of magadha obtained Sotāpattiphalaṁ (fruition of the first stage of Sanctification) by following Buddha's instructions.

xviii. Janavasabha Sutta

Jana-vasabha's story

1. Evam me sutaṃ ekaṃ samayaaṃ Bhagavā Nādike[1] viharati Giñna-kâvasathe. Tena kho pana samayena Bhagavā parito parito janapadesu paricārake abbhatīte[2] kālakate uppat-tīsu[3] vyākaroti Kāsi-Kosalesu Vajji-Mallesu Ceti[4]-Vaṅsesu Kuru-Pañcālesu Maccha[5]-Sūrasenesu:[6] 'Asu amutra uppanno, [7]asu amutra uppanno.[7] Paro-paññāsa Nadikiya[8] paricārakā abbhatitā[9] kālakatā pāncannaṃ orambhāgiyānaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayā opapātikā, tattha parinibbāyino anāvatti-dhammā tasmā lokā. sâdhikā[10] navuti Nādikiyā paricārakā abbhatītā kālakatā tiṇṇaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayārāga-dosa-mohānaṃ tanuttā sakadāgāmino, sakid eva imaṃ lokaṃ āgantvā dukkhass' antaṃ karissanti. Sâtirekāni pañca-satāni Nādikiyā paricārakā abbhatītā tiṇṇaṃ saṃyoja-nānaṃ parikkhayā sotâpannā avinipāta-dhammā niyatā sambodhi parāyanā' ti.

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1. B[m] Nātike.
2. S[ct] abbhatite; Oldenberg, MV. i. 23, 5, abbhatitaṃ.
3. S[dt] -tisu: B[m] K upapattīsu, *and below* §§ 2, 3.
4. B[m] Cetiya, *and below.*
5. B[m] majjha, *and below.*
6. S[cd] B[m] K surao; S[t] sūrao; *and below.*
7.7. S[c] *omits* ; S[t] *inserts by corrections* ; B[m] K upapanno, *each time* ; B[m] *adds* ti *after repetition.*
8. SS nadikā ; B[m] nātikyā (*and below*) ; K paññāsā nādo.
9. *So* SS B[m].
10. SS sādhita; *below* sādhika; B[m] K sādhikā cp. xvi. 2,7.

1. Thus have I heart[1]. The Exalted One was once staying in Nādika, at the Brick House. Now at that time the Exalted One was wont to make declarations as to the rebirths of such followers (of the doctrine) as had passed away in death among the tribes round about on every side—among the Kāsis and Kosalans, the Vajjians and Mallas, the Chetis and Vamsas, the Kurus and Panchālas, the 'Macchas and Sūrasenas—saying: 'Such an one has been reborn there, and such an one there[2]. From Nādika upwards of fifty adherents, who passed away in death after having completely destroyed the Five Bonds that bind people to this world[3], have become inheritors of the highest heavens, there to pass utterly away, thence never to return. Full ninety adherents in Nādika, who have passed away in death after having completely destroyed the Three Bonds, and reduced to a minimum lust ill-will and delusion, have become Once-returners, and on their first return to this world shall make an end of pain. Over five hundred adherents of Nādika, who have passed away in death after having completely destroyed the Three Bonds, and become converted, cannot be reborn in any state of woe, but are assured of attaining to the Insight (of the higher stages of the Path).'

2. Assosuṃ kho Nādikiyā paricārakā : 'Bhagavā kira parito parito janapadesu paricārake abbhatīte kāla-kate uppattīsu vyākaroti Kāsi-Kosalesu Vajji-Mallesu Cetivaṅ-sesu Kuru-Pañcālesu Maccha-Sūrasenesu: 'Asu amutra uppanno asu amutra uppanno.[4] Paro-paññāsa Nādikiyā paricārakā abbhatītā kāla-katā pañcannaṃ orambhāgiyānaṃ saṃyojanā-naṃ parikkhayā opapātikā, tattha parinib-bāyino anāvatti-dhammā tasmā tasmā lokā. Sâdhikā navuti Nādikiyā paricārakā abbhatītā kālakatā tiṇṇaṃ saṃyo-janānaṃ parikkhayā rāga-dosa-mohānaṃ tanuttā saka-dāgāmino, sakid eva imaṃ lokaṃ āgantvā dukkhass' antaṃ karissanti.

1. See above pp. 97 ff., and the notes there.
2. For the details see above, p. 98, § 7.
3. See 'Dialogues,' I, pp. 200, 201.
4. B[m] *adds* ti, *and below.*

Sâtirekāni pañca- satāni Nādkikiyā paricārakā abbhatītā kālakatā tiṇṇaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayā sotâpannā, avinipāta-dhammā niyatā sam-bodhi-parāyanā" 'ti. Tena ca Nādikiyā paricārakā attamanā ahesuṃ pamuditā pītisomanassa-jātā Bhagavato pañha[1] veyyākaraṇaṃ[2] sutvā.

2. Now the adherents at Nādika, when they heard these revelations, were pleased, gladdened and filled with joy and happiness at these solutions by the Exalted One of the problems that had been put to him.

3. Assosi kho āyasmā Ānando : 'Bhagavā kira parito parito janapadesu paricārake abhatīte kālakate uppattīsu[3] vyākaroti Kāsi-Kosalesu Vajji-Mallesu Cetivansesu Kuru-Pañcālesu Maccha-Sūrasenesu: 'Asu amutra uppanno asu amutra uppanno. Paro-paññāsa Nādikiyā paricārakā abbhatītā kāla-katā pañcannnaṃ orambhāgiyānaṃ saṃ yojanānaṃ parikkhayā opapātikā, tattha parinibbāyino anāvatti-dhammā tasamī lokā. Sâdhikā navuti Nādikiyā paricārakā abbhatītā kālakatā tiṇṇaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayā rāga-dosa-mohānaṃ tanuttā sakadāgāmino, sakid eva imaṃ lokaṃ āgantvā dukkhass' antaṃ karis-santi. Sâtirekāni pañca satāni Nādikiyā paricārakā abbhatītā kālakatā tiṇṇaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayā sotâpannā avinipāta-dhammā niyatā sambodhi-parāyanā" ti. Tena ca Nādikiyā paricārakā attamanā ahesuṃ pamuditā pītisomanassa-jātā Bhagavato pañha[4]-veyyākaraṇaṃ sutvā' ti.

3. Now the venerable Ānanda heard [of these declarations made by the Exalted One, and of the satisfaction felt by the adherents at Nādika].

4. Atha kho āyasmato Ānandassa etad ahosi: 'Ime kho [5]pana pi[5] ahesum Māgadhakā[6] paricārakā bahū c'eva ratta-

1. S^c paññaṃ ; K paññā.
2. S^t veyyākk°.
3. SS -isu.
4. K paññā.
5.5. B^m K panâpi, *and below.*
6. K Māgadhikā, *and below ; note,* Māgadhakātipi pāṭho.

ññū ca abbhatītā kālakatā, suññā maññe Aṅga-Magadhā[1]

Māgadhakehi[2] paricāraricārakehi abbhatītehi kālakatehi. Te[3] kho pana pi ahesuṃ Buddhe pasannā Dhamme pasannā Saṃghe pasannā, sīesu paripūrakārino.[4] Te abbhatītā kālakatā Bhagavatā avyākatā, tesam p' assa[5] sādhu veyyākaraṇaṃ, bahujano pasīdeyya, tato gaccheyya suggatiṃ Ayaṃ kho pana pi ahosi rājā Māgadho Seniyo Bimbisāro dhammiko dhamma-rājā hito brāhmaṇa-gahapatikānaṃ negamānañ e'eva jāsapadāsañ ca. Api ssudaṃ manussā kittayamāna[6]-rūpā viharanti: "Evaṃ no so dhammiko dhamma-rājā sukhāpetvā kālakato, evaṃ[7] mayaṃ tassa dhammikassa dhamma-rañño vijite phāsu[8] viharimhâti." So kho pana pi ahosi Buddhe pasanno Dhamme pasanno Saṃghe pasanno sīlesu paripūrakārī. Api ssudaṃ manussā evam āhaṃsu: "Yāva maraṇa-kālā pi rājā Māgadho Seniyo Bimbisāro Bhaga-vantaṃ kittayamāna-rūpo kālakato" ti. So abbhatīto kālakato Bhagavatā avyākato, tassa p' assa sādhu vey-yākaraṇaṃ, bahujano pasīdeyya, tato gaccheyya sugatiṃ. Bhagavato kho pana sambodhi Magadhesu.[9] Yattha kho pana Bhagavato sambodhi Magadhesu, kathaṃ tattha Bhagavā Māgadhake paricārake abbhatīte kālakate up-pattīsu na vyākareyya? Bhagavā ce kho pana Māga-dhake paricārake abbhatīte kālakate uppattīsu na vyā-kareyya dīnamānā[10] tena 'ssu Māgadhakā paricārakā. Yena kho pana 'ssu dīnamānā Māgadhakā paricārakā, kathaṃ taṃ[11] Bhagavā na vyākareyyâti ?'

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1. S^c Māgadhā.
2. B^m Aṅga-Māg° ; K -ikehi, *and below.*
3. K tena, *and below* § 6.
4. K paripūrīk°, *and below.*
5. B^m K pi 'ssa, *and below.*
6. S^c kittayamayāmāna, S^d kittasamāna, S^t B^m K kittiya°.
7. SS eva.
8. *So* SS B^m (*below,* S^dt phāsuṃ) ; K phāsukaṃ.
9. *So* SS *but afterwards* Māg°.
10. S^c dinamānā; B^m dinamanā; K ninnamanā; K (Sī) dīnamānā ; *and below.*
11. B^m K te.

4. And this idea occurred to him :— 'But there were also adherents in Magadha, many of them, and of long religious experience, who have passed away in death. One might think that Anga and Magadha were void of adherents who have passed away in death. For they too had entire faith in the Buddha the Law and the Order, they had fulfilled the moral precepts. And yet concerning them, since they passed away in death, nothing has been declared by the Exalted One. It were surely a good thing to evoke a response as to them ; for much folk would believe, and would hereafter enter into bliss. Then too there was Seniya Bimbisāra, king of Magadha, righteous and ruling righteously, benign to priests and laymen, to town-folk and country-folk. His fame are men verily spreading abroad saying:— "Dead is our so righteous king of righteous rule who made us so happy! How well have we lived in the kingdom of that righteous king!" Now he too had entire faith in the Buddha the Law and the Order, and fulfilled the moral precepts. And people verily have also said, "Seniya Bimbisāra, king of Magadha, who up to the day of his death was given to praises of the Exalted One, is dead." Concerning him who has passed away in death nothing has been declared by the Exalted One. It were surely a good thing to evoke a response as to him ; for much folk would believe, and would hereafter enter into bliss. Moreover the Exalted One attained supreme Insight in Magadha. Now where that took place, how should there be no declaration from the Exalted One concerning adherents in Magadha who have passed away in death ? If the Exalted One declare nothing concerning them they will be hurt. And since they would be hurt, how can the Exalted One keep silence ?'

5. Idam āyasmā Ānando Māgadhako paricārake ārabbha eko raho anuviointetvā, ratthiyā paccūsa-samayaṃ paccuṭṭhāya yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. Ekamantaṃ nisinno kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca:

'Sutaṃ[1] me taṃ bhante: Bhagavā kira parito parito

1. B^{m} sutametaṃ.

janapadesu paricārake abbhatīte kālakate uppattīsu vyākaroti Kāsi-Kosalesu Vajji-Mallesu Ceti-Vaṃsesu Kuru-Pañcālesu Maccha-Saūrasenesu: "Asu amutra uppanno, asu amutra uppanno. Paro-paññāsa Nākikiyā pari-cārakā abhatītā kālakatā pañcannaṃ orambhāgiyānaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayā opapātikā, tattha parinibbāyino anāvatti-dhammā tasmā lokā. Sādhikā navuti Nādikiyā paricārakā abbhatītā kalakatā tiṇṇaṃ, saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayā rāga-dosa--mohānaṃ tanuttā sakadāgāmino sakid eva imaṃ lokaṃ āgantvā dukkhass' antaṃ karissanti. Sâtirekāni pañca satāni Nādikiyā paricārakā abbatītā kālakatā tiṇṇaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayâ sotâpannâ, avinipāta-dhammā niyatā sambodhi-parāyanā" ti. Tena ca Nādikiyā paricārakā attamanā[1] pamuditā pīti-somanassa-jātā Bhagavato pañha-veyyākara-ṇaṃ sutvā.[2]

6. 'Ime kho pana pi bhante ahesuṃ Māgadhakā pari cārakā bahū c'eva rattaññū ca abbhatītā kalakatā. Suññā maññā maññe Aṅga-Magadhā[3] Māgadhakehi paricārakehi abbhatītehi kālakatehi. Te[4] kho pana pi bhante ahesuṃ Buddhe pasannā Dhamme pasannā Saṃghe pasannā, sīlesu paripūrakārino. Te abbhatītā kālakatā Bhagavatā avyākatā. Tesaṃ p' assa assa sādhu veyyākaraṇaṃ, bahujano pasīdeyya, tato gaccheyya sugatiṃ. Ayaṃ kho pana pi bhante ahosi rājā Māgadho Seniyo Bimbisāro dhammiko dhamma-rājā hito brāhmaṇa-gahapatikānaṃ negamānañ c'eva janapadāna[5] ca. Api ssudaṃ manussā kittya-māna-rūpā viharanti: "Evaṃ no so[6] dhammiko dhamma-rājā sukhāpetvā kālakato, evaṃ mayaṃ tassa dhammi-kassa dhamma-rañño vijite phāsu viharimhâti." So kho pana pi bhante[7] ahosi Buddhe pasanno

1. SS *omit* ahesuṃ : K attamanā ahesuṃ.
2. B^m *adds* ti.
3. B^m *inserts* aṅga.
4. K tena, *as in* § 4.
5. K jāna-.
6. SS *omit* evaṃ no so, § 4.
7. K *omits*.

Dhamme pasanno Saṃghe pasanno, sīlesu paripūrakārī. Api ssudaṃ manussā evam āhaṃsu: "Yāva maraṇa-kālā pi rājā Māgadho Seniyo Bimbisāro Bhagavantaṃ kittayamāna-rūpo kālakato" ti. So abbhatīto kālakato Bhagavatā avyākato tassa p' assa sādhu veyyākaraṇaṃ, bahujano pasīdeyya, tato gaccheyya sugatiṃ. Bhagavato kho pana bhante sambodhi Magadhesu.[1] Yattha kho pana bhante Bhagavato sambodhi Magadhesu, kathaṃ tattha Bhagavā Māgadhake paricārake abbhatīke kālakate uppattīsu na vyākareyya ? Bhagavā ce kho pana bhante Māgadhake paricārake abbhatīte kālakate uppattīsu na vyākareyya, dīnamānātena 'Māgadhakā paricārakā. Yena kho pana 'ssu bhante[2] dīnamānā Māgadhakā paricārakā, kathaṃ taṃ[3] Bhagavā na[4] vyākareyyâti?'

Idam āyasmā Ānando Māgadhake paricārake ārabbha Bhagavato sammukhā parikathaṃ katvā uṭṭhāy' āsanā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā padakkhiṇaṃ katvā pakkāmi.

5,-6. Having thus pondered, alone and privately, concerning the Magadhese adherents, the venerable Ānanda rose up the next morning and came into the presence of the Exalted One, and being come, saluted him and sat down on one side. And so sitting, he told the Exalted One [all that he had heard and thought[5]]. And when he had made an end of thus speaking before the Exalted One, he rose from his seat, saluted the Exalted One rightwise, and went away.

7. Atha kho Bhagavā acira-pakkante ayasmato[6] Ānande pubaṇha-samayaṃ nivāsetvā patta-cīvaraṃ ādāya Nādikaṃ piṇḍāya pāvisi. Nādike piṇḍāya caritvā pacchā-bhattaṃ piṇḍapāta-paṭikkanto pāde pakkhāletvā Giñjakâ-vasathaṃ pavisitvā Māgadhake paricārake ārabbha aṭṭhi-katvā

1. SS Māg°, *but in* § 4 SS Mag°.
2. K *omits.*
3. B^m K te.
4. SS *omit* na; *but* S^t *has an imperfect* n after kathaṃ *before* taṃ.
5. Repeated from §§ 1, 2, 4, nearly word for word.
6. B^m K āyasmante.

manasikatvā sabba-cetaso[1] samannāharitvā paññatte āsane nisīdi: 'Gatiṃ tesaṃ jānissāmi abhisamparāyaṃ, yaṃ-gatikā te bhavanto yam-abhisamparāyā' ti. Addasā kho Bhagavā Māgadhake paricārake yaṃ-gatikāte bhavanto yam-abhisamparāyā.[2] Atha kho Bhagavā sāyaṇha-samayaṃ patisallānā vuṭṭhito Giñjakâvasathā nikkhamitvā vihāra[3]-pacchāyāyaṃ[4] paññatte āsane nisīdi.

7. Then the Exalted One, not long after the venerable Ānanda had gone away, robed himself in the morning and, taking a bowl and cloak, went forth for alms to Nādika. And when he had walked through Nādika for alms, after his meal, when he had come back again from his round for alms and bathed his feet, he entered the Brick House and sat down on a seat made ready, thinking over and cogitating upon and concentrating his whole mind on the Magadhese adherents, saying to himself: 'I will find out their future, their fate after this life, whither these good men are bound, what their destiny is.' And he, the Exalted One, saw the Magadhese adherents, whither they were bound, and what their destiny was. Then at eventide the Exalted One, arising from his meditation, went out of the Brick House, and sat down on a mat spread in the shade behind the lodging place.

8. Atha kho āyasmā Ānando yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. Ekamantaṃ nisinno kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca: 'Upasantappadisso[5] bhante Bhagavā, bhāti-r-iva Bhagavato mukha-vaṇṇo pasannattā[6] indriyānaṃ.—Santena nūn' ajja bhante Bhagavā vihārena vihāsîti.'

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1. B^{m} sabbaṃ cetasā ; K sabbaṃ cetaso, *and in* § 9.
2. B^{m} *adds* ti.
3. S^{d} vihāraṃ.
4. K cchāyayaṃ
5. S^{d} upasampassadisso; B^{m} upasantapatiso; K upasanta-patisso ; K (Sī) upasantappadisso.
6. B^{m} K vippasannattā.

8. Then the venerable Ānanda came into the presence of the Exalted One, saluted him and sat down on one side. Thus seated he said to the Exalted One :— 'My lord the Exalted One looks serene, his complexion shines forth, as it were, owing to the tranquillity of his faculties. Has the lord the Exalted One spent a pleasant day ?'

9. 'Yad eva kho me tvaṃ Ānanda Māgadhake paricārake ārabbha[1] sammukhā parikathaṃ katvā, uṭṭhāya' āsanā pakkanto, tad evāhaṃ Nādike piṇḍāya caritvā pacchābhattaṃ pīṇḍapāta-paṭikkanto pāde pakkhāletvā Giñjakâvasathaṃ pavisitvā Māgadhake[2] paricārake ārabbha aṭṭhikatvā manasikatvā sabba-cetaso[3] samannāharitvā paññatte āsane nisīdiṃ: "Gatiṃ tesaṃ jānissāmi abhisamparāyaṃ, yaṃ-gatikā te bhavanto yam-abhisamparāyā ti." Addasaṃ kho ahaṃ Ānanda Māgadhake paricārake yaṃgatikā te bhavanto yam-abhisamparāyā.[4] Atha kho Ānanda antarahito yakkho saddam anussâvesi: "Janava-sabho ahaṃ Bhagavā, Janavasabho ahaṃ Sugatâti." Abhijānāsi no tvaṃ Ānanda ito pubbe evarūpam nāma-dheyyaṃ sutvā[5] yadidaṃ Janavasabho ti ?'

'Na kho ahaṃ bhante abhijānāmi ito pubbe evarūpaṃ nāma-dheyyaṃ sutvā yadidaṃ Janavasabho ti. Api hi[6] me bhante lomāni haṭṭhāni "Janavasabho" ti nāma-dheyyaṃ sutvā. Tassa mayhaṃ bhante etad ahosi: "Na ha nūna[7] so orako yakkho bhavissati yassidaṃ[8] evarūpaṃ yāma-dheyyaṃ[9] yadidaṃ Janavasabho ti." '

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1. *So* B^m K, SS *omit.*
2. K Māgadhike.
3. B^m sabbaṃ cetasā ; K sabbaṃ cetaso, *and below.*
4. B^m *adds* ti.
5. S^ct sutaṃ, *but below* sutvā ; B^m K sutaṃ, *and below.*
6. B^m K ca.
7. *So* S^cdt K (Sī) ; B^m na hi nuna ; K na hi nūna.
8. B^m K yadidaṃ.
9. B^m K *insert* supaññattaṃ.

9. 'When you had made that speech to me, Ānanda, concerning the Magadhese adherents and had gone away, I, when I had gone to Nādika for alms, had dined, returned, bathed my feet and entered the Brick House, sat me down on a mat spread there and thought over, cogitated upon, and concentrated my whole mind on those Magadhese adherents, resolving to know their future, their fate after this life, whither these good men were bound, what their destiny would be. And I saw, Ānanda, those Magadhese adherents, whither the good men were bound, what their destiny would be. Thereupon an invisible spirit made himself heard, saying:— "I am Jana-vasabha, O Exalted One ; I am Jana-vasabha, O Welcome One !" Now do you allow, Ānanda, that you have ever heard of any one bearing such a name as Jana-vasabha ?'

'I confess, lord, that I have never heard of one bearing such a name as Jana-vasabha. Moreover, lord, on hearing such a name as Jana-vasabha, I am thrilled with excitement[1], and I fancy it can be no ordinary spirit who bears such a name as Jana-vasabha[2]."

10. 'Anantarā[3] kho Ānanda sadda[4]-pātinjāvā[5] uḷāra-vaṇṇo so[6] me[7] yakkho sammukhe[8] pātur ahosi. Dutiyakam pi saddam[9] anussâvesi: "Bimbisāro ahaṃ Bhagavā, Bimbisāro ahaṃ Sugata.[10] Idaṃ sattamaṃ kho ahaṃ bhante Vessava-

1. Literally, the down of my skin bristles.
2. Literally, the 'Bull of the Folk,' that is glorious among the people. The name seems scarcely to justify the good Ānanda's excitement, as such epithets were then, as now, common enough in India. But it is part of the art of the story-teller to make a mystery of it.
3. K antarā.
4. K saddassa.
5. K -bhāvo.
6. B^{m} K *omit.*
7. SS ma.
8. S^{ct} pamukhe; S^{d} pamukho.
9. K *All MSS.* saddham.
10. B^{m} -âti.

ṇassa mahārājassa sahavyataṃ uppajjāmi. So[1] tato cuto manussa-rājā, amanussa-rājā [2]divi homi.[2]

Ito satta tato satta saṃsārāni catuddasa
Nivāsam abhijānāmi yattha me vusitaṃ pure.

' "Dīgha-rattaṃ kho ahaṃ bhante avinipāto avinipātaṃ sañjānāmi, āsā ca pana me santiṭṭhati sakadāgāmitāyâti."

'Acchariyam idaṃ āyasmato Janavasabhassa yakkhassa, abbhutam[3] idaṃ āyasmato Janavasabhassa yakkhassa: 'Dīgha-rattaṃ kho ahaṃ bhante avinipāto avinipātaṃ sañjānāmîti' ca vadesi,[4] 'Āsā ca pana me santiṭṭhati sakadāgāmitāyâti' ca vadesi. Kuto nidānaṃ pan' āyasmā Janavasabho yakkho evarūpaṃ uḷāraṃ[5] visesâ-dhigamaṃ sañjānātîti ?'

10. 'After those words had been spoken, Ānanda, the spirit himself appeared before me, a splendid presence. And he made a second utterance :— "I am Bimbisāra, O Exalted One! I am Bimbisāra, O Welcome One! 'Tis now the seventh time, lord, that I am reborn into the communion of the great King Vessavana. Deceased as a human king, I am in heaven become a non-human king.

Hence seven, thence seven, in all fourteen rebirths—So much I know of lives I've lived in the long past.

Long, lord, have I, who am destined not to be reborn in states of woe, been conscious of that destiny, and now is there desire in me to become a Once-returner."

'Wonderful is this, marvellous is this that you, the venerable spirit Jana-vasabhe, tell me:— "Long have I who am destined not to be reborn in states of woe, been conscious of that destiny ; "and again :— "Now is there desire in me to become

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1. K So ito cuto manussesu rājā bhavituṃ pahomi; K (Sī) So tato cuto manussā rājā amanussā rājā divi homi.
2.2. B[m] bhavituṃ pahomi.
3. S[d] abhibhūtam ; K abbhūtam.
4. K pavedesi, *and in the next clause.*
5. K uḷara-.

a Once-returner." How has it come about that Jana-vasabha the venerable spirit recognizes his attainment to a distinction so splendid ?'

11. ' "Na aññattha[1] Bhagavā tava sāsanā, na aññattha Sugata tava sāsanā. Yad-agge ahaṃ bhante Bhagavati ekantagato[2] abhi pasanno,[3] tad-agge aham bhante dīgha-attaṃ avinipāto svinipātaṃ sañjānāmi, āsā ca pana me ssutiṭṭhati satadāgāmitāya. Idhâhaṃ bhante Vessavaṇena[4] mahārājena pesito Virūḷhakassa mahārājassa santike kenacid eva karaṇīyena addasaṃ Bhagavantaṃ antarā magge Giñjakâvasathaṃ pavisitvā Māgadhake paricārake ārabbha aṭṭhikatvā manasikatvā sabba-vetaso samannāharitvā nisinnaṃ : 'Gatiṃ tesaṃ jānissāmi abhisamparāyaṃ, yaṃ-gatikā te bhavanto yam-abhisam-parāyāti.' Anacchariyaṃ kho pan' etaṃ bhate yaṃ Vessavaṇassa mahārājassa yaṃ[5] parisāyaṃ phāsato sammukhā[6] sutaṃ sammukhā[6] paṭiggahiaṃ 'yam-gatikā te bhavanto yam-abhisaṃparāyā tī.' Tassa mayhaṃ bhante etad ahosi : 'Bhagavantañ ca dakkhāmi idañ ca Bhagava to ārocеyyāmîti.' Ime kho[7] bhante dve paccyā Bhagavantaṃ dassanāya pakkamituṃ.[8]

11. "Nowise save through thy word, O Exalted One, nowise save through thy word, O Blessed One ! From the moment when I had gone over, in absolute and entire faith to the Exalted One, from that moment, lord, did I who am destined not to be reborn in states of woe, been conscious of that destiny ; and I now desire to become a Once-returner. Now, lord, I have been sent on a message concerning some business by King Vessavana to King Virūlhaka; and on my way I saw the Exalted One enter-

1. K aññatram *and in the next clause.*
2. SS ekantigato; B^m kato; K ekantato; K (Sī) ekanta gato.
3. K abhippasanno.
4. SS -vanena ; *and subsequently.*
5. B^m K tassaṃ.
6_6. K *omits.*
7. B^m K *insert* me.
8. B^m upasaṃkamituṃ.

ing the Brick House, and sitting down to think over, to cogitate upon, to concentrate his whole mind upon the deceased Magadhese adherents, in the resolve to know their future, their fate after this life ; whither the good men are bound, what their destiny is. Now it was only the moment before, lord, that I had heard face to face and had understood from his own mouth from King Vessavana, how he had said to his assembly whither those good men were bound, and what their destiny was, so it occurred to me that I would visit the Exalted One, and I would announce it to him. These, lord, are the two reasons why I came forth to visit the Exalted One[1].

12. Purimāni bhante divasāni purimatarāni tadahu 'posathe paṇṇarase vassûpanāyikāya puṇṇāya[2] puṇṇamāya rattiyā kevalakappā ca devā Tāvatiṃsā Sudhammāyaṃ sabhāyaṃ sannisinnā honti sannipatitā, mahatī ca dibbā[3] parisā samantato nisinnā[4] honti,[5] cattāro ca mahārājā[6] catuddisā nisinnā honti. Puratthimāya disāya Dhata-raṭṭho mahārājā pacchāmukho[7] nisinno hoti deva[8] purakkhatvā. Dakkhiṇā disāya Virūḷhako mahārājā uttarâbhimukho nisinno hoti deve purakkhatvā. Pacchi-māya disāya Virūpakkho mahārājā puratthimâbhimukho[9] nisinno hoti deve purakkhatvā. Uttarāya disāya Vessa-vaṇo mahārājā dakkhiṇâbhimukho nisinno hoti deve purakkhatvā. Yadā bhante kevalakappā ca devā Tāvatiṃsā Sudhammāyaṃ sabhāyaṃ

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1. These two reasons are: firstly, that he had heard a statement by Vessavana; secondly, that (having noticed, on his way, how the Exalted One had been thinking on that very matter) he wished to report it to him.
2. K *omits.*
3. K^m K dibba-, *and below.*
4. B^m sanisinnā.
5. S^c hoti ; B^m *adds* sannipatitā.
6. B^m K -jāno, *and below.*
7. B^m pacchâbhimukho ; K pacchimâbhimukho.
8. K devehi, *and subsequently.*
9. *So* K ; S^t B^m purattâbhimukho.

sannisinnā[1] honti sannipatitā, mahatī ca dibbā parisā samantato nisinnā[2] honti[3] cattāro ca[4] mahārājā catuddisā nisinnā honti, idaṃ tesaṃ hoti āsanasmiṃ. Atha pacchā amhākaṃ āsanaṃ hoti. Ye te bhante devā Bhagavati brahmacariyaṃ caritvā adhunuppannā Tāvatiṃsakāyaṃ, te aññe deve atirocanti[5] vaṇṇena c' eva yasasā ca. Tena sudaṃ bhante devā Tāvatiṃsā attamanā honti pamuditā pīti-somanassa-jātā: "Dibbā vata bho kāyā paripūrenti hāyanti asurakāyâti'.[6]

12[7]. In days gone by, lord, in days long long gone by, it came to pass that on the night of the feast of the fifteenth day at the full moon in the month for entering upon Retreat[8], the month Āsālhi, the whole of the gods in the retinue of the Thirty-Three were assembled together, seated in the hall of Good Counsel. And around them on every side a vast celestial company was seated ; and at the four quarters of the firmament sat the Four Great Kings. There was Dhatarattha, king of the East, seated facing the west, presiding over his host; Virūlhaka, king of the South, seated facing the north, presiding over his host; Virūpakkha, king of the West, seated facing the east, presiding over his host; and Vessavana, king of the North, seated facing the south, presiding over his host. Whenever, lord, all the gods in the heaven of the Thirty-Three are assembled and seated in their hall of Good Counsel, with a vast celestial company seated around them on every side, and with the Four Great Kings at the four quarters of the firmament, this is the order of the seats of the Four. After that come our seats. And those gods, lord, who had been recently reborn in the hosts of the Thirty-Three because

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1. K nisinnā.
2. B[m] sannisinnā.
3. B[m] *adds* sannipatitā.
4. S[cd] *omit.*
5. K ativirocanti.
6. S[c] asukārāyāti; S[d] K asurakāyāti; S[t] asurakāyāyāti ; B[m] asurākāyāti.
7. Recurs slightly altered below, Mahā-Govinda Sutta, § 2.
8. Vassūpanāyika. Vassa is here used in its technical sense of the yearly Retreat during the rains. See A. I, 51 ; Vin. I, 137.

they had lived the higher life under the Exalted One, they outshone the other gods in appearance and in glory. And thereat, lord, the Thirty-Three were glad and of good cheer, were filled with joy and happiness, saying :— "Verily, sirs, the celestial hosts are waxing, the titanic hosts are waning."

13. Atha kho[1] bhante Sakko devānam Iṇdo devānaṃ Tāvatiṃsānaṃ sampasādaṃ viditvā imāhi gāthāhi anumodi:

> **'Modanti vata bho devā tāvatiṃsā sahindakā,[2]**
> **Tathāgataṃ namassantā Bhammassa ca sudhammataṃ.**
> **Nave va deve[3] passantā vaṇṇavante yasassino**
> **Sugatasmiṃ brahmacaryaṃ[4] caritvāna idhâgate,**
> **Te aññe[5] atirocanti vaṇṇena yasasâyunā**
> **Sāvakā Bhūri-paññassa visesûpagatā idha.**
> **Idaṃ disvāna nandanti Tāvatiṃsā sahindakā[6]**
> **Tathāgataṃ namassantā Dhammassa ca sudhammatan' ti.**

Tena sudaṃ bhante devā Tāvatiṃsā bhiyoso mattāya attamanā honti pamuditā pīti-somanassa-jātā: 'Dibbā vata bho kāyā paripūrenti, hāyanti asura-kāyā 'ti.

13. Now, lord, Sakka, ruler of the gods, when he saw the satisfaction felt by the retinue of the Three-and-Thirty, expressed his approval in these verses :—

> The Three-and-Thirty, verily, both gods and lord, rejoice,
> Tathāgata they honour and the cosmic law sublime[7],
> Whereas they see the gods new-risen, beautiful and bright,
> Who erst the holy life had lived, under the Happy One,

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1. B^{m} K kho, SS *omit.*
2. SS sa-indakā. *See* p. 221.
3. *So* S^{dt} K ; S^{c} nave ca deve ; B^{m} nave deve ca, *and so at* § 18. *At* § 18. *At* § 18 SS nave va deve ; K nave ca deve.
4. *MSS. and* K-cariyaṃ.
5. S^{c} te vaṇṇa *here but* sabbe te *at* § 18 ; S^{dt} te v'aññe *here but* te aññe *at* § 18.
6. S^{c} B^{m} sa-y- ; K sah^{o} *and so* B^{m} K *twice at* §18 *and* SS at § 21.
7. Literally, 'and the fair Norrnness of the Norm,' that is, the rule, not of gods, init of Law.

The Mighty Sage's hearers, who had won to higher truths[1],
Come hither; and in glory all the other gods outshine.
This they behold right gladly, both lord and Thirty-Three,
Tathāgata they honour and the cosmic law sublime.

Hereat, lord, the Three-and-Thirty Gods were even more abundantly glad and of good cheer and filled with joy and happiness, saying :— "Verily the celestial hosts are waxing, the titanic hosts are waning !"

14. Atha[2] bhante yen' atthena devā Tāvatiṃsā Sudhammāyaṃ sabhāyaṃ sannisinnā honti sannipatitā, taṃ atthaṃ cintayitvā taṃ atthaṃ mantayitvā, vutta-vacanā pi taṃ[3] cattāro mahārājā tasmiṃ atthe honti, paccanusiṭṭha-vacanā pi taṃ[4] cattāro mahārājā tasmiṃ atthe honti sakesu[5] āsanesu ṭhitā avipakkantā.

Te vutta-vākyā rājāno paṭigayhânusāsaniṃ[6]
Vippasanna-manā santā aṭṭhaṃsu samhi āsane ti.

14. Then, lord, concerning the object for which the Three-and-Thirty gods were assembled in their seats in the Hall of Good Counsel, they took counsel and deliberated about it; and with respect to that object the Four Great Kings were addressed, and with respect to that object the Four Great Kings were admonished, standing by their seats :—

The uttered word th' admonished Kings accepted there,
Serene in mind and calm they stood each at his place.

15. Atha kho bhante uttarāya disāya uḷāro āloko sañjāyi, obhāso pātur ahosi, atikkamm' eva devānam devânubhāvaṃ.

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1. Visesūpagatā. Sec above, Vol. I, p. 296: 'attains to distinction so excellent.' Perhaps this technical phrase is to be taken here (as in § 28) in its ordinary sense. It would then mean : 'who have attained to the distinction of rebirth among the gods.'
2. B^m K *add* kho.
3. B^m nām' idaṃ; K *agrees with* SS.
4. B^m nām' idaṃ.
5. B^m K sakesu sakesu.
6. S^d pariggay°; S^t paggay°; B^m K paṭigg°. *See* p. 225.

Atha[1] bhante Sakko devānam indo deve Tāvatiṃse āmantesi: 'Yathā[2] kho mārisā nimittā dissanti[3] āloko sañjāyati obhāso pātu bhavati Brahmā pātu bhavissati, Brahmuno[4] etaṃ pubba-nimittaṃ pātubhāvāya yadidaṃ āloko sañjāyati obhāso pātu bhavatīti.'

Yathā unimittrā dissanti Bhrahmāpātu bhavissati,
Brahmuno h' etaṃ nimittaṃ[5] obhāso vipulo mahā ti.

15. Then, lord, a splendid light came forth out of the North, and a radiance shone around surpassing the divine glory of the gods. And, lord, then did Sakka, king of the gods, say to the retinue of the Thirty-Three :— "According, friends, to the signs now seen,— the light that ariseth, the radiance that appeareth— Brahmā will be manifested. For this is the herald sign of the manifestation of Brahmā to wit, when the light ariseth and the glory shineth[6]" :—

The portents now are seen, so Brahmā draweth nigh, For this is Brahma's sign, this glorious splendour vast.

16. Atha kho bhante devā Tāvatiṃsā[7] sakesu āsanesu nisīdiṃsu: 'Obhāsam etaṃ ñassāma[8] yaṃ vipāko bhavissati, sacchikatvā va naṃ gamissāmâti.'

Cattāro pi mahārājā yathā sakesu āsanesu nisīdiṃsu: 'Obhāsam etaṃ ñassāma yaṃ vipāko bhavissati, sacchi-katvā va naṃ gamissāmâti.' Idaṃ sutvā devā[9] Tāvatiṃsā kaggā samāpajjiṃsu: 'Obhāsam etaṃ ñassāma yaṃ vipāko bhavissati, sacchikatvā va naṃ gamissāmâti.'

16. Then, lord, the gods of the Thirty-Three sat down in their own places, saying :— "We will ascertain what shall be the

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1. B^m *adds* kho, *but not* K.
2. S^d yatho ; S^ct yato ; *but see* i, 220 ; ii. 225.
3. B^m *inserts* uḷāro.
4. B^m *adds* h' (*from the verse*).
5. *MSS. and* K pubba-nimittaṃ.
6. So also in the Kevaddha (p. 200, translated above, Vol. I, p. 281).
7. B^m *adds* yathā.
8. K yassām, *and below.*
9. *So* K ; SS B^m *omit.*

result of this radiance, when we have realized it, we will go to meet him. The Four Great Kings also sat down in their own places, saying the same, And when they had heard this, the gods of the Three-and-Thirty were all together agreed :— "We will ascertain what shall be the result of this radiance ; when we have realized it, we will go to meet him."

17. Yadā bhante Brahmā Samaṃkumāro devānaṃ Tāvatiṃsānaṃ pātu bhavati, oḷārikaṃ attabhāvaṃ abhinimminitvā[1] pātu bhavati. yo kho pana bhante Brahmuno pakati-vaṇṇ anabhisambhavanīyo so devānaṃ Tāvatiṃsānaṃ cakkhu-pathasmiṃ. Yadā bhante Brahmā Sanaṃkumāro devānaṃ Tāvatiṃsānaṃ pātu bhavati, so aññe deve atirocati vaṇṇena c' eva yasasā ca. Seyyathā pi bhante sovaṇṇa-viggahaṃ[2] atirocati,[3] evam eva kho bhante yadā Brahmā Sanaṃkumāro devānaṃ Tāvatiṃsānaṃ pātu bhavati, so aññe deve atirocati vaṇṇena c' eva yasasā ca. Yadā bhante Brahmā Sanaṃkumāro devānaṃ Tāvatiṃsānaṃ· pātu bhavati, na tassa[4] parisāyaṃ koci devo abhivādeti vā paccuṭṭheti vā āsanena vā nimanteti. Sabbe va tuṇhī-bhūtā pañjalikā[5] pallaṅke na[6] nisīdanti 'Yassa dāni devassa icchissati Brahmā Sanṃkumāro, tassa devassa pallaṅke nisīdis-satīti.'[7] Yassa kho pana bhante devasa Brahmā Sanaṃ-kumāro pallaṅke[8] nisīdati,[9] uḷāraṃ so labhati devo veda-paṭilābhaṃ, uḷāraṃ so labhati devo somanassa-paṭilābhaṃ. Seyyathā pi bhante rājā khattiyo muddhâ-vasitto adhunâbhisitto[10] rajjena, uḷāraṃ so labhati veda-paṭilābhaṃ, uḷāraṃ so labhati somanassa-

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1. K abhinimmitvā.
2. B[m] K mānusaṃ.
3. B[m] atiroceti.
4. B[m] K tassaṃ.
5. S[c] añjalikā, S[d] pajalikā.
6. *So SS which vary afterwards* ; K pallaṅke, *but in* § 18 -kena.
7. K nisīdissati.
8. S[ct] *add* na.
9. SS nisīdissati.
10. K adhunâvasitto, *and in note* adhunābhisitto ti pi pāṭno.

paṭilābhaṃ, evam eva kho bhante yassa devassa Brahmā Sanaṃ-kuṃāro pallaṅke nisīdati, uḷāraṃ so labhati devo veda-paṭilābhaṃ, uḷāraṃ so labhati devo somanassa-paṭilā-bham.

17. When, lord, Brahmā Sanamkumāra[1] appears before the Thirty-Three gods, he appears as a (relatively) gross personality which he has specially created. For Brahma's usual appearance is not sufficiently materialized to impress the vision of the Thirty-Three Gods. And, lord, when Brahma Sanam-kumāra appears before the Thirty-Three Gods, he outshines the other gods in colour and in glory. Just, lord, as a figure made of gold outshines the human frame, so, when Brahmā Sanamkumāra appears before the Thirty-Three Gods, does he outshine the other gods in colour and in glory. And when, lord, Brahmā Sanamkumāra appears before the Thirty-Three Gods, there is no god in all that assembly that salutes him, or rises up, or invites him to be seated. They all sit in silence, with clasped hands and cross-legged, thinking :— "Of whichever god Brahmā Sanamkumāra now des res anything, he will sit down on that god's divan." And by whichever god he does sit down, that god is filled with a sublime satisfaction, a sublime happiness, even as a Kshatriya king newly anointed and crowned is filled with a sublime satisfaction, a sublime happiness.

18. Atha bhante Brahmā Sanaṃkumāro oḷārikaṃ attabhāvaṃ abhinimminitā[2] kumāra-vaṇṇī[3] hutvā Pañcasikho devānaṃ Tāvatiṃsānaṃ pātur ahosi. So vehāsaṃ abbhuggantvā ākāse antalikkhe pallaṅkena nisīdi. Seyyathā pi bhante balavā puriso supaccatthate vā pallaṅke same vā bhūmi-bhāge pallaṅkena nisīdeyya, evam eva kho bhante Brahmā Sanaṃkumāro vehāsaṃ abhuggantvā ākāse antalikkhe pallaṅkena snisīditvā devānaṃ Tāvatiṃsānaṃ sampasādaṃ imāhi gāthāhi anumodi:

'Modanti vata bho devā Tāvatiṃsā sahindakā,
Tathāgataṃ namassantā Dhammassa ca sudhammataṃ,

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1. See Vol. I, p. 121.
2. K abhinimmitvā.
3. K -vaṇṇo.

Nave va deva passantā vaṇṇavante yasassino,[1]
Sugatasmiṃ[2] **brahmacariyaṃ caritvāna idhâgate.**
Te Aññe atirocanti vaṇṇena yasasâyunā
Sāvakā Bhūri-paññassa visesûpagatā idha.
Idaṃ disvana nandanti Tāvatiṃsā sahindakā,
Tathāgataṃ namassantā Dhammassaca cudhammatan' it.

18. So, lord, Brahmā Sanamkumāra having created a grosser personality and become in appearance as the youth Five-crest[2], manifested himself thus to the gods of the company of the Thirty-Three. Rising up into the air he sat down cross-legged in the sky. Just, lord, as easily as a strong man might sit down cross-legged on a well-spread divan or a smooth piece of ground, even so did Brahmā Sanamkumāra, rising up into the air, sit down cross-legged in the sky. And seeing the tranquillity of the gods of the company of the Thirty-Three he expressed his pleasure in these verses :—

The Three-and-Thirty, verily, both gods and lord, rejoice,
Tathāgata they honour and the cosmic law sublime,
Whereas they see these gods new-risen, beautiful and bright,
Who erst the holy life had lived, under the Happy One,
The Mighty Sage's hearers, who had won to higher truths,
Come hither; and in glory all the other gods outshine.
This they behold right gladly, both lord and Thirty-Three,
Tathāgata they honour and the cosmic law sublime.

19. Idam atthaṃ bhante Brahmā Sanaṃkumāro abhāsittha.[4] **Idam atthaṃ atthaṃ bhante Brahmuno Sanaṃkumārassa bhāsato aṭṭhaṅga-samannāgato saro**[5] **hoti vissaṭṭho**

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1. S[ct] B[m] yasassine.
2. K Sagatasmi.
3. Pañcasikha, which became a famous name in Indian legends, and was adopted by Saivite and Sānkhya writers. It is nowhere explained what, or how disposed, his five crests were.
4. S[c] rāhāsittha; S[dt] B[m] bhāsittha *here and in* § 21.
5. S[dt] *omit.*

ca viññeyye ca mañjū ca savanīyo ca bindu[1] ca avisārī ca gabhīro ca ninnādī ca. Yathā parisaṃ kho pana bhante Brahmā Sanaṃkumāro sarena[2] viññāpeti, na c' assa bahiddhā parisāya ghoso niccharati. Yassa kho pana bhante evaṃ aṭṭhaṅga-samannāgato saro hoti, so vuccati Brahmassaro ti.

19. This was the matter of Brahmā Sanamkumāra's speech. And he spoke it with a voice of eightfold characteristics—in a voice that was fluent, intelligible, sweet, audible, continuous, distinct, deep, and resonant. And whereas, lord, Brahmā Sanamkumāra communicated with that assembly by his voice, the sound thereof did not penetrate beyond the assembly. He whose voice has these eight characteristics is said to be Brahmā-voiced.

20. Atha kho bhante Brahmā Sanaṃkumāro tettiṃse attabhāve abhinimminitvā[3] devānaṃ Tāvatiṃsānaṃ pacceka-pallaṅkesu[4] pallaṅkena nisīditvā deve Tāvatiṃse āmantesi:

'Taṃ kiṃ maññanti bhonto devā Tāvatiṃsā ? Yāva[5] ca[6] so Bhagavā bahujana-hitāya paṭipanno bahujana-sukhāya lokânukampakāya[7] atthāya hitāya sukhāya deva-manussā-naṃ. Ye hi keci bho[8] Buddhaṃ saraṇaṃ gatā dhammaṃ saraṇaṃ gatā saṃghaṃ saraṇaṃ gatā sīlesu paripūrakārino, te kāyassa bhedā param maraṇā app ekacce Parinimmita-Vasavattīnaṃ devānaṃ sahavyataṃ uppajjanti, app ekacce Nimmānarattīnaṃ devānaṃ shavyataṃ uppajjanti, app ekacce Tusitānaṃ devānaṃ [9]. . .Yāmānaṃ devānaṃ . . . Tāvatiṃsānaṃ devānaṃ . . . Catummahārājikānaṃ devānaṃ sahavyataṃ uppajjanti. Ye sabbanihīnaṃ kāyaṃ paripūrenti, te gandhabba-kāyaṃ paripūrentîti.'

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1. S[d] bandu, S[t] bindū.
2. K *inserts* ca.
3. K abhinimmitva.
4. B[m] *inserts* pacceka-; K *omits* paccekapallaṅkesu, *but follows with* paccekapallaṅke.
5. B[m] K yāvañ.
6. K ce.
7. K -kampāya.
8. K bhonto.
9. B[m] K *repeat the whole clause.*

20. Then, lord, Brahmā Sanamkumāra, having created thirty-three shapes of himself, sitting each on the couch of each of the Thirty-Three Gods, thus addressed the Gods :—

"Now what think ye, my lord gods Thirty-and-Three ? Inasmuch as the Exalted One hath acted for the welfare of the peoples, for the happiness of the peoples, out of pity for the world, for the advantage, for the welfare, for the happiness of gods and men, they, whoever they be, Sirs, who have taken the Buddha for their refuge, the Truth for their refuge, the Order for their refuge, they, on the dissolution of the body after death, have been reborn, some of them into the communion of the Paranimmita-Vasavattī gods, some of them into the communion of the Tusita gods, or of the gods in the retinue of Yāma, or of the Thirty-Three Gods, or of the Four Great Kings. Those who fill the number of the lowest group, they go to fill the number of the Gandharva host."

21. Idam atthaṃ bhante Brahmā Sanaṃkumāro abhāsittha. Idam atthaṃ bhante Brahmuno[1], Sanaṃkumārassa bhāsato ghoso[2] yeva[3] devo[4] maññati[5] 'Yo yaṃ[6] mana pallaṅke, so yaṃ[7] eko va[8] bhāsatîti.'

Ekasmiṃ bhāsamānasmiṃ sabbe bhāsanti nimmitā,
Ekasmiṃ tuṇhīm āsīne sabbe tuṇhī bhavanti te.
Tadā su devā maññanti Tāvatiṃ sāhindakā,
Yo ayaṃ[9] mama pallaṅke[10] so 'yaṃ[11] eko va[12] bhāsatîti.

1. SS -na ; K brahmāsanaṃk°.
2. S^c so, S^d soso.
3. S^c yevā.
4. S^c *omits* ; B^m K devā.
5. B^m K -nti.
6. B^m yavâyaṃ.
7. B^m K svâyaṃ.
8. K ca.
9. SS yoyaṃ, K yvâyaṃ.
10. K pallaṅkasmiṃ.
11. K svâyaṃ.
12. K ca.

21. This was the matter of Brahma Sanamkumāra's speech. And he spoke it with such a voice, that each god fancied[1]:— "He who is on my divan, he alone hath spoken."

Speaks but one Brahma-shape, the Thirty-Three all speak;
Silently sits one shape, they all in silence sit. Then all the Three-and-Thirty with their king too think,
He who is on my couch, 'tis he alone that spake [2].

22. Atha kho bhante Brahmā Sanaṃkumāro ekante[3] attānaṃ upasaṃhāsi,[4] ekante attānaṃ upasaṃharitvā Sakkassa devānam indassa pallaṅkena[5] nisīditvā deve Tāvatiṃse āmantesi:

'Taṃ kiṃ maññanti bhonto devā Tāvatiṃsā ? Yāva suppaññattā v'[6] ime tena Bhagavatā jānatā passatā arahatā sammāsambuddhena cattāro iddhipādā iddhi-pahutāya[7] iddhi-visavitāya[8] iddhi-vikubbanatāya. Katame cattāro ? Idha bho bhikkhu chanda-samādhi-padhāna-saṃkhāra-samannāgataṃ bhāveti, viriya-samādhi[9] . . . citta-samādhi . . . vīmaṃsā-samādhi-padhāna-saṃkhāra-samannāgataṃ iddhipādaṃ bhāveti. Ime kho bho tena Bhagavatā jānatā passatā arahatā sammāsambuddhena cattāro iddhipādā paññattā iddhi-pahutāya iddhi-visavitāya iddhi-visavitāya iddhi-

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1. In the text read so so devo.
2. The first couplet of this verse, oddly enough it seems to us, was a great favourite. It survived among the Buddhists for many centuries, and is extant in its Sanskritised form in the Divyāvadāna, p. 166; and also in the Madhyamaka Vritti, p. 118 of the edition published by the Buddhist Text Society.
3. B^m K ekattena, *and below.*
4. K -saṃharati.
5. S^t B^m pallaṅke pallaṅkena ; K pallaṅke.
6. B^m c' ; K p' ; *cp.* § 20.
7. K bahulīkatāya *and below;* K (*note*) iddhipahutāyâti pāṭhena bhavitabbaṃ.
8. K visevitāya, *and below note* iddhi-āsavitāyaī vā iddhi-visatāyâti vā pāṭho.
9. B^m K *repert the clause after each.*

vikubbanatāya. Ye hi[1] keci bho atītam addhānam samaṇā vā brāhmaṇā vā aneka-vihitaṃ[2] iddhi-vidhaṃ paccanu bhosuṃ, sabbe te imesaṃ yeva catunnaṃ iddhipādānaṃ, bhāvitattā bahulī-katattā. Ye hi pi[3] keci bho anāgatam addhānaṃ samanā vā brāhmaṇā aneka-vihitaṃ idhaṃ paccanubhossanti, sabbe te imesaṃ yeva catunnaṃ iddhipādānaṃ bhāvitattā bahulī-katattā. Ye hi pi[4] keci bho etarahi samaṇā vā brāhmaṇā vā aneka-vihitaṃ iddhi-vidhaṃ paccanubhonti, sabbe te imesaṃ yeva catunnaṃ iddhipādā-naṃ bhāvitattā bahulī-katattā. Passanti no bhonto devā Tāvatiṃvāmama pi naṃ[5] evarūpaṃ iddhânubhāvan' ti ?

'Evaṃ Brahme'[6] ti.

'Aham pi kho bho imesaṃ yeva catunnaṃ iddhi-pādā-naṃ bhāvitattā bahulī-katattā evam mahiddhiko evam mahânubhāvo' ti.

22. Then, lord, Brahmā Sanamkumāra betook himself to one end [of the Hall] and then sitting down on the divan of Sakka, lord of the gods, addressed the Thirty-Three Gods :—

"Now what think ye, my lord gods Thirty-and-Three, of the completeness wherewith the Exalted One, who knows, who sees, the Arahant, Buddha Supreme, hath revealed the Four Ways to Iddhi for the development, thereof, for proficiency therein, for the elaboration thereof? Which are the Four Ways? In the first place a brother practises that way which is compounded of con-centration and effort with desire. In the second place a brother practises that way which is compounded of concentration and effort with energy. In the third place a brother practises that way which is compounded of concentration and effort with a [domi-nant] idea. In the fourth place a brother practises that way which is compounded of concentration and effort with investigation.

1. K pi (*but in* § 20 hi).
2. SS *omit here only.*
3. B^m K pi hi *and below.*
4. B^m pi hi.
5. B^m maṃ ; K *prints* mama pimaṃ ; K (Sī) mamapi naṃ.
6. B^m K Mahā-Bhāhme.

These, sir, are the Four Ways to Iddhi revealed by the Exalted One who knows, who sees, the Arahant, Buddha Supreme, for the development thereof, for proficiency therein, for the elaboration thereof[1]. Now those recluses or brahmins who, in past times, have enjoyed Iddhi in one or more of its forms, they have all done so through practice and improvement in just these Four Ways. And those recluses or brahmins who, in future times, will enjoy Iddhi in one or more of its forms, they will all do so through practice and improvement in just these Four Ways. And those recluses or brahmins who, at the present time, enjoy Iddhi in one or more of its forms, they all do so through practice and improvement in just these Four Ways.

Do ye see, my lord gods Thirty-and-Three, in me a potency of Iddhi like that ?"

"Yea, Brahmā."

" I too, Sirs, through practice and improvement in just these Four Ways to Iddhi, have acquired such power and potency therein."

23. Idam atthaṃ bhante Brahmā Sanaṃkumāro abhāsittha. Idam atthaṃ bhante Brahmā Sanaṃkumāro bhāsitvā deve Tāvatiṃse āmantesi :

'Taṃ kim maññanti bhonto devā Tāvatiṃsā ? Yāvañ c' idaṃ tena Bhagavatā jānatā passatā arahatā sammā sambuddhena tayo okāsâdhigamā anubuddhā sukhassâdhigamāya. Katame tayo ?

'Idha bho ekacco saṃsaṭṭho viharati kāmehi, saṃsaṭṭho akusalehi dhammehi. So aparena samayena ariyaṃ dhammaṃ suṇāti, yoniso anasikaroti, dhammânu-dhammaṃ paṭipajjati. So ariya-dhamma-savanaṃ āgamma yoniso manasikāraṃ dhammânudhamma-paṭipattiṃ[2] asamsaṭṭho viharati kāmehi, asaṃsaṭṭho akusalehi dhammehi. Tassa asaṃsaṭṭhassa kāmehi asaṃsaṭṭhassa akusalehi dhammehi uppajjati sukhaṃ, sukhā

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1. There are two sorts of Iddhi, the worldly and the spiritual. On the former see above, Vol. I, pp. 272, 3 ; and on the latter Dīgha III, 112, 113.
2. K Dhamânudhammaṃ paṭipajjati, *and below.*

bhīyo[1] somanassaṃ. Seyyathā pi bho mudā[2] pāmujjaṃ[3] jāyetha, evam eva kho bho asaṃsaṭṭhassa kāmehi asaṃsaṭṭhassa akusalehi dhammehi uppajjati sukhaṃ, sukhā bhīyo somanassaṃ. Ayaṃ kho bho tena Bhagavatā jānatā passatā arahatā sammā-sambuddhena paṭhamo okāsâdhigamo anubuddho sukhassâdhigamāya.

23. Such was the matter of Brahmā Sanamkumāra's speech. And having thus spoken he addressed the Thirty-Three Gods:—

"Now what think ye, my lord gods Thirty-and-Three, of the Three Avenues for arriving at Bliss manifested by the Exalted One who knows, who sees, by the Arahant, Buddha Supreme ? Which are the Three ?

In the first place, Sirs, take a brother who is living m indulgence in the pleasures of sense, in association with bad conditions. He on a certain occasion hears the Aryan Truth, studies it and acquires both the main and the subsidiary doctrines. Having come to this hearing, studying and acquisition, he takes to a life detached from the pleasures of sense, not associated with bad conditions. Under these circumstances he experiences ease and more than ease, happiness. Just as a feeling of complacency may develop into gladness, so does for him, under those circumstances, first ease arise, and, then more than ease, happiness. This, Sirs, is the First Avenue for arriving at Bliss manifested by the Exalted One . . . Buddha Supreme.

24. 'Puna ca paraṃ bho idh' ekaccassa oḷārikā kāya-saṃkhārā appaṭippassaddhā honti, oḷārikā vacī-saṃkhārā . . . pe[4] . . . citta-saṃkhārā appaṭipassaddhā honti. So aparena samayena ariya-dhammaṃ suṇāti, yoniso manasikaroti, dhammânudhammaṃ paṭipajjati. Tassa ariya-dhamma-savanaṃ āgama yoniso-manasikāraṃ dhammânudhamma-paṭipattiṃ[5] oḷārikā kāya-saṃkhārā paṭippassambhamti,

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1. K bhiyyo *and below.*
2. K pamudā, *and below.*
3. K pāmojjaṃ *and below* ; K *note* pāmujjantîti vā pāṭho.
4. K *repeats* appaṭippassaddhā honti.
5. K dhammânudhammaṃ paṭipajjantassa.

oḷārikā vacī-saṃkhārā . . . pe[1]. . . citta-saṃkhārā paṭippassamb-hanti. Tassa oḷārikānaṃ kāya-saṃkhārānaṃ paṭippassaddhiyā, oḷārikānaṃ vacī-saṃkhārānaṃ . . . citta-saṃkhārānaṃ paṭippassaddhiyā uppajjati sukhaṃ, sukhā bhīyo somanassaṃ. Seyyathā pi bho mudā[2] pāmujjam[3] jāyetha, jāyetha, evam eva kho[4] bho oḷārikānaṃ kāya-saṃkhārānaṃ paṭppassaddhiyā oḷāri-kānaṃ vacī-saṃkhārānaṃ . . . citta[2]-saṃkhārānaṃ paṭi-ppassaddhiyā uppajjati sukhaṃ, sukhā bhīyo somanassaṃ. Ayaṃ kho bho tena Bhagavatā jānatā passatā arahatā sammā-sambuddhena dutiyo okāsâdhigamo anubuddho sukhassâdhigamāya.

24. In the next place, Sirs, take a brother in whom the grosser conditions precedent[5] to action, speech and thought are not entirely calmed down. He on a certain occasion hears the Aryan Truth preached, studies it and acquires both the main and subsidiary doctrines. Having arrived at this hearing, studying and acquisition, the grosser conditions precedent to action, speech and thought in him become entirely calmed down. And from this ease is experienced, and then more than ease, happiness. Just as a feeling of complacency may develop into gladness, so does for him, under those circumstances, first ease arise and then more than ease, happiness. This, Sirs, is the Second Avenue for arriving at Bliss manifested by the Exalted One . . . Buddha Supreme.

25. 'Puna ca paraṃ bho idh' ekacco 'idaṃ kusalan' ti yathābhūtaṃ nappajānāti, 'idaṃ akusalan' ti yathā-bhūtaṃ nappajānāti, 'idaṃ sâvajjaṃ[6] idaṃ anavajjaṃ, idaṃ sevitabbaṃ idaṃ na sevitabbaṃ, idaṃ hīnaṃ idaṃ paṇītaṃ, idaṃ kaṇha-sukka-sappaṭibhāgan' ti yathā-bhūtaṃ nappajā-

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1. *Not in* SS ; K *repeats the clause.*
2. B[m] pamudā.
3. S[d] pāmojjaṃ.
4. *So* B[m] K ; SS *omit.*
5. Saṅkhārā. This paragraph throws light on the celebrated verse given above, p. 232.
6. K sāvajjan ti yathābhūtam nappajānāti, *and so throughout.*

nāti. So aparena samayena ariyaṃ dhammam suṇāti, yoniso-manasikaroti, dhammânu-dhammaṃ paṭipajjati. So ariya-dhamma-savanaṃ āgamma yoniso-manasikāraṃ dhammânu-dhamma-paṭi-pattiṃ, 'idaṃ kusalan'ti yathābhūtaṃ pajānāti, 'idaṃ akusalan' ti yathābhūtaṃ pajānāti, 'idaṃ sâvajjaṃ idaṃ anavajjaṃ, idaṃ sevitabbaṃ idaṃ na sevitabbaṃ, idaṃ hīṇaṃ idaṃ paṇītaṃ, idaṃ kaṇha-sukka-sappaṭi-bhāgan' ti yathābhūtam pajānāti. Tassa evaṃ jānato evaṃ passato avijjā pahīyati, vijjā uppajjati. Tass' avijjā-virāgā[1] vijjuppādā uppajjati sukhaṃ, sukhā bhīyo somanassaṃ. Seyyathā pi bho mudā[2] pāujjaṃ jāyetha, evam eva kho bho[3] avijjā-virāgā[4] vijjuppādā uppajjati sukhaṃ, sukhā bhīyo somanassaṃ. Ayaṃ kho bho tena Bhagavatā jānatā passatā arahatā sammā-sambuddhena tatiyo okāsâdhigamo anubuddho sukhassâdhi-gamāya.

'Ime kho bho tena Bhagavatā jānatā passatā arahatā sammā-sambuddhena tayo okāsavdhigamā anubuddhā sukkhassâdhigamāyâti.'

25. In the third place. Sirs, take the case of a brother who does not really know that 'This is good,' 'This is bad,' 'This is wrong,' 'This is not wrong,' 'This is to be followed,' 'This is to be avoided,' 'This is base,' 'This is excellent,' 'This is of mixed dark and bright quality.' He on a certain occasion hears the Aryan Truth, studies it and acquires the main and subsidiary doctrines. Having arrived at this hearing, study and acquisition, he now really knows that 'This is good,' he really knows that 'This is bad,' 'This is wrong,' 'This is not wrong,' 'This is to be followed,' 'This is to be avoided,' 'This is base,' 'This is excellent,' 'This is of mixed dark and bright quality.' For him thus knowing, thus seeing, ignorance is put away, wisdom has arisen. From this extinction of ignorance, from the arising of wisdom, a sense of ease arises and, then more than ease, happiness. Just as a feeling

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1. B^m avijjāvitarāgā, *and below.*
2. B^m K pamudā.
3. B^m *omits, but not* K.
4. B^m vitar°.

of complacency may develop into gladness, so does for him, under these circumstances, first ease arise, and then more than ease, happiness. This, Sirs, is now the Third Avenue for arriving at Bliss manifested by the Exalted One who knows, who sees, Arahant, Buddha Supreme.

These, Sirs, are the Three Avenues for arriving at Bliss manifested by the Exalted One, who knows and sees, the Arahant, Buddha Supreme."

26. Idam atthaṃ bhante Brahmā Sanaṃkumāro abhāsittha. Idam atthaṃ bhante Brahmā sanaṃkumāro bhāsitvā deve Tāvatiṃse āmantesi :

'Taṃ kim maññanti bhonto devā Tāvatiṃsā ? Yāva suppaññattā v'[1] ime tena Bhagavatā jānatā passatā arahatā sammāsambuddhena cattāro satipaṭṭhānā kusalassâdhi-gamāya. Katame cattāro ? Idha bho bhikkhu ajjhattaṃ kāye kāyânupassī viharati ātāpī sampajāno satimā vineyya loke abhijjhā domanassaṃ. Ajjhattaṃ kāye kāyânupassī viharanto tattha sammā samā samādhiyati sammā vippasīdati. So tattha sammā samāhito sammā vippasanno bahiddhā para-kāye ñāṇa-dassanaṃ abhinib-batteti. Ajjhattaṃ vedanāsu . . . pe . . . citte . . . pe . . . dhammesu dhammânupassī viharati ātāpī sam-pajāno satimā vineyya loke abhijjhā domanassaṃ. Ajjhattaṃ dhammesu dhammânupassī viharanto tattha sammā samādhiyatî sammā vippasanno So tattha sammā samāhito sammā vippasanno bahiddhā paradhammmesu ñāṇadassanaṃ abhinibbatteti.

'Ime kho bho tena Bhagavatā jānatā-passatā arahatā sammā-sambuddhena cattāro satipaṭṭhānā paññattā kusalassâdhigamāyâti.'

26. On this matter, lord, did Brahmā Sanamkumāra speak. And having so spoken he addressed the Thirty-Three Gods :—

"Now what think ye, my lord gods Thirty-and-Three of the completeness wherewith the Exalted One, who knows, who sees, the Arahant, Buddha Supreme, hath revealed the Four

1. B[m] c' : K p'.

Inceptions of Mind-fulness[1] for attaining to the Good. And which are the Four ? Take, Sirs, a brother who abides subjectively watchful over the body, ardent self-possessed mindful, that he may discern the unhappiness arising from coveting the things of the world. So, subjectively watchful, he attains to right concentration and right calm. He, having right concentration and right calm in his physical being, evokes knowledge of and insight into all other physical forms external to himself. So, again, he abides subjectively watchful over his feelings . . . over his heart, . . . over his ideas, ardent self-possessed mindful, that he may discern the unhappiness arising from coveting the things of the world. So, subjectively watchful, he attains to right concentration and right calm. He, having right concentration and right calm in his feelings . . . his heart . . . his ideas, evokes knowledge of and insight into the ideas of others external to himself.

These, Sirs, are the Four Inceptions of Deliberation for attaining to the Good completely revealed by the Exalted One, who knows, who sees, the Arahant, Buddha Supreme."

27. Idam atthaṃ bhante Brahmā Sanaṃkumāro abhāsittha. Ida atthaṃ bhante Brahmā Sanmmṃkumāro bhāsitvā deve Tāvatiṃse āmantesi :

'Taṃ kim maññanti bhonto devā Tāvatiṃsā ? Yāva suppaññattā v' ime[2] tena Bhagavatā jānatā passatā ara-hatā sammā-sambuddhena satta samādhi-parikkhārā[3] sammā-samādhissa bhāvanāya[4] samādhissa[5] pāripūriyā. Katame satta? Seyyathîdaṃ sammā-diṭṭhi, sammā-saṃkappo, sammā-vācā, sammā-kammanto, sammā-ājīvo, sammā-vāyāmo, sammā-sati. Yā kho bho imehi satta[6] aṅgehi cittass' ekaggatā parikkhatā,[7] ayaṃ vuccati bho ariyo sammā-samādhi sa-

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1. The four Satipattānas.
2. B[m] cime ; K pime.
3. Ang. iv. 40 ; comp. M. i. 301, Asl. 305.
4. B[m] pari bhāv°.
5. B[m] K *omit.*
6. S[t] sattahi *corrected to* satta ; B[m] K Hardy sattah'.
7. SS B[m] parikkhattā ; K parikkhatā; Sum. parikhārā.

upaniso iti pi saparikkahāro iti pi.[1] Sammā-diṭṭhissa bho sammā-saṃ-kappo pahoti,[2] sammā-saṃkappassā sammā-vācā pahoti, sammā-vācassa sammā-kammanto pahoti, sammā-kam-mantassa sammā-ājīvo pahoti, sammā-ājīvassa sammā-vāyāmo pahoti, sammā-vāyāmassa sammā-sati pahoti, sammā-satissa sammā-samādhi pahoti, sammā-samādhissa samā-ñāṇaṃ pahoti, sammā-ñāṇassa sammā-vimutti pahoti.

'Yaṃ hi taṃ bho sammā-vadamāno vedeyya : "Svāk-Khāto Bhagavatā[3] dhammo sandiṭṭhiko akāliko ehipassiko opanayiko[4] paccattaṃ veditabbo viññūhîti,[5] Apārūtā[6] amatassa dvārā[7] ti" dam eva taṃ sammā-vadamāno vadeyya.[8] Savākkhāto hi bho[9] Bhagavatā dhammo sandiṭṭhiko akāliko ehipassiko opanayiko pac cattaṃ veditabbo viññūhi,[10] apārūtā[11] amatassa dvārā.[12]

'Ye hi keci bho Buddhe aveccappasādena samannāgatā. Dhamme aveccappasādena samannāgatā, Saṃghe avecca-ppasādena samannāgatā, ariya-kantehi sīkegu samannā-gatā, ye hi[13] kec' ime opapātikā dhamma[14]-vinītā[15] sâtirekāni catu-vīsati-sata-sahassāni Māgadhaka paricā rakā abbhatītā

1. S^c *omits the second* iti pi.
2. K ca hoti, *and onwards.*
3. S^d Bhagavato.
4. S^d *omits* ; B^m opaneyyiko *and below.*
5. B^m viññūhi, *and below. It looks as if the sentence may have once ended with* viññuhîti, *as on p.* 222 *and often elsewhere.*
6. S^c apāyutā, *corrected to* apārūyutā ; S^d apārūpātā, *corrected to* apārūtā ; K apārutā.
7. S^c dvāra, *omits* ti.
8. S^c *ommits* idam . . . vadeyya ; B^m idam etaṃ, *etc.* ; K Idam eva taṃ Sammā-sambuddhe aveccappasādena samnnāgataṃ, *etc.*
9. K *omits.*
10. SS vinnūhīti ; B^m -ñūhi ; *so* K here.
11. S^d apārūpā ; K apārutā.
12. S^c dvāra ; B^m *add* ti.
13. S^d *omits* ye hi ; S^t *omits* hi ; K B^m ye cime.
14. S^c dhammā ; K dhamme.
15. B^m vinitā.

kālakatā[1] tiṇṇaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ parik-khayā sotâpannā avinipāta-dhammmā niyatā sambodhi-parāyanā, [2] atthi c' ev' etthe sakadāgāmin,

Athâyaṃ itarā pajā
Puññâbhāgā[3] ti me mano[4]
Saṃkhātuṃ no pi[5] sakkomi
Musā-vādassa ottappan[6] ti.'

27. On this matter did Brahmā Sanamkumāra speak. And having spoken he addressed the Thirty-Three Gods :—

"Now what think ye, my lord gods Thirty-and Three, of the completeness wherewith the Exalted One, who knows, who sees, the Arahant, Buddha Supreme, hath revealed the Seven Requisites of In-tellectual Concentration[7], for practice of right Rapture, for the perfecting of Rapture ? Which are the Seven ? Right views, right intention, right speech, right action, right live-lihood, right effort, right mindfulness. That concentration of thought, Sirs, which is prepared by these seven factors, is called the Noble Right Rapture together with its bases, together with its requisites. Right intention suffices to maintain right views, right speech suffices to maintain right intention, right action suffices to maintain right speech, right livelihood suffices to maintain right action, right effort suffices to maintain right livelihood, right mindfulness suffices to maintain right effort, right rapture suffices to maintain right mindfulness, right knowledge suffices to maintain right rapture, right freedom suffices to maintain right knowledge.

If any one uttering right speech, Sirs, were to say :— 'Well hath the Exalted One proclaimed the Truth,— the Norm

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1. B[m] Kālaṅk[o].
2. S[d] Atth' ime 'v' ettha.
3. S[c] bhāga.
4. K puññabhāgāti mama me.
5. K *omits* no pi.
6. B[m] ottapan.
7. Samādhi-parikkhārā.

that in this life beareth fruit, that avails not for a time only[1], that welcometh every one, that leadeth away and onward, that each one who hath intelligence may of and by himself understand!' Then in saying :

"Wide opened are the portals to Nirvana!"

He would be rightly saying that. For, Sirs, the doctrine well proclaimed by the Exalted One is all that; and

"Wide opened are the portals to Nirvana!"

For, Sirs, whosoever has unwavering[2] faith in the Buddha, unwavering faith in the Truth, unwavering faith in the Order, and is endowed with the virtues pleasing to the Noble Ones; and whatsoever new gods have appeared in our midst, led hither by the Law, to wit more than twenty-four lacs of Magadha disciples now dead and gone[3]; these all through complete destruction of the Three Bonds, have become converted, and cannot be reborn in any state of woe, but are assured of attaining to the Insight (of the highest stages of the Path). Moreover there are here Onee-returners ;

"But of that other Breed to tell,
Of higher merit[4], lo! the tale
I cannot reckon, lest perchance
I should offend against the truth."

28. Idam atthaṃ bhante Brahmā Sanaṃkumāro abhāsittha. Idam atthaṃ bhantẹ Brahmuno Sanaṃkumārssa

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1. akālika. The opposite tāvakālika occurs above, p. 195.
2. Avecca, not as Childers thought from ava + eti but from a + vi + eti. Buddhaghosa says acala. Veti (not in Childers) is to wane (see S. I, 135; A. II, 51; KV. 66; Asl. 329), but one can scarcely say 'unwaning faith.'
3. The reading is uncertain. As it stands the deceased disciples belong only to the second group—the new gods. It is quite possible that it is intended to include them also among the men of faith and virtue in the first group.
4. These must be Anāgāmtns, Non-returners, those who, reborn in one of the heavens, will attain Arahantship there, without returning at all to this world.

bhāsato Vessacanassa Mahārājassa evaṃ cetaso parivitakko udapādi : 'Acchariyaṃ vata bho, abbhutaṃ vata bho, evaruepo pi nama[1] uḷāro satthā bhavissati, evarūpaṃ uḷāraṃ dhammakkhānaṃ, evarūpā uḷārā visesâdhigamā paññāyissantîti.'

Atha bhante Brahmā Sanaṃkumāro Vessavanassa Mahārājassa cetasā ceto-parivitakkam aññāya vessavanaṃ Mahārājaṃ etad avoca :

'Taṃ kim maññati bhavaṃ Vessavano Mahārājā ? Atītam pi addhānaṃ evarūpo uḷāro satthā ahosi, evarū-paṃ uḷāraṃ dhammakkhānaṃ, evarūpā uḷārā visesâdhi-gamā paññāyiṃsu. Anāgatam pi addhānaṃ evarūpo uḷāro satthā bhavissati, evarūpaṃ earūpaṃ uḷāraṃ dhammakkhānaṃ, evarūpā uḷārā visesâdhigamā paññāyissantîti.'

28. This, lord, was the matter of Brahmā Sanamkumāra's speech. And concerning what he had spoken, the reflection arose in the mind of the Great King Vessavana :— "Wonderful truly is it, Sirs, marvellous is it, that there should be so glorious a Teacher, so glorious a proclaiming of the Truth, and that such glorious avenues to distinction[2] should be made known!"

Then, lord, Brahmā Sanamkumāra discerning this reflection in the mind of the Great King Vessavana, spake thus to him:—

"Now what thinks my lord, the Great King Vessavana ? There both has been in past times, a Teacher so glorious, a proclaiming of the Truth so glorious, a making known such glorious avenues to distinction, and there will be also in future times a Teacher so glorious, a proclaiming of the Truth so glorious, a making known such glorious avenues to distinction."

29. Idam atthaṃ[3] Brahmā Sanaṃkumāro devānaṃ Tāvatiṃsānaṃ abhāsi. Idam atthaṃ Vessavano Mahārājā Brahmuno Sanaṃkumārassa devānaṃ Tāvatiṃsānaṃ bhāsato

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1. S^{c} *omits* pi nāma.
2. Visesādhigamā. See note above on § 13.
3. S^{d} B^{m} K *insert* bhante.

sammukhā sutvā sammukhā paṭiggahetvā[1] sapa-risāyaṃ[2] ārocesi. Idam atthaṃ Janavasabho yakkho Vessavanassa Mahārājassa [3]parisāyaṃ bhāsato sammukhā sutvā sammukhā paṭiggahetvā Bhagavato ārocesi. Idam atthaṃ Bhagavā Janavasabhassa yakkhassa sammukhā sutvā sammukhā paṭiggahetvā sāman ca abhiññāya[4] āyasmato Ānandassa ārocesi. Idam atthaṃ āyasmā Anando Bhagavato sammukhā sutvā sammukhā paṭigga-hetvā ārocesi bhikkhūnaṃ bhikkhunīnaṃ upāsakānaṃ upākanaṃ. Tayidaṃ bramacari-yaṃ iddhañ c' eva bhītañ ca vitthāritaṃ bāhujaññaṃ puthubhūtaṃ yāvad eva manussehi suppakāsitan ti.[5]

29. This was the matter whereof Brahmā Sanam-kumāra spoke to the Thirty-Three Gods. And this matter the Great King Vessavana, when he had, in his own person, heard it and assented to it, reported to his own following. And this matter the spirit Jana-vasabha, when he had in his own person heard it so re-ported by Vessavana, reported to the Exalted One. And this matter the Exalted One, when he had in his own person heard it and assented to it, and had also intuitively discerned it reported to Ānanda. And this matter the venerable Ānanda, when he had in his own person heard it from the Exalted One and assented to it, reported to the brethren and the sisterhood, to believing laymen and laywomen. And the System waxed influential and prosper-ous and expanded and broadened with the numbers that joined, so well was it spread abroad among men.[6]

Janavasabha-Suttaṃ Niṭṭhitaṃ.[7]

Here endeth Jana-vasabha's Story.

1. Bm K sutaṃ sammukhā patiggahitaṃ (*twice, but not the third and fourth times*) ; K (Sī) sutvā sammukhā paṭiggahetvā.
2. Sd yaṃ ; Bm sayaṃ ; K sāyaṃ parisāyaṃ ; K (Sī) saparisāyaṃ.
3. Sd *inserts* saṃ ; Bm sayaṃ ; K sāyaṃ.
4. Sd pañña (*corrected to* pañca) abhiññā ; Sct pañca abhiññāya.
5. = XVI. 3, 35, 36 (*above* pp. 113, 114).
6. Afterwards interpreted to mean 'gods and men' (see pp. 235, 336). But the last two sentences refer here to men and women only. To put in the gods spoils the climax.
7. Bm K Janavasabha-Suttaṃ pañcamaṃ.

INTRODUCTION
TO THE
Mahā-Govinda Sutta

The Mahā Govinda Sutta is of great importance from the standpoint of ancient Indian history and geography. For a Buddhist conception of the shape of India, we have to turn to this Sutta which states that India is broad on the north whereas in the south it is sakaṭamukhaṁ *i.e.* has the form of the front portion of a cart and is divided into seven equal parts. The description of the shape as given in this Sutta agrees Wonderfully with that given in this Sutta agrees wonderfully with that given by the chinese author. Fahkai-lih-to. It is really very important in the history of Pāli literature. It is no less important as one of the earliest examples cited in the Cullaniddera of the Jātaka that in a way served as a model for the birth Stories in the later commentaries. It introduces us to the Sudhamma or mote Hall of the gods Tāvatimisa Heaven, where all the gods with sakka, king of gods, as President, are have assembled and rejoiced at the increase in their numbers "through the appearance in their midst, of new gods, produced by the good karma of the followers of the new view of life put forward by Gotama". Sakka (lord of the gods) uttered eight paragraphs in eulogy of the Buddha. Next we find Mahā Brahmā's views of an ideal brahmin. The facts of the Mahā. Govinda Sutta are found in different phraseology and order in the Mahāvastu (Govindīya Sutra).

The Mahā-Govinda Sutta also deals with Nibbāna (Nirbāna), the Path leading to it, practice of piety, danger of delay, the lower and higher ways. It also gives us an account of Mahā-Govinda's renouncing the words with a large number of followers and his seven wives.

xix. Mahā-Govinda Sutta[1]

The lord high steward

1. Evam me sutaṃ ekaṃ samayaṃ Bhagavā Rājagahe viharati Gijjha-kūṭe pabbate. Atha kho Pañcasikho Gandhabba-putto abhikkantāya rattiyā abikkanta-vaṇṇo[2] kevala-kappaṃ Gijjhakūṭaṃ[3] obhāsetvā yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhāsi. Ekamantaṃ ṭhito kho Pañcasikho Gandhabba-putto Bhagavantaṃ etad avoc :

'Yam me bhante devānaṃ Tāvatiṃsānaṃ sammukhā sutaṃ sammukhā patiggahītaṃ,[4] ārocem' etaṃ bhante[5] Bhagavato ti.'

'Arocehi me tvaṃ Pañcasikhâti.' Bhagavā avoca.

1. Thus have I heard. The Exalted One was once staying at Rājagaha on Vulture-peak Hill. Now when the night was far spent, Five-crest of the Gandharva fairies,[6] beautiful to see, irradiating the whole of Vulture-peak, came into the presence of the Exalted One, and saluted him, and stood on one side. So standing Five-crest the Gandharva addressed the Exalted One, and said:—

'The things, lord, that I have seen, the things I have noted when in the presence of the gods in the heaven of the Three-and-Thirty, I would tell to the Exalted One.'

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1. *Referred to as a* Jātaka *at* jāt. i. 45, 46. *See also* iii. 469. *Compare* Mahāvastu iii. 197-240.
2. S[c] B[m] vaṇṇā.
3. B[m] -kuṭapabbataṃ.
4. B[m] K-hitaṃ.
5. B[m] K *omit.*
6. Pañcasikho Gandhabbo. See above, p. 244.

'Tell thou me, Five-crest,' said the Exalted One.

2. Purimāni bhante divasāni purimatarāni, tadahu 'posathe paṇṇarase pavāraṇāya puṇṇamāya rattiyā kevalakappā ca devā Tāvatiṃsā Sudhammāyaṃ sabhāyaṃ sannisinnā honti sannipatitā, mahatī ca dibbā[1] parisā samantato nisinnā honti, cattāro ca Maharājā[2] cātuddisā nisinnā honti. Puratthimāya disāya Dhataraṭṭho Mahā-rājā pacchâbhimukho[3] nisinno hoti deve[4] purakkhatvā.[5] Dakkhiṇāya disāya Virūḷhako Mahārājā uttarâbhimukho nisinno hoti deve purakkhatvā. Pacchimāya disāya Virūpakkho Mahārājā puratthâbhimukho nisinno hoti deve purakkhatvā. Uttarāya disāya Vessavaṇo Mahārājā dakkhiṇâbhimukho nisinno hoti deve purakkhatvā. Yadā bhante kevalakappā ca devā Tāvatiṃsā Sudhammāyaṃ sabhāaṃ sannisinnā honti sannipatitā, mahatī ca dibbā parisā samantato nisinnā honti,[6] cattāro ca mahārājā catuddisā nisinnā honti, idaṃ tesaṃ[7] hoti āsanasmiṃ, atha pacchā amhākaṃ āsanaṃ hoti. Ye te bhante devā Bhagavati brahmacariyaṃ caritvā adhun-bhante devā Bhagavati brahmacariyaṃ caritvā adhun-uppannā[8] Tāvatiṃsa-kāyā[9], te aññe deve atirocanti vaṇṇena c' eva yasasā[10] ca. Tena sudaṃ bhante devā Tāvatiṃsā attamanā honti pamuditā pīti[11]-somanassa-jātā: "Dibbā vata bho kāyā paripūrenti,[12] hāyanti asura-kāyā ti."

2. 'In days gone by, lord, in days long long gone by, on

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1. B^{m} K dibba-.
2. B^{m} K rājāno, *and below.*
3. B^{m} pacchāmukho, *and so throughout.*
4. B^{m} deva ; K devehi, *and so throughout.*
5. B^{m} pūrakkhitvā, *and below.*
6. B^{m} hoti.
7. S^{cd} B^{m} nesaṃ.
8. B^{m} K addhunûpap°.
9. B^{m} K -kāyaṃ.
10. B^{m} atiro centi deve nave yasasā.
11. B^{m} *omits* pīti, *and so in* § 4, *but not in* § 12.
12. SS paripūranti *here ;* -purenti *in* § 3.

the Fifteenth, the holy-day, at the Feast of the Invitations[1] on the night of full moon, all the gods in the heaven of the Thirty-Three were assembled, sitting in their Hall of Good Counsel. And a vast celestial company was seated round about, and at the four quarters of the firmament sat the Four Great Kings. There was Dhatarattha, king of the East, seated facing the west, presiding over his host; Virûlhaka, king of the South, seated facing the north, presiding over his host; Virûpakkha, king of the West, seated facing the east, presiding over his host; and Vessavana, king of the North, seated facing the south, presiding over his host. Whenever, lord, all the gods in the heaven of the Thirty-Three are assembled, and seated in their Hall of Good Counsel, with the vast celestial company seated around them, and with the Four Great Kings at the four quarters of the firma-merit, this is the order of the seats of the four. After that come our seats. And those gods, lord, who had been recently reborn in the hosts of the Three-and-Thirty because they had lived the higher life under the Exalted One, they outshone the other gods in appearance and in glory. Thereat, verily, lord, the Three-and-Thirty gods were glad and of good cheer, were filled with joy and happiness, saying, "Verily, sirs, the celestial hosts are waxing; the hosts of the titans are waning!"

3. Atha[2] bhante Sakko devānam Indo devānaṃ Tāvatiṃsānaṃ pasādaṃ[3] viditvā imāhi gāthāhi anumodi:

'Modanti vata bho devā Tāvatiṃsā sahindakā,[4]
Tathāgataṃ namassantā dhammassa ca sudhammataṃ.[5]
Nave va[6] deve passantā[7] vaṇṇavante yasassino,[8]

1. Pavāranā.
2. B[m] K *insert* kho.
3. B[m] K sappasādaṃ.
4. *So SS at pp.* 212, 227, S[d] *here, and* B[m] K *always.* S[t] *here* sayindakā. S[c] *here and SS at p.* 211 sa-indakā. *See* Jāt. 5, 223, *compared with* 123 ; Mahāvastu iii. 203 *has* saśakrakā.
5. B[m] dhammataṃ.
6. B[th] naceca.
7. S[d] pasannā ; S[t] passante.
8. S[ct] B[m] -ine.

Sugatasmiṃ brahmacariyaṃ caritvāna idhâgate.
Te aññe atirocanti[1] vaṇṇena yasasâyunā,[2]
Sāvakā Bhūri-paññassa visesûpagatā idha.
Idaṃ disvāna nandanti Tāvatiṃsā sahindakā,
Tathāgataṃ namassantā dhammassa ca sudhammatan ti.'

Tena sudaṃ bhante devā Tāvatiṃsā bhītisi nattāta attanabā honti pamuditā pīti-somanassa-jātā: "Dibbā vata bho kāyā paripūrenti, hāyanti asura-kāyā ti."

3. 'Then Sakka, lord, ruler of the gods, when he saw the satisfaction felt by the Three-and-Thirty gods, expressed his approval in these verses :—

The Three-and-Thirty, verily, both gods and lord, rejoice,
Tathāgata they honour and the cosmic law sublime,
Whereas they see these gods new-risen, beautiful and bright,
Who erst the holy life had lived, under the Happy One,
The Mighty Sage's hearers, who had won to higher truths,
Come hither ; and in glory all the other gods outshine.
This they behold right gladly, both lord and Thirty-Three,
Tathāgata they honour and the cosmic law sublime.

'Hereat, lord, the Three-and-Thirty gods were even more abundantly glad and of good cheer, and filled with joy and happiness, saying : "Verily, sirs, the celestial hosts are waxing ; the hosts of the titans are waning!"

4. Atha[3] bhante Sakko devānam indo devānaṃ Tāvatiṃsānaṃ sampasādaṃ viditvā deve Tāvatiṃse āmantesi:

"Iccheyyātha no tumhe mārisā tassa Bhagavato aṭṭha yathā-bhucce vaṇṇe sotun ti ?"

"Iccheyyāma mayaṃ mārisa tassa Bhagavato aṭṭha yathā-bhucce vaṇṇe sotun ti."

Atha bhate Sakko devānam indo devānaṃ Tāvaṭiṃsānaṃ Bhagavato aṭṭha yathā-bhucce vaṇṇe payirudāhāsi.[4]

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1. B^m -centi.
2. S^cd B^m -yunā ; S^t -yutā.
3. B^m *adds* kho.
4. B^m pariyud° ; SS *sometimes* payirūpādāhāsi *and* payirudābhāsi. *See* § 12, 19.

4. 'Then Sakka, lord, perceiving the satisfaction of the Three-and-Thirty gods, addressed them thus :—

"Is it your wish, gentlemen, to hear eight truthful items in praise of that Exalted One ?"

"It is our wish, sir, to hear them."

'Then Sakka, lord, ruler of the gods, uttered before the Three-and-Thirty gods these eight truthful items in praise of the Exalted One :—

5. "Taṃ kim maññanti bhonto devā Tāvatiṃsā ? Yāva c'[1] assa so Bhagavā bahujana-hitāya paṭipanno bahujana-sukhāya lokânukamapakāya[2] atthāya hitāya sukhāya deva-manussānaṃ, evaṃ bahujana-hitāya paṭipannaṃ bahu-jana-sukhāya lokânukampakāya atthāya sukhāya deva-manussā-naṃ, iminā p' aṅgena samannāgataṃ satthāraṃ, n'eva atītaṃse samanupassāma, na pan' etarahi aññatra tena Bhagavatā.

5. "Now what think ye, my lords gods Three-and-Thirty ? Inasmuch as the Exalted One has so wrought for the good of the many, for the happiness of the many, for the advantage, the good, happiness of gods and men, out of compassion for the world— a teacher of this kind, of this character, we find not, whether we survey the past or whether we survey the present— save only the Exalted One.

6. "Svākkhāto kho pana tassa Bhagavato dhammo[3] sandiṭṭhiko akāliko[4] ehipassiko opanayiko[5] paccattaṃ vedi-tabbo viññūhi.[6] Evam opanayikassa dhammassa desetāraṃ, iminā p' aṅgena samannāgataṃ satthāraṃ, n'eva atītaṃse samanupassāma, na pan' etarahi aññatra tena Bhagavatā.

6. "Inasmuch, again, as the Doctrine has been proclaimed

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1. S[d] yāvam ; B[m] yavañcabhogavā (*the* ā *after*) bh *being apparently crossed out*) ; K yāvañceso Bhagavā.
2. S[d] sukhânukampakāya ; B[m] -kampāya, *and below, and at* § 13.
3. B[m] dhammā.
4. S[dt] *omits.*
5. B[m] opaneyiko.
6. SS viññūhīti. *See* pp. 217, 228.

by that Exalted One, a Doctrine for the life that now is, a Doctrine not for mere temporarỳ gain, a Doctrine of welcome and of guidance, to be comprehended by the wise each in his own heart—a preacher of such a Doctrine so leading us on, a teacher of this kind, of this character we find not, whether we survey the past, or whether we survey the present, save only the Exalted One.

7. " Idaṃ kusalan ti kho pana[1] tena Bhagavatā suppaññattaṃ, idam akusalan ti suppaññattaṃ,[2] idaṃ sâvajjaṃ idam avavajjaṃ, idaṃ sevitabbaṃ idaṃ na sevitabbaṃ, idaṃ hīnaṃ idaṃ paṇītaṃ, idaṃ kaṇha-sukka-sappaṭibhāgan ti suppaññattaṃ. Evaṃ kusalâkusala-sâvajjâ-navajja[3]-sevitabbâsevitabba-hīnappaṇīta-kaṇhasukka-sappaṭi-bhāgānaṃ dhammānaṃ paññāpetā-raṃ[4] iminā p' aṅgena samannāgataṃ satthāraṃ, n' eva atītaṃse samanupassāma, na pan' etarahi aññatra tena Bhagavatā.

7. " 'This is good ; that is bad' —well has this been revealed by that Exalted One, well has he revealed that this is wrong, and that is right, that this is to be followed, that to be avoided, that this is base and that noble, that this is of the Light and this of the Dark[5]. Such a Revelation of the nature of things, a teacher of this kind, of this character we find not, whether we survey the past, or whether we survey the present, save only the Exalted One.

8. "Suppaññattā kho pana tena Bhagavatā sāvakā-naṃ nibbāna-gāminī paṭipadā, saṃsandati nibbānañ ca paṭipadā ca. Seyyathā pi nāma Gaṅgodakaṃ Yamu-nodakena saṃsandati sameti,[6] evam eva suppaññattā tena Bhagavatā sāvakānam nibbāna-gāminī paṭipadā, saṃsandati nibbānañ

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1. Bᵐ *omits.*
2. Bᵐ K supañ°.
3. K -ānāvajja (*see* § 22).
4. Bᵐ pañapet°; K paññapet°.
5. In Milinda, these contrasted distinctions are given to illustrate the exercise of sati ('minding' or 'remembering') by way of careful practice. 'Questions of King Milinda,' i. 58.
6. Jāt. v. 496.

ca paṭipadā ca. Evam nibbāna-gāmini[1] paṭipadāya paññāpetāraṃ iminā p' aṅgena samannāgataṃ satthāraṃ n' eva atītaṃse samanupassāma, na pan' etarahi aññatra tena Bhagavatā.

8. "Well revealed, again, to his disciples by that Exalted One is the Way leading to Nirvana ; they run one into the other, Nirvana and the Way. Even as the waters of the Ganges and the Jumna flow one into the other, and go on together united, so it is with that well-revealed Way leading to Nirvana; they run one into the other, Nirvana and the Way. A revealer of such a Way leading to Nirvana, a teacher of this kind, of this character we find not, whether we survey the past, or whether we survey the present, save only that Exalted One.

9.[2] "Laddha-sahāyo kho pana so Bhagavā sekhānañ c' eva pāṭipadānaṃ khīṇâsavānañ ca vusitavataṃ,[3] te[4] Bhagavā apanujja[5] ekârāmataṃ anuyutto viharati. Evaṃ ekârāmataṃ anuyuttam iminā p' aṅgena samannāgataṃ satthāraṃ n' eva atītaṃse samanupassāma, na pan' etarahi aññatra tena Bhagavatā.

9. "Comrades too has this Exalted One gotten, both students only, travelling along the Way, and Arahants who have lived 'the life.' Them does he not send away, but dwells in fellowship with them whose hearts are set on one object. A teacher so dwelling, of this kind, of this character, we find not, whether we survey the past, or whether we survey the present, save only that Exalted One.

10. " Abhinippanno[6] kho pana tassa Bhagavato lābho, abhinippanno siloko, yāva maññe[7] khattiyā sampiyāyamāna-rūpā viharanti, vigata-mado kho pana so Bhagavā

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1. B^m K gāminiyā.
2. B^m *places this section after* § 10 (*as at p.* 229).
3. S^d B^m vusitaṃ vataṃ.
4. B^m K tena.
5. B^m apanajja ; S^cdt anupajja. *See* § 24.
6. K abhinipphanno ; K (*note*) abhinippanno ti vā pāṭho.
7. B^m pañña (*in* § 25 añña *without* p').

āhāraṃ[1] āhāreti. Evaṃ vigata-madaṃ āhāraṃ āhari-yamā-naṃ iminā p' aṅgena samannāgataṃ satthāraṃ n' eva atītaṃse samanupassāma, na pan' etarahi aññatra tena Bhagavatā.

10. "Well established[2] are the gifts made[3] to that Blessed One, widely established is his fame, so much so that the nobles, methinks, continue well disposed towards him. Yet notwithstanding, that Exalted One takes sustenance with a heart unintoxicated by pride. One so living, a teacher of this kind, of this character, we find not, whether we survey the past, or whether we survey the present, save only that Exalted One.

11. "Yathā-vādī kho pana so Bhagavā tathā-kārī, yathā-kārī tathā-vādī. Iti yathā-vādī tathā-kārī yāthākarī tathā-vādī evaṃ dhammânudhamma-paṭipannaṃ iminā p' aṅgena samannāgataṃ satthāraṃ n' eva atītaṃse samanupassāma, na pan' etarahi aññatra tena Bhagavatā.

11. "The acts, again, of that Exalted One conform to his speech ; his speech conforms to his acts. One who has so carried out hereby the greater and the lesser matters of the Law, a teacher of this kind, of this character, we find not, whether we survey the past, or whether we survey the present; save only that Exalted One.

12. "Tiṇṇ-vicikiccho kho pana so Bhagavā vigata-kathaṃkatho pariyosita-saṃkappo ajjhāsayaṃ ādi-brahma-cariyaṃ. Evaṃ tiṇṇa-vicikicchaṃ vigata-kathaṅ-kathaṃ pariyosita-saṃkappaṃ ajjhāsayaṃ ādi-brahmacariyaṃ iminā p' aṅgena samannāgataṃ satthāraṃ n' eva atītaṃse samanu-passāma, na pan' etarahi annatra tena Bhagavatā" ti.

Ima kho bhante Sakko devānam indo devānaṃ Tāvatiṃsānaṃ Bhagavato aṭṭha yathā-bhucce vaṇṇe payirudāhāsi.[4] Tena sudaṃ bhante devā Tāvatiṃsā bhīyoso

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1. B[m] āhāraṃ āhāraṃ (*but not at* § 25).
2. Abhinippanno lābho.
3. Ajjhāsayam ādi-brahmacariyam. Buddhaghosa says these two words are to be taken distributively, and refer to his lofty intentions and to the ethics of the Aryan Path.
4. B[m] parirūdāhāsi. *See* p. 222.

mattāya attamanā honti, pamuditā pīti-soma-nassa-jātā Bhagavato aṭṭha yathā-bhucce vaṇṇe sutvā.

12. "Crossed, too, by that Exalted One has been the sea of doubt, gone by for him is all question of the 'how' and 'why,' accomplished for him is every purpose with respect to his high resolve and the ancient rule of right. A teacher who has attained thus far, of this kind, of this character, we find not, whether we survey the past, or whether we survey the present, save only that Exalted One."

' These eight true praises, lord, of the Exalted One did Sakka, ruler of the gods, utter before the Three-and-Thirty gods. Hereat the Three-and-Thirty gods were even more abundantly pleased, gladdened and filled with joy and happiness over the things they had heard.

13. Tatra kho[1] bhante ekacce devā evam āhaṃsu:—

"Aho vata mārisā cattāro Sammā-sambuddhā loke uppajjaeyyuṃ, dhammañ ca deseyyuṃ, yathariva Bhagavā. Tad assa bahujana-hitāya bahujana-sukhāya lokânukampakāy atthāya hitāya sukkhāya sukhāya deva-manussāna" ti.

Ekacce devā evam āhaṃsu :—

Tiṭṭhantu mārisā cattāro sammā-sambuddhā. Aho vata mārisā tayo sammā-sambuddhā loke uppajjeyyuṃ dhammañ ca deseyyuṃ, yathariva Bhagavā. Tad assa bahujana-hitāya bahujana-sukhāya lokânukampakāya atthāya hitāya sukhāya deva-manussānan" ti.

Ekacce devā evam āhaṃsu:—

Tiṭṭhantu mārisā tayo sammā-sambuddhā. Aho vata mārisā dve sammā-sambuddhā loke uppajjeyyuṃ dhammañ ca deseyyuṃ, yathariva Bhagavā. Tad assa bahujana-hitāya bahujana-sukhāya lokânukampakāya atthāya hitāya sukhāya deva-manussānan" ti.

13. 'Then certain gods, lord, spoke thus :— "Oh ! sir, if only four supreme Buddhas might arise in the world and teach

1. B^{m} K *omit.*

the Doctrine even as the Exalted One! That would make for the welfare of the many, for the happiness of the many, for compassion to the world, for the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men."

'And certain other gods spoke thus :— "It would suffice, sir, if there arose three supreme Buddhas in the world."

'And certain other gods spoke thus :— "It would suffice, sir, if two supreme Buddhas arose in the world . . . for the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men."

14. Evaṃ vutte bhante Sakko devānam indo deve Tāvatiṃse etad avoca :—

"Aṭṭhānaṃ kho etaṃ[1] mārisā anavakāso yaṃ ekissā loka-dhātuyā dve arahanto sammā-sambuddhā apubbaṃ acarimaṃ uppajjeyyuṃ. N'etaṃ ṭhānaṃ vijjati. Aho vata mārisā[2] Bhagavā appâbādho appâtaṅko ciraṃ[3] dīgham addhānaṃ tiṭṭheyya. Tad assa bahujana-hitāya bahujana-sukhāya lokânukampakāya atthāya hitāya sukhāya deva-manussānan." ti.

Atha bhante yen' atthena devā Tāvatiṃsā Sudhammāya[4] sabhāyaṃ sannisinnā honto sannipatitā, taṃ atthaṃ cintayitvā taṃ atthaṃ mantayitvā, vutta-vacanā pi taṃ[5] cattāro Mahārājā[6] tasmiṇ atthe honti, paccanu-siṭṭha-vacanā pi taṃ cattāro Mahārājā tasmiṃ atthe honti, sakesu[7] āsanesu ṭhitā avippakantā.[8]

Te vutta-vākyā[9] rājāno patiggayhânusāanimṃ
Vippasanna[10] -manā santā aṭṭhaṃsu[11] samhi āsane ti.

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1. K panetaṃ.
2. K *adds* ca.
3. B^m cīra.
4. B^m K -āyaṃ
5. SS c' idaṃ ; B^m p' idaṃ, *and so below. See* xviii. 15.
6. B^m K -jāno, *and below.*
7. B^m K sakesu sakesu.
8. S^c avipakkantā ; S^d avikappakkantā (*one* p *perhaps erased*).
9. S^c vākyaṃ ; S^t B^m vākya.
10. B^m -nā.
11. SS *here* aṭṭhāsu.

14. 'Then answered Sakka, ruler of the gods to the Three-and-Thirty :— "Nowhere, gentlemen, and at no time is it possible that, in one and the same world-system, two Arahant Buddhas supreme should arise together, neither before nor after the other. This can in no wise be. Ah ! gentlemen, would that this Blessed One might yet live for long years to come, free from disease and free from suffering! That would make for the welfare of the many, for the happiness of the many, for loving compassion to the universe, for the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men !"

'Then, lord, the Three-and-Thirty gods having thus deliberated and taken counsel together concerning the matter for which they were assembled and seated in the Hall of Good Counsel, with respect to that matter the Four Kings were receivers of the spoken word, the Four Great Kings were receivers of the admonition given, remaining the while in their places, not retiring[1].

Taking the uttered word and speech, the Kings
Stood there, serene and calm, each in his place.

15. Atha[2] bhante uttarāya disāya uḷāro āloko sañjāyi[3] obhāso pātur ahosi atikamm' eva devānaṃ devânubhā-vaṃ. Atha bhante Sakko devānam indo deve Tāvatiṃse āmantesi:

[4] "Yathā kho mārisā nimittā dissanti āloko sañjāyati obhāso pātu bhavati Brahmā pātu bhavissati. Brahmuno etaṃ pubba-nimittaṃ pātubhāvāya yadidaṃ āloko sañjāyati obhāso pātu bhavatîti.

Yathā nimittā dissanti, Brahmā pātu bhavissati,
Brahmuno h' etaṃ' etaṃ nimittaṃ[5] obhāso vipulo mahā ti.

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1. This sounds very much as if the Four. Great Kings were looked upon as Recorders (in their memory, of course) of what had been said. They kept the minutes of the meeting. If so (the gods being made in the image of men) there must have been such Recorders at the meetings in the Mote Halls of the clans.
2. K *adds* kho.
3. K sañjāyati (*as in* D i. 220).
4. D. i. 220 ; ii. 209.
5. *All MSS.* pubba-n°.

Atha bhante devā Tāvatiṃsā yathā sakesu āsanesu nisīdiṃsu : "Ohāsam etaṃ ñassāma, yaṃ[1] vipāko[2] bhavissati, sacchikatvā va naṃ gamissāmâti." Cattāro ca Mahārājā[3] yathā sakesu āsanesu nisīdiṃsu: "Obhāṣam etaṃ ñassāma, yaṃ vipāko bhavissati, sacchikatvā va naṃ gamissāmâti." Idaṃ sutvā[4] devā[5] Tāvatiṃsā ekaggatā[6] samā-pajjiṃsu: "Obhāsam etaṃ ñassāma, yaṃ vipāko bhavissati, sacchikatvā va naṃ gamissāmâti."

15. 'Then, lord, from out of the North came forth a splendid light, and a radiance shone around, surpassing the divine glory of the gods. Then did Sakka, ruler of the gods, say to the dwellers in the heaven of the Three-and-Thirty:— "According, gentlemen, to the signs now seen, the light that ariseth, the radiance that appeareth—will Brahmā now be made manifest. For this is the herald sign of the manifestation of Brahmā, when the light ariseth and the glory shineth.

Even by yonder signs great Brahmā draweth nigh.
For this is Brahmā's sign, this glorious splendour vast.

'Then, lord, the Three-and-Thirty gods sat down again in their own places, saying :— "We will ascertain what shall be the result of this radiance; when we have realized it, we will go to meet him." The Four Kings also sat down in their places, saying the same And when they heard that, the Three-and-Thirty gods were all agreed saying : "We will ascertain what will be the result of this radiance ; when we have verified it, we will go to meet him."

16. Yadā bhate Brahmā[7] Sanaṃkumāro devānaṃ[8] Tāvatiṃsānaṃ pātu bhavati, olākaṃ attabhāvaṃ abhi-

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1. S^{c} B^{m} ya.
2. S^{c} visūko ; S^{dt} *omit* ; B^{m} K vipāko.
3. B^{m} K pi mahārājāno.
4. B^{m} disvā.
5. SS *omit* devā, *sse note.*
6. ? ekaggataṃ : B^{m} K ekaggā.
7. *So* B^{m} K ; SS *omit.*
8. *So* B^{m} K ; SS *omit.*

nimminitvā[1] pātu bhavati. Yo[2] kho pana bhante Brahmuno pakati-vaṇṇo anabhisambhavanīyo, so devānaṃ Tāvatiṃsānaṃ cakkhu-pathasmiṃ. Yadā bhante Brahmā Sanaṃkumāro devānaṃ Tāvatiṃsānaṃsānaṃ pātu bhavati, so aññe deve atirocati[3] vaṇṇena c'eva yasasā ca. Seyyathā pi bhante sovaṇṇo viggaho mānusaṃ viggahaṃ atirocati, evam eva kho bhante yadā Brahmā Sanaṃkumāro devānaṃ pātu bhavati, so aññe deve atirocati vaṇṇena c'eva yasasā ca. Yadā bhante Brahmā Sanaṃkumāro devānaṃ Tāvatiṃsānaṃ pātu bhavati, na tassa parisāyaṃ koci devo[4] abhivādeti vā paccuṭṭheti vā āsanena nimanteti vā[5]. Sabbe[6] tuṇhī-bhūtā pañjalikā pallaṅkena nisīdanti: "Yassa dāni devassa icchissati Brahmā Sanaṃkumāro, tassa devassa pallaṅke nisīdissatîti." Yassa[7] kho pana bhante devassa Brahmā Sanaṃku-māro pallaṅke[8] nisīdati,[9] uḷāraṃ so labhati devo veda-paṭilābhaṃ,[9] uḷāraṃ so labhati devo[10] somanassa-paṭilā-bhaṃ. Seyyathā pi bhante rājā khattiyo muddhâvasitto adhunâbhisitto[11] rajjena, uḷāraṃ so labhati veda[12]-paṭilā-bhaṃ, uḷāraṃ so labhati somanassa-paṭilābhaṃ evam eva kho bhante yassa devassa Brahmā Sanaṃkumāro pallaṅke nisīdati, uḷāraṃ so labhati devo deda[13]-paṭilābhaṃ, uḷāraṃ so labhati devo somanassa-paṭilābhaṃ.

16. 'When, lord, Brahmā Sanamkumāra appears before the Three-and-Thirty gods, he manifests himself as an individual

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1. K -nirnmitvā.
2. Bm K yo ; SS so.
3. K ativirocati, *and below.*
4. SS devā.
5. Bm vā manteti; K vā nimanteti.
6. Bm K *add* va.
7. Sct yasmā ; Sd tasmā.
8. *So* SS, Bm K.

9.9. Bm *omits.*

10. Bm devā.
11. K adhunâvasitto.
12. Bm devada-.
13. Bm deva.

of relatively gross substance which he has specially created. For Brahmā's usual appearance is not sufficiently materialized for the scope of the sight of the Three-and-Thirty gods. And, lord, when Brahmā Sanamkumāra is manifested before these gods, he outshines the other gods in his appearance and his glory. Just as a figure made of gold outshines the human frame, so, when Brahmā Sanamkumāra is manifested before the Three-and-Thirty gods, does he outshine the other gods in his appearance and his glory. And when, lord, Brahmā Sanamkumāra is manifested before the Three-and-Thirty gods, not one god in that assembly salutes him, or rises up, or invites him to be seated. They all sit in silence with folded hands and cross-legged, each thinking : 'Of whichever god Brahmā Sanamkumāra now desires anything, he will seat himself on that god's divan. And that god by whom he does so seat himself is filled with a sublime satisfaction, a sublime happiness, even as a Kshatriya king that is just anointed and crowned, is filled with a sublime satisfaction, a sublime happiness.

17. Atha bhante Brahmā Sanaṃkumāro devānaṃ Tāvatiṃsānaṃ sampasādaṃ viditvā antarahito imāhi gāthāhi anumodi :

Modanti vata bho devā Tāvatiṃsā sahindakā,
Tathāgatam namassantā dhammassa ca sudhammataṃ,
Nave va deve passanta vāṇṇavante yasassino,
Sugatasmiṃ brahmacariyaṃ caritvāna idhâgate.[1]
Te aññe atirocanti vaṇṇena yasasâyunā
Sāvakā Bhūri-paññassa visesûpagatā[2] idha.
Idaṃ disvāna nandanti Tāvatiṃsā sahindakā,
Tathāgataṃ namassantā dhammassa ca sudhammatan ti.

17. 'Then, lord, Brahmā Sanamkumāra, perceiving how gratified were those Three-and-Thirty gods, uttered his approval while invisible in these verses :—

1. B^m āgato.
2. S^{dt} B^m visesup°.

The Three-and-Thirty, verily, both gods and lord, rejoice,
Tathāgata they honour and the cosmic law sublime,
Whereas they see these gods new-risen, beautiful and bright,
Who erst the holy life had lived, under the Happy One,
The Mighty Sage's hearers, who had won to higher truths,
Come hither; and in glory all the other gods outshine.
This they behold right gladly, both lord and Thirty-Three,
Tathāgata they honour and the cosmic law sublime.

18. Idam atthaṃ[1] bhante Brahmā Sanaṃkumāro abhāsittha, idam atthaṃ bhante Brahmuno Sanaṃkumā-rassa bhāsato aṭṭhaṅga-samannāgato saro hoti vissaṭṭho ca viññeyyo ca mañju ca savanīyo ca bindu[2] ca avisārī ca gambhīro ca ninnādī ca. Yathā-parisaṃ kho pana bhante Brahmā Sanaṃkumāro sarena viññāpeti, na c' assa bahiddhā parisāya ghoso niccharati. Yassa kho pana bhante evaṃ aṭṭhaṅga-samannāgato saro hoti, so vuccati Brahmassaro ti.

18. 'This, lord, was the substance of Brahmā the Eternal Youth's speech. And he spoke it with a voice of eightfold quality—a voice that was fluent, intelligible, sweet and audible, sustained and distinct, deep and resonant. And whereas, lord, he made himself audible to that assembly by his voice, the sound thereof did not penetrate beyond the assembly. He whose voice has these eight qualities is said to have a Brahmā-voice.

19. Atha[3] bhante devā Tāvatiṃsā Brahmā-Sanaṃ-kumāraṃ[4] etad avocuṃ :

"Sādhu Brahme,[5] etad eva mayaṃ saṅkhāya modāma, atthi ca Sakkena devānam indena[6] tassa Bhagavato aṭṭha yathāvgyccā vaṇṇā bhāsitā, te ca mayaṃ saṅkhāya modāmâti."

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1. B^{m} imattaṃ.
2. *So* S^{dt} ; S^{c} bhindu.
3. B^{m} K *add* kho.
4. B^{m} K Brahmānaṃ San^{o}.
5. B^{m} Brahmo ; K mahābrahme.
6. SS indakena.

Atha kho[1] bhante Brahmā Sanaṃkumāro Sakkaṃ devānam indaṃ eted avoca :—

"Sādhu devānaṃ inda, mayam pi tassa Bhagavato aṭṭha yathābhucce vaṇṇe suṇeyyāmâti."

"Evaṃ Mahā-Brahme" ti kho bhante Sakko devānam indo Brahmuno Sanaṃkumārassa Bhagavato aṭṭha yathābhucce vaññe payirudāhāsi.

19. 'Then, lord, to Brahmā the Eternal Youth the Three-and-Thirty gods spoke thus :—

"Tis well, O Brahmā ! we do rejoice at this that we have noted. Moreover Sakka, ruler of the gods, hath rehearsed to us eight truthful praises of that Exalted One, and these too we have marked and do rejoice thereat."

'Then, lord, Brahmā the Eternal Youth spoke thus to Sakka, ruler of the gods :— "Tis well, O ruler of the gods ; we too would hear the eight truthful praises of that Exalted One."

"So be it, O Great Brahmā," replied Sakka. And thereupon, beginning "Now what thinketh my lord, the Great Brahmā?" [he uttered once more those eight truthful praises of the Blessed One, §§ 21-27][2]. Hereat, lord, Brahmā the Eternal Youth was pleased and gladdened, and was filled with joy and happiness when he had heard those praises.

20. "Taṃ kim maññati bhavaṃ Mahā-Brahmā ? Yāva ca so[3] Bhagavā bahujana-hitāya paṭipanno bahujana-sukhāya lokânukampakāya atthāya hitāya deva manussānaṃ, evaṃ bahujana-hitāya paṭipannaṃ bahujanasukhāya lokânukampakāya atthāya hitāya sukhāya[4] devamanussānaṃ iminā p' aṅgena samannāgataṃ satthāraṃ n' eva atītaṃse samanupassāma, na pan' etarahi aññatra tena Bhagavatā.

21. "Svākkhāto kho pana tassa Bhagavato dhammo sandiṭṭhiko akāliko ehipassiko opanayiko paccattaṃ vedi-

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1. B^m *omits.*
2. §§ 5-13 repeated in the text.
3. B^m yāvañcaso ; K yāvañceso.
4. SS *omit* sukhāya.

tabbo viññūhi.[1] Evaṃ opanayikassa[2] dhammassa dese-tāraṃ iminā p' aṅgena samannāgataṃ satthāraṃ n' eva stītaṃse samanupassāma na pan' etarahi aññatra tena Bhagavatā.

22. "Idaṃ kusalan ti kho pana tena Bhagavatā suppaññattaṃ, idaṃ akusalan ti suppaññattaṃ, idaṃ sâvajjaṃ idaṃ anavajjaṃ, idaṃ sevitabbaṃ idaṃ na sevitabbaṃ, idaṃ hīnaṃ idaṃ paṇītaṃ, idaṃ kaṇha-sukka-sappaṭibhāgan ti suppaññattaṃ. Evaṃ kusalâ-kusala-sâvajjânavajja[3]-sevitabbâsevitabba[4]-hīnappaṇīta-kaṇhasukka-sappaṭibhāgānaṃ dhammānaṃ paññāpe-tāraṃ, iminā p' aṅgena samannāgataṃ satthāraṃ, n'eva atītaṃse samanupas-sāma na pan' etarahi aññatra tena Bhagavatā.

23. "Suppaññattā kho pana tena Bhagavatā[5] sāva-kānaṃ nibbāna-gaminī paṭipadā, saṃsandati nibbānañ ca paṭipadā ca. Seyyathā pi nāma Gangodakaṃ Yamuno-dakena saṃsandati sameti, evam eva suppaññattā tena Bhagavatā sāvakānaṃ nibbāna-gāminī paṭipadā, saṃsan-dati nibbānañ ca paṭipadā ca. Evaṃ nibbāna-gāmini-paṭipadāya paññāpetāraṃ iminā p' aṅgena samannāgataṃ satthāraṃ n'eva atītaṃse samanupassāma, na pan' etarahi aññatra tena Bhagavatā.

24.[6] " Laddha-sahāyo kho pana so Bhagavā sekhānañ c' eva paṭipādānaṃ khīṇâsavānañ ca vusitavataṃ, [7]te Bhagavā apanujja[7] ekârāmataṃ anuyutte viharati. Evaṃ ekârāmataṃ anuyuttaṃ iminā p' aṅgena samannāgataṃ satthāraṃ n'eva atītaṃse samanupassāma, na pan' etarahi annatra tena Bhagavatā.

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1. SS K viññūhīti ; B^m viñuhiti. *See* pp. 181, 222.
2. B^m opaneyyikassa.
3. K -ānāvajja. *See* § 7.
4. S^c -baṃ.
5. SS *omit these opening words* ; B^m supañattā kho pana Bhagavatā.
6. B^m *palces this* § *after* 25.
7.7. B^m *so* Bhagavā aparajja ; K tena Bhagavā apanujja ; SS te Bh^o anuppajja. *See* p. 223.

25. "Abhinippanno[1] kho pana tassa Bhagavato lābho, abhinippanno siloko, yāva maññe[2] khattiyā sampiyāya-māna-rūpā viharanti, vigata-mado kho pana so Bhagavā āhāraṃ āhāreti. Evaṃ vigata-madaṃ āhāraṃ āhariya-mānaṃ iminā p' aṅgena samannāgataṃ satthāraṃ n'eva atītaṃse samanupassāma, na pan' etarahi aññatra tena Bhagavatā.

26. "Yathā-vādī kho pana so Bhagavā tathā-kārī, yathā-kārī tathā-vādī. Iti yathā-vādī tathā-kārī, yathā-kārī tathā-vādī evaṃ dhammânudhamma-paṭipannaṃ iminā p' aṅgena samannāgataṃ n'eva atītaṃse samanupassāma, na pan' etarahi aññatra tena Bhagavatā.

27. "Tiṇṇa-vicikiccho kho pana so Bhagavā vigata-kathaṅkatho pariyosita-saṃkappo ajjhāsayaṃ ādi-brahma-cariyaṃ. Evaṃ tiṇṇa-vicikicchaṃ vigata-kathaṅkathaṃ pariyosita-saṃkappaṃ ajjhāsayaṃ ādi-brahmacariyaṃ iminā p' aṅgena samannāgataṃ satthāraṃ n'eva atītaṃse samanupassāma, na pan' etarahi aññatra tena Bhagavatā" ti.

Ime[3] kho bhante Sakko devānam indo Brahmuno Sanaṃkumārassa Bhagavato aṭṭha yathā-bhucce vaṇṇe payirudāhāsi. Tena sudaṃ bhante Brahmā Sanaṃkumāro attamno hoti pamudito pīti-somanassa-rāto Bhagavato aṭṭha yathā-bhucce vaṇṇe sutvā.

28. Atha bhante Brahmā Sanaṃkumāro oḷākaṃ attabhāvaṃ bhinimminitvā[4] kumāra-vaṇṇī[5] hutvā Pañcasikho devānaṃ Tāvatiṃsānaṃ pātur ahosi[6] vehāsaṃ[7] abbhuggantvā ākāse antalikkhe pallaṅkena[8] nisīditvā.[9] Seyyathā pi bhante balavā puriso supaccatthate vā pallaṅke same vā bhūmi-bhāge

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1. K bhinipphanno, *and below. See* § 10.
2. B^{m} aññe.
3. S^{o} icc eva.
4. K abhinimmitvā.
5. K vaṇṇo ; K (Sī) vaṇṇī.
6. B^{m} K *add* so, *beginning a new sentence.*
7. S^{c} vebhāraṃ ; S^{d} vebhāsaṃ.
8. S^{dt} B^{m} pallaṅke.
9. B^{m} K nisīdi.

pallaṅkena[1] nisīdeyya, evam eva kho bhante Brahmā Sanaṃkumārō vehāsaṃ abbhuggantvā ākāse antalikkhe pallaṅkena[2] nisīditvā deve Tāvatiṃse āsantesi :—

28. 'And so, lord, Brahmā the Eternal Youth materializing himself and becoming in appearance like the youth Five-crest, manifested himself to the Three-and-Thirty gods, and rising up into the air, he sat down cross-legged in the sky. Just, lord, as easily as a strong man might sit down cross-legged on a well-spread divan or a smooth piece of ground, even so did Brahmā the Eternal Youth, rising up into the air, sit down cross-legged in the sky. And he addressed the Three-and-Thirty gods thus :—

29. Taṃ kim maññanti bhonto[3] devā Tāvatiṃsā ? Yāva dīgha-rattaṃ mahā-pañño ca so Bhagavā ahosi.

Bhūta-pubbaṃ bho rājā Disampatī[4] nāma ahosi. Disampatissa rañño Govindo nāma brāhmaṇo purohito ahosi. Disampatissa rañño Reṇu nāma kumāro putto ahosi. Govindassa brāhmaṇassa Jotipālo nāma māṇavo putto ahosi. Iti Reṇu ca rājaputto Jotipālo ca māṇavo aññe ca chakkhattiyā[5] icc ete aṭṭha sahāyā ahesuṃ. Atha kho[6] ahorattānaṃ accayena Govindo brāhmaṇo kāla akāsi. Govinde[7] brāhmaṇe[8] kālakate[9] rājā Disampatī paridevesi:—

'Yasmiṃ vata bho mayaṃ[10] samaye Govinde[11] brāhmaṇe[12] sabba-kiccāni samavossajjitvā pañcahi kāma-guṇehi samappitā samaṅgi-bhūtā paricārema,[13] tasmiṃ samaye Govindo brāhmaṇo kālakato' ti.

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1. *So* B[m] *here.*
2. S[d] pallaṅke.
3. 3S[dt] bhante.
4. S[ct] Disampatti, *and* S[c] *frequently afterwards.*
5. S[d] *omits* chak-; B[m] K chakhattiyā. *See* p. 232.
6. B[m] K *add* bho.
7. S[ct] -o.
8. S[cd] -o; S[t] -o *corrected to* -e.
9. S[c] -o.
10. B[m] mayasmiṃ.
11. SS Govindo '*see* Mahāvastu iii. 204.
12. SS Brāhmnaṇo.
13. SS parivārema.

Evaṃ vutte bho Reṇu rājaputto rājānaṃ Disampatiṃ etad avoca:—

'Mā kho tvaṃ deva Govinde brāhmaṇe kālakate atibāḷhaṃ paridevesi. Atthi deva Govindassa brāhmaṇassa Jotipālo nāma māṇavo putto paṇḍitataro c'eva pitarā alamatthadasataro c'eva pitarā.[1] Ye po 'ssa[2] pitā atthe anusāsi, te pi Jotipālass' eva māṇavassa anusāsaniyā'[3] ti.

'Evaṃ kumārâti' ?

'Evaṃ devâti.'

29. "Now what think ye, my lord gods Thirty-and-Three? For how long hath the Blessed One been of great wisdom ?[4]

Once upon a time there was a king named Disam-pati. And king Disampati's minister was a brahmin named Govinda (the Steward)[5] And king Disampati had a son named Renu, and Govinda had a son named Jotipāla. And prince Renu and the young Jotipāla and six other young nobles—these eight—were great friends. Now in the course of years Govinda died. And king Disampati mourned for him, saying : — 'Alas ! just when we had devolved all our duties on Govinda the brahmin, and were surrounded by and giving ourselves up to the pleasures of sense, Govinda has died !'

Then said prince Renu to the king:— 'Mourn not, sire, so excessively for Govinda, the brahmin. Govinda has a son, young Jotipāla, who is wiser than his father was, better able to see what is profitable than his father. Let Jotipāla administer all such affairs as were entrusted to his father.'

'Do you think so, my boy ?'

'I do, sire.'

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1. B^{m} ca, *omitting* eva pitarā.
2. K tassa.
3. S^{d} K -īyā.
4. The Cy. here supplements: Himself desirous of clearing up this problem, it is as if he went on to say, that there was nothing wonderful in that, so he tells the story.
5. It is evident from §§ 30, 31 that Govinda, literally 'Lord of the Herds,' was a title, not a name, and means Treasurer or Steward.

30. Atha kho bho rājā Disampati aññataraṃ purisaṃ āmantesi :—

'Ehi tvaṃ ambho purisa, yena Jotipālo[1] māṇavo ten' upasaṃkama, upasaṃkamitvā Jotipālaṃ[2] māṇavaṃ evaṃ vadehi: Bhavam atthu bhavantaṃ Jotipālaṃ māṇavaṃ, rājā Disampati bhavantaṃ Jotipālaṃ māṇavaṃ āmanta-yati. Rājā Disampati bhoto Jotipālassa māṇavassa dassana-kāmo' ti.

'Evaṃ devâti' bho so puriso Disampatissa rañño paṭissutvā yena Jotipālo māṇavo ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Jotipāla-māṇavaṃ etad avoca:—

'Bhavam atthu bhavantaṃ Jotipālaṃ māṇavaṃ. Rājā Disampati bhavantaṃ Jotipālaṃ māṇavaṃ āmanta-yati. Rājā Disampati bhoto Jotipālassa māṇavassa dassana-kāmo' ti.

'Evaṃ bho' ti kho bho Jotipālo māṇavo tassa purisassa paṭissutvā yena rājā Disampati ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Disampatinā raññā saddhiṃ sammodi, sammodanīyaṃ kathaṃ sārāṇīyaṃ vītisāretvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. Ekamantaṃ nisinnaṃ nisinnaṃ kho bho Jotipālaṃ māṇavaṃ rājā Disampati etad avoca:—

'Anusāsatu no bhavaṃ Jotipālo māṇavo, mā[3] bhavaṃ Jotipālo anusāsaniyā paccavyāhāsi.[4] Pettike[5] taṃ ṭhāne ṭhapayissāmi,[6] Govindiye abhisiñcissāmîti.'

'Evaṃ bho' ti kho bho[7] Jotipālo māṇavo Disampatissa rañño paccassosi.

30. Then king Disampati summoned a man and said : 'Come you, good man, go to Master Jotipāla, and say to him :— May good fortune attend the honourable Jotipāla! King Disampati calls for the honourable Jotipāla. King Disampati would like to see the honourable Jotipāla.'

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1. B[m] K *add* nāma.
2. SS B[m] *usually* Jotipāla ; B[m] *thrice omits* mānavaṃ.
3. S[t] *adds* nava ; B[m] *adds* ne ; K *adds* no.
4. S[d] paccayyābhāsi ; S[t] paccavyābhāsi. *See* § 37.
5. B[m] vet[o].
6. B[m] K ṭhapessāmi.
7. S[c] *omits*.

'So be it, sire,' responded the man, and going to Jotipāla he repeated the message.

'Very good, sir,' responded Jotipāla, and went to wait upon the king. And when he had come into the king's presence, he exchanged with the king the greetings and compliments of politeness and courtesy, and sat down on one side. Then said king Disampati to Jotipāla :— "We would have the honourable youth Jotipāla administer for us. Let him not refuse to do so. I will set him in his father's place and appoint him to the Stewardship[1]."

'So be it, sire,' replied Jotipāla in assent.

31. Atha kho bho[2] rājā Disampati Jotipālaṃ māṇavaṃ Govindiye abhisiñci, pettike ṭhāne ṭhapesi. Abhisitto Jotipālo māṇavo Govindiye pettike ṭhāne ṭhapito ye pi 'ssa pitā atthe anusāsi, te[3] atthe anusāsati ; ye pi 'ssa pitā atthe nânusāsi, te pi atthe nânusāsati. Ye pi 'ssa pitā kammante abhisambhosi, te pi kammante abhisambhoti; ye pi a 'ssa pitā kammante nâbhisambhosi te pi kammante nâbhisambhoti. Tam enaṃ manussā evam āhaṃsu: 'Govindo vata bho brāhmaṇo, mahā Govindo vata bho brāhmaṇo' ti. Iminā kho etaṃ[4] bho pariyāyena Jotipālassa māṇavassa Mahā-Govindo[5] Mahā-Govindo tv eva[6] samaññā udapādi.

31. So king Disampati appointed Jotipāla as his Steward, and set him in his father's place. And thus appointed and installed, whatever matters his father had administered, those did Jotipāla administer ; and whatever his father had not administered, those matters did he too not administer. And whatever

1. Govindiye abhisiñcissâmi. Literally; 'I will anoint him to the Govinda-ship' (the Lordship over the herds). The expression 'anoint' is noteworthy. It suggests that the office was of royal rank. But a king was of lower rank then than now.
2. B^{m} *omits.*
3. B^{m} K *add* pi.
4. B^{m} eva ; K evaṃ.
5. B^{m} *omits* mahā ; K *omits the second* Mahā-Govindo. *See* A. 3. 373. Mhvst. 206.
6. B^{m} teva.

works his father had accomplished, and no others, even such works, and no others, did he too accomplish. Of him men said:— 'The brahmin is verily a Steward ! A Great Steward is verily this brahmin!' And on this wise Jotipāla came to be called the' High Steward.

32. Atha kho bho[1] Mahā-Govindo brāhmaṇo yena te chkkhattiyā[2] ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā te chakkhattiye[3] etad avoca :—

'Disampati[4] bho rājā jiṇṇo vuddho mahallako addhagato vayo-anupatto. Ko nu kho pana[5] bho[6] jānāti jīvitānaṃ? Ṭhānaṃ kho pan' etaṃ vijjati yaṃ Disampatimhi raññe kālakate, rāja-kattāro Reṇuṃ rāja-puttaṃ rajje abhisiñceyyuṃ. Āyantu bho[7] bhonto, yena Reṇu rāja-putto ten' upasaṃkamatha, upasaṃkamitvā Reṇuṃ[8] rāja-puttaṃ evaṃ vadetha: "Mayaṃ[9] bhoto Reṇussa sahāyā piyā manāpā appaṭikkūlā,[10] yaṃ sukho bhavaṃ taṃ sukhā mayaṃ,[11] yaṃ[12] dukkho[13] dhavaṃ,[14] tam dukkhā mayaṃ.[11] Disampati[15] bho rājā jiṇṇo vuddho mahallako addha-gato vay;o-anuppatto. Ko nu kho pana bho jānāti jīvitānaṃ ? Ṭhānaṃ kho pan' etaṃ vijjati yaṃ vijjati yaṃ Disampatimhi

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1. Bm *omits.*
2. Sd K cha chattiyā; Bm khattiyā ; *omitting* cha, *and so all below* § 33.
3. Bm sakhattiyā.
4. Bm K *add* kho.
5. Bm *omits.*
6. Bm *inserts* rā (*as if* rājā, etc.).
7. *So* SS ; Bm K *omit.*
8. Scd Renu.
9. Bm K *insert* kho.
10. St Sm apaṭikkulā ; SS *below* § 33 appaṭikko, *but* Bm appatiko. In § 37 *all have* appaṭikkūlo.

11.11. Sc *omits.*

12. St *omits.*
13. Sdt dukkhā.
14. Sdt bhavan.
15. Bm K *add* kho ; *So* SS *below.*

raññe kālakate rāja-kattāro bhavantaṃ Reṇuṃ rajje abhisiñceyyuṃ. Sace bhavaṃ Reṇu rajjaṃ labhetha, saṃvibhajetha no rajjenâti." '

32. Now it came to pass that the Great Steward went to those six nobles, and said to them : 'Disampati the king is old and wasted with age, full of years, and arrived at the term of life. Who indeed can answer for the survival of the living ? When the king dies, it will behove the king-makers to anoint Renu the prince as king. I suggest, gentlemen, that you wait on prince Renu, and say to him thus: 'We are the dear, beloved, and congenial friends of our lord Renu. We are happy when our lord is happy; unhappy when he is unhappy. Disampati, our lord king, is old and wasted with age, full of years and arrived at the term of life. Who indeed can answer for the living ? When the king dies, it will behove the king-makers to anoint our lord Reıu king. If our lord Renu should gain the sovereignty, let him divide it with us." '

33. 'Evaṃ bho' ti kho bho te chakkhatiyā Mahā-Govindassa Brāhmaṇassa paṭissutvā yena Reṇu rāja-putto ten' upasamkamiṃsu, upasaṃkamitvā Reṇuṃ rāja-puttaṃ etad avocuṃ :—

'Mayaṃ[1] bhoto Reṇussa sahāyā piyā manāpā appaṭi-kkūlā, yaṃ sukho bhavaṃ taṃ sukhā mayaṃ, yaṃ dukkho bhavaṃ taṃ dukkhā mayaṃ. Disampati kho bho rājā jiṇṇo vuddho mahallako addha-gato vayo-anuppatto. Ko nu kho bho pana jānāti jīvitānaṃ ? Ṭhānaṃ kho pan' etaṃ vijjati yaṃ Disampatimhi raññe kālakate rāja-kattāro bhavantaṃ Reṇuṃ rajje abhisiñceyyuṃ. Sace bhavaṃ renu rajjaṃ labhetha, saṃvibhajetha no rajjenâti.'

'Ko no kho bho añño mama vijite sukham[2] edheyy-ātha[3] aññatra bhavantehi ? Sacâhaṃ bho rajjaṃ labhissāmi, saṃvibhajissāmi vo rajjenâti.'

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1. B^{m} K *add* kho.
2. B^{m} sukho.
3. B^{m} bhavetha ; K bhaveyyātha ; K (Sī) sumedheyyātha. *See* Dhp. 193; Jāt. i. 223 ; Vim. xvi.4.

33. 'So be it,' responded the six nobles, and waiting upon prince Renu they repeated these words to him.

'Why, sirs, who besides myself ought to prosper in this realm if it be not you ? If I, sirs, shall gain the sovereignty, I will divide it with you.'

34. Atha kho bo ahorattānaṃ accyena rājā Disampati kālam akāsi. Disampatimhi raññe kālakate rāja-kattāro Reṇuṃ rāja-puttaṃ rajje[1] abhisiñciṃsu. Abhisitto Reṇu rajjena pañchi kāma-guṇehi samappito samaṅgi-bhūto paricāreti. Atha kho bho Mahā-Govindo brāhmaṇo yana te chakkhattiyā[2] ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā te chakkhattiye [3] etad avoca :—

'Disampati kho bho rājā kālakato, abhisitto bhavaṃ Reṇu rajjena[4] pañcahi kāma-guṇehi samappito samaṅgi-bhūto paricāreti. Ko nu kho pana bho jānāti ? Madanīyā kāmā.[5] Āyantu bhonto, yena Reṇu rājā ten' upasaṃ-kamatha, upasaṃkamitvā Reṇuṃ rājānaṃ evaṃ vedetha: "Disampati kho bho rājā kālakato, abhisitto bhavaṃ Reṇu rajjena, sarati bhavan tam vacanan" ti?'

'Evaṃ bho' ti kho bho te chakkattiyā Mahā-Govindassa Brāmaṇassa paṭissutvā Reṇu rājā ten' upasaṃkamiṃsu, upasaṃkamitvā Reṇuṃ rājānaṃ etad avocuṃ :—

'Disampati kho bho rājā kālakato, abhisitto bhavaṃ Reṇu rajjena, sarati bhavan taṃ vacanan' ti ?

'Sarām' ahaṃ bho taṃ vacanaṃ. Ko nu kho bho pahoti imaṃ mahā-paṭhaviṃ uttarena āyataṃ dakkhiṇena sakaṭamukhaṃ[6] sattadhā[7] samaṃ suvibhattaṃ vibhajitun' ti?

'Ko nu kho bho añño pahoti aññatra Mahā-Govindena brāhmaṇenâti ?'

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1. SS *omit.*
2. B^m sakhattiyā ; K chakhattiyā.
3. S^d khatiye.
4. B^m *inserts* so.
5. SS kālā. Sum. *gives both. See* Mahāvastu iii. 207.
6. *Ibid.* iii. 208.
7. S^dt sattayā ; B^m sattata.

34. And it came to pass in course of time that king Disampati died. And after his death, the kingmakers anointed Renu his son king. And he, when he was made king, lived surrounded by and given up to the pleasures of sense. Then the High Steward went to those six nobles and said thus :—

'Disampati, gentlemen, is dead, and my lord Reıu lives surrounded by and given up to the pleasures of sense. Well, gentlemen, who can say ? The pleasures of sense are intoxicating, I would suggest, gentlemen, that you wait on king Renu and say to him : "king Disampati, my lord, is dead, my lord Renu is anointed king. Does my lord remember his promise ?" '

'Very good, sir,' responded the six nobles, and going into Renu's presence, they said :—

'King Disampati, sire, is dead, and my lord Renu is anointed king. Does my lord remember his promise ?'

'I do remember my promise, gentlemen. Which of you gentlemen now is able successfully to divide this mighty earth, so broad on the north and . . . [1]on the south, into seven equal portions ?'

'Who, sire, is able if it be not the Great Steward, the brahmin ?'

35. Atha kho bho Reṇu rājā aññataraṇ purisaṃ āmantesi:—

'Ehi tvaṃ ambhopurisa yena Mahā[2]-Govindo brāh-

1. Sakatamukka. This adjective, applied here to the earth, and at the end of the next section to the seven kingdoms, is at present quite unintelligible ; and is left untranslated. The traditional explanations differ. Samarasekara (Colombo, 1905) translates here (p. 1016) dakunu pasin gael mukhayak lesata, that is, 'on the south side like a waggon's mouth.' Buddhaghosa has nothing here ; but bılow as applied to the kingdoms he explains 'with their mouths debouching together.' Neither is satisfactory. It has been suggested that it might mean 'facing the Wain,' that is, the constellation of the Great Bear. But this is unfortunately in the North. The front opening of a bullock waggon is (now) elliptical in form.
2. B^{m} *omits* Mahā.

maṇo ten' upasamkama,[1] upasaṃkamitvā Mahā-Govindaṃ brāhmaṇaṃ evaṃ vadehi : "Rājā taṃ bhante[2] Reṇu āmantetîti." '

'Evaṃ devo' ti kho bho[3] so puriso Reṇussa rañño paṭissutvā yena Mahā-Govindo brāmaṇo ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Mahā-Govindaṃ brāhmaṇaṃ eta avoca : 'Rājā taṃ bhante[4] Reṇu āmantetîti.'

'Evaṃ bho' ti kho bho[5] Mahā- Govindo brāhmaṇo tassa purisassa paṭissutvā yena Reṇu rājā ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitva Reṇnnā raññā saddhiṃ sammodi, sammodanīyaṃ kathaṃ sārāṇīyaṃ vītisāretvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. Ekamantaṃ Reṇu rājā etad avoca :

'Etu bhavaṃ Govindo imaṃ mahā-paṭhaviṃ uttarena[7] āyataṃ dakkhiṇena sakaṭamukhaṃ sattadhā samaṃ suvibhattaṃ vibhajatûti.[8]

'Evaṃ bho' ti kho[9] Mahā-Govindo brāhmaṇo Reṇussa rañño paṭissutvā, imaṃ mahā-paṭhaviṃ uttarena āyataṃ dakkhiṇena sakaṭamukhaṃ sattadhā samaṃ suvibhattaṃ vibhaji, sabbāni sakaṭamukhāni aṭṭhapesi.[10]

35. Then king Renu sent a man to the Great Steward, saying :— 'Come, my good fellow, go to the Great Steward, the brahmin, and say : "The king has sent for you, my lord." ' And the Great Steward was told and obeyed, and, coming into the king's presence, exchanged with him the greetings and compliments of politeness and courtesy, and sat down on one side. Then said the king to him : 'Will you go, my lord Steward, and

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1. SS Bm mi.
2. Bm kaṃ Bhagavanta.
3. Bm *omits.*
4. Bm bhavantaṃ.
5. Bm *omits.*
6. K *adds* bho.
7. Sc antarena.
8. Bm vijabhajituti ; K vibhajetûti.
9. Bm K *add* bho.
10. Bm K paṭṭhapesi.

so divide this great earth wide on the north and . . . on the south into seven equal portions, all . . . '

'Very good, sire,' responded the High Steward, [And this he did.]

36. Tatra sudaṃ majjhe Reṇussa rañño janapado hoti.

Dantapuraṃ Kāliṅgānaṃ[1] Assakānañ ca Potanam[2]
Māhissatī[3] Avantīnaṃ Sovīrānañ[4] ca Rorukaṃ[5]

Mithilā[6] ca Videhānaṃ Campā Aṅgesu māpitā,
Bārāṇasī ca Kāsīnaṃ, etc Govinda-māpitā ti.[7]

Atha kho bho te chakkhattiyā yathā sakena lābhena attamanā ahesuṃ paripuṇṇa-saṃkappā : 'Yaṃ vata no ahosi icchitaṃ yaṃ ākaṅkhitaṃ yaṃ adhippetaṃ yaṃ adhipatthitaṃ, taṃ no laddhan ti.

Sattabhū Brahmadatto ca Vessabhū Bharato saha,[8]
Reṇu dve ca[9] Dhataraṭṭhā[10] tadâsuṃ[11] satta Bhāratā[12] ti.

36. And king Renu's country held the central position. As it is said :—

Dantapura of the Kālingas, and Potana for the Assakas,
Māhissati for the Avantis, and Roruka in the Sovîra land.

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1. S[dt] kal°.
2. S[d] potakā ; S[t] Potanā ; B[m] K Potanaṃ ; Mahāvastu iii. 208 Yotanaṃ; Jāt. iii. 3 (*comp.* ii. 155) Potali ; V.V.A., 259, Pota; Old. (Buddha, 408) Potamaṃ.
3. B[m] māyayati ; Old. Mahīyata ; *see* S.N. 1011 *and* Mahāvastu iii. 208.
4. K Sociränañ.
5. S[dt] Rorūkaṃ; B[m] Roruṇaṃ ; Jāt iii. 470 Roruvam ; *see* Divy. 545.
6. SS Mithilañ ; Mahāvastu iii. 209 Mithilāṃ.
7. *Comp.* Vimāna Vattu Com. 82.
8. S[c] sahā.
9. S[t] va ; K *omits, but adds* ca *after* Dhataraṭṭhā.
10. S[c] Dhataraṭṭho; S[d] gadharaṭṭhā ; B[m] Dhajataṭhā.
11. S[c] Dāsuṃ ; B[m] tadāsu; S[t] dasad°, *corrected from* datad°.
12. S[c] bhātarā ; S[t] bhārathā ; S[d] bārāthā ; B[m] bhāradhāti; K bhāravāti.

Mithilā of the Videhās, and then Campā among the Aṅgas,
Lastly Benares in the Kāsi realm :— all these did the
Great Steward wisely plan.

Then were those six nobles well pleased each with his allotted gain, and at the success of his plan. For they said :— 'What we wished for, what we desired, what we intended, what we aimed at, lo! that is what we have gotten.' And the seven kings were named :—

Sattabhu and Brahmādatta, Vessabhu with Bharata, Renu and two Dhataratthas :— These are the seven Bhāratas.[1]

Paṭhama-bhāṇavāraṃ niṭṭhitaṃ.[2]

Here ends the first Portion for Recitation.

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1. If we follow the order of the names in this no doubt very old mnemonic doggre), the result may be tabulated thus :—

City.	*Tribe.*	*King.*
1. Dantapura	Kālingas	Sattabhu.
2. Potana	Assakas	Brahmādatta.
3. Māhissatî	Avantis	Vessabhu.
4. Roruka	Sovîras	Bharata.
5. Mithilā	Videhas	Renu.
6. Campā	Aṅgas	Dhatararrha.
7. Bārānasi	Kâsis	Dhatarattha.

This list is enough to show that the verses do not fit with the story. Renu's kingdom is said in the text to be in the middle. No one of these seven kingdoms is in the midst of the others. Benares would suit that position less badly, than any other. It was probably intended therefore that Disampati and Renu were kings or chieftains in Benares. The king Bharata of the Sovîras of J. III, 470 may be the same as the Bharata who also appears in the table here as king of the Sovîras. The Renu of J. IV, 444 is king of the Kurus. None of the numerous Brahmadattas in the Jātakas can be identified with our Brahmādatta. Our Disampati and Renu are referred to, apparently as kings of Benares, at Dîpavamsa III, 40.

The verses survived, but in a very corrupt state, down to the time of the Mahāvastu (Vol. III, p. 208, ed. Senart).

2. *In* B^m, K *only. See* Sum.

37. Atha kho bho te chakkhattiyā yena Mahā-Govindo Brāhmaṇo ten' upasaṃkamiṃsu, upasaṃkamitvā Mahā-Govidaṃ Brāhmaṇaṃ etad avocuṃ : 'Yathā[1] bhavaṃ Govindo Reṇussa rañño sahāyo piyo manāpo appaṭikkūlo, evam eva[2] bhavam Govindo amhākaṃ pi sahāyo piyo manāpo appaṭikkūlo. Anusāsatu no bhavaṃ Govindo,[3] mā no[4] bhavaṃ Govindo anusāsaniyā paccayyāhā sîti.[5]

'Evaṃ bho ti kho bho Mahā-Govindo Brāhmaṇo tesaṃ channaṃ khattiyānaṃ paccassosi. Atha kho bho Mahā-Govindo Brāhmaṇo satta ca rājāno khattiye muddha-vasitte[6] rajje anusāsi, satta ca brāhmaṇa-ṃahāsāle[7] satta ca nahātaka-satāni[8] mante vācesi.

37. Now those six nobles came to the High Steward and said to him :— Just as the honourable Steward was dear, beloved and congenial as companion to Renu the king, so has he been also to us a companion, dear, beloved and congenial. We would that the honourable Steward administer our affairs; we trust he will not refuse to do so.'

'Very good, sirs,' replied the Great Steward. And so he instructed those seven anointed kings in government ; and he taught the mantras to seven eminent and wealthy Brahmins and to seven hundred young graduates.

38. Atha kho bho Mahā-Govindassa Brāhmaṇassa aparena samayena evaṃ kalyāṇo kittisaddo abbhuggañchi[9] : 'Sakkhī Mahā-Govindo brāhmaṇo Brahmānaṃ passati, sakkhī Mahā-Govindo brāhmaṇo Brahmunā sākaccheti sallapati mantetîti.' Atha kho bho Mahā-Govindassa

1. B[m] K *add* kho.
2. B[m] K eva kho.
3. S[c] *omits.*
4. SS bho.
5. S[c] paccayavyasīti ; S[d] paccayāsîti ; B[m] paccabyā-hāsiti (*sic*) ; K paccabyāhāsîti. *See* p. 232.
6. S[t] muddhūdhasitte *corrected to* muddhâbhisitte.
7. S[c] Brāhmaṇo mahāsālo ; B[m] Brāhmaṇa-sāle.
8. S[d] nahātasatāni ; B[m] K nhātaka[o].
9. B[m] K abbhuggacchi.

brāhmaṇassa etad ahosi : 'Mayhaṃ kho evaṃ kalyāṇo kittisaddo abbhuggato: Sakkhī Mahā-Govindo brāhmaṇo Brahmānaṃ passati sakkhī Mahā-Govindo brāhmaṇo Brahmunā sākaccheti sallapati mantetîti. Na kho panâhaṃ Brahmānaṃ passāmi, na Brahmunā sākacchemi, na Brahmunā sallapāmi, na Brahmunā mantemi. Sutaṃ kho pana m' etaṃ brāhmaṇānaṃ vud-dhānaṃ mahallakānaṃ ācariya-pācariyānaṃ bhāsamānānam : Yo vassike cattāro māse patisallīyati,[1] karuṇaṃ jhānaṃ jhāyati, so Brahmānaṃ passati Brahmunā sākaccheti sallapati mantetîti. Yannunâhaṃ vassike cattāro māse patisallīyeyyaṃ [2]karuṇaṃ jhānaṃ jhāyeyyan' ti.

38. Now later on the excellent reputation of the brahmin, the High Steward, was noised abroad after this fashion:— 'With his own eyes the High Steward sees Brahmā! Face to face does the High Steward commune with Brahmi, converse and take counsel with Him !' Then the High Steward thought: 'This flattering rumour is noised abroad about me, that I both see Brahmā and hold converse with Him. Now I neither see Him, nor commune with Him, nor converse or take counsel with Him. But I have heard aged and venerable brahmins, teachers and pupils, say : "He who remains in meditation the four months of the rains, and practises the ecstasy of pity, *he* sees Brahmā, communes, converses, takes counsel with Brahmā ? What if I now were to cultivate that discipline ?" '

39. Atha kho bho Mahā-Govindo Brāhmaṇo yena Reṇu rājā ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Reṇuṃ rājānaṃ etad avoca : 'Mayhaṃ kho bho evaṃ kalyāṇo kittisaddo abbhuggato : Sakkhī Mahā-Govindo brāhmaṇo Brahmānaṃ passati, sakkhī Mahā-Govindo brāhmaṇo Brah-munā sākaccheti sallapati mantetîti. Na kho panâhaṃ bho Brahmānaṃ passāmi, na Brahmunā sākacchemi, na Brahmunā sallapāmi, na Brahmunā mantemi. Sutaṃ kho pana m' etaṃ brāhmaṇānaṃ vuddhānaṃ mahallakānaṃ

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1. SS *and* Childers s.v. pati°; B^{m} *and* K paṭi°.
2. S^{c} *twice and* S^{t} *thrice* kāruṇa-.

ācariya-pâcariyānaṃ bhāsamānānaṃ : Yo vassike cattāro māse patisallīyati karuṇaṃ jhānaṃ jhāyati, so Brahmānaṃ passati, Brahmunā sākaccheti sallapati mantetîti. Icchām' ahaṃ bho vassike cattāro māse patisallīyituṃ, karuṇaṃ jhānaṃ jhāyituṃ. N'amhi kenaci upasaṃkamitabbo aññatra ekena bhattâbhihārenâti.'

'Yassa dāni bhavaṃ Govindo kālaṃ maññatîti.'

39. So the High Steward waited on king Renu, and telling him of the reputation imputed to himself, and of his wish to practise seclusion, added: 'I wish, sir, to meditate during the four months of the rains and to practise the ecstasy of pity. No one is to come near me save some one who will bring me my meals.'

'Do, honourable Steward, whatever seems to you fit.'

40. Atha kho Mahā-Govindo Brāhmaṇo yena te chakkhattiyā ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā te chakkhattiye etad avoca : 'Mayhaṃ kho evaṃ kalyāṇo kittis addo abbhuggato : Sakkhī Mahā-Govindo brāhmaṇo Brahmānaṃ passati, sakkhi Mahā-Govindo brāmaṇo Brahmunā sākaccheti sallapati mantetîti. Na kho panâ-haṃ Brahmānaṃ passāmi, na Brahmunā sākacchemi, na Brahmunā sallapāmi, na Brahmunā mantemi. Sutaṃ kho pana m' etaṃ Brāhmaṇānaṃ vuddhānaṃ mahalla-kānaṃ ācariya-pâcariyānaṃ bhāsamānānaṃ : Yo vassike cattāro māse patisallīyati, karuṇaṃ jhānaṃ jhāyati, so Brahmānaṃ passati Brahmunā sākaccheti sallapati man-tetīti. Icchām' ahaṃ bho vassike catāro māse patis-allīyituṃ, karuṇaṃ jhāyaṃ jhāyituṃ. N'amhi kenaci upasaṃkamitabbo aññatra ekena bhattâbhihārenâti.

'Yassa dāni bhavaṃ Govindo kālaṃ maññatîti.'

40. And the High Steward went round to each of the six nobles, told them the same, and took his leave of them also.

41. Atha kho bho Mahā-Govindo Brāhmaṇo yena satta ca Brāhmaṇa-mahā-sālā satta ca nahātaka-satāni ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā satta ca Brāhmaṇa-mahāsāle satta ca nahātaka-satāni etad avoca :—

'Mayhaṃ kho bho evaṃ kalyāṇo kittisaddo abbhuggato; Sakkhī Mahā-Govindo brāhmaṇo Brahmānaṃ passati,

sakkhī Mahā-Govindo brāhmaṇo Brahmunā sākaccheti sallapati mantetîti. Na kh panâhaṃ kho Brahmānaṃ passāmi, na Brahmunā sākac hemi, na Brahmunā sallapāmi, na Brahmunā mantemi. Sutaṃ kho pana m' etaṃ brāhmanānaṃ vuddhānaṃ mahallak aṃ ācariya-pâcariy-ānaṃ bhāsamānā-naṃ : Yo vassike cattaro māse patisal-līyati, karuṇaṃ jhānaṃ jhāyati, so Brahmunā sākaccheti sallapati mantetîti. Tena hi bho yathā sute yathā pariyatte mante vitthārena sajjhāyaṃ karotha, aññam aññañ ca mante vācetha. Icchām' ahaṃ bho vassike cattāro māse patisallīyituṃ karuṇaṃ jhānam jhāyituṃ. N'amhi kenaci upasaṃkamitabbe aññatra ekena bhattâ-bhihārenâti.'[1]

Yassa dāni bhavaṃ Govindo kālaṃ maññatīti.'

41. Then he went to those seven eminent and wealthy Brahmins, and to the seven hundred graduates, and telling them [too of the rumours and of his wish to practise seclusion], said:— 'Wherefore, sirs, according as you have heard the mantras and have committed them to memory, continue to rehearse them in full, and teach them to each other. I, sirs, wish to meditate during the four months of the rains, and to practise the ecstasy of pity. No one is to come near me save some one who shall bring me my meals.'

'Do, honourable Steward, whatever seems to you fit.'

42. Atha kho bho Mahā-Govindo brāhmaṇo yena cattārīsā bhariyā sādisiyo[2] ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃ-kamitvā cattārisā bhariyā sādisiyo etad avoca : 'Mayhaṃ kho bho ti evaṃ kalyāṇo kittisaddo abbhugato : Sakkhī Mahā-Govindo brāhmaṇo Brahmānaṃ passati, sakkhī Mahā-Govindo brāhmaṇo Brahmunā sākaccheti sallapati mantetîti. Na kho panâhaṃ bhoti Brahmānaṃ passāmi, na Brahmunā sākacchemi, na Brahmunā sallapāmi, na Brahmunā mantemi. Sutaṃ kho pana m' etaṃ brāh-maṇānaṃ vuddhānaṃ mahallakānaṃ ācariya-pâcariyânaṃ bhāsamānānaṃ : Yo vassike cattāro māse paṭisallīyati karuṇaṃ jhānaṃ jhāyatī,

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1. SS B^m *and* K bhattāharenāti *here only.*
2. S^c sādiso.

so Brahamānaṃ passati, Brahmunā sākaccheti sallapati mantetîti. Icchām' ahaṃ bho-ti vassike cattāro māse paṭisallīyituṃ karuṇaṃ jhānaṃ jhāyituṃ. N'amhi kenaci upasaṃkamitabbo aññatra ekena bhattâbhihārenâti.'[1]

'Yassa dāni bhavaṃ Govindo kālaṃ maññatîti.'

42. Next the High Steward went to his forty wives who were all on an equality, and told them [too of the rumours and of his wish to practise ecstasy in seclusion. And they replied like the others.]

43. Atha kho bho Mahā-Govindo brāhmaṇo puratthimena nagarassa navaṃ santhâgāraṃ[2] kārāpetvā vessike cattāro māse paṭisallīyi, karuṇaṃ jhāyi, nâssuda[3] koci upasaṃkami aññatra ekena bhattâbhihārena. Atha kho bho Mahā-Govindassa brāhmaṇassa catunnaṃ māsānaṃ accayena[4] ahud eva ukkaṇṭhana ahu paritassanā[5]: Sutaṃ kho pana m' ètaṃ[6] Brāhmaṇānaṃ : Yo vassike cattāro māse patisallīyati karuṇaṃ jhāyaṃ jhāyati, so Brahmānaṃ passati, Brahmunā sākaccheti sallapati mantetîti. Na kho panâhaṃ Brahmānaṃ passāmi, na Brahmunā sākacchemi, na Brahmunā sallapāmi, na Brahmunā mantemîti.

43. Then the High Steward had a new rest-house built eastward of the city, and there for the four months of the rains he meditated, rapt in the Ecstasy of Pity ; nor did any one have access to him save one who brought him his meals. But when the four rainy months were over, then verily came disappointment and anguish over him as he thought : 'Here have I heard aged and venerable brahmins, teachers and their pupils, say : "He who remains in meditation the four months of the rains, and practises the Ecstasy of Pity, he sees Brahmā, communes, converses, and takes counsel with Brahmā." But I see not Brahmā, I commune not, nor converse, nor take counsel with Him.'

1. *So* SS bhattābhih° *here and below.*
2. B[m] chanāgāraṃ.
3. S[cd] nāssudha; B[m] nassudha ; K nāssa ; K (Sī) nassu ca.
4. B[m] chadhaccayena.
5. S[c] parisattanā ; S[t] *omits.*
6. S[t] taṃ.

44. Atha kho bho Brahmā Sanaṃkumāro Mahā-Govindassa Brāhmaṇassa cetasā ceto parivitakkam aññāya, seyyathā pi nāma balavā puriso sammiñjitaṃ vā bāhaṃ pasāreyya, pasāritaṃ vā bāhaṃ sammiñjeyya, evam eva Brahma-loke antarahito Mahā-Govindassa brāhmaṇassa pamukhe pātur ahosi. Atha kho bho Mahā-Govindassa brāhmaṇassa bhud eva bhayaṃ ahu cham-bhitattaṃ ahu lomahaṃso yathā taṃ adiṭṭha-pubbaṃ rūpaṃ disvā. Atha kho bho Mahā-Govindo brāhmaṇo bhīto saṃviggo loma-haṭṭha-jāto Brahmānaṃ Sanaṃ-kumāraṃ gāthāya ajjhabhāsi:—

'Vaṇṇavā[1] yasavā sirimā,[2] ko nu tvam asi[3] mārisa ?
Ajānantā tam[4] pucchāma[5] kathaṃ jānemu taṃ mayaṃ?'[6]
'Maṃ[7] ve kumāraṃ jānanti Brahma-loke sanan-tanaṃ[8],
Sabbe jānanti maṃ devā, evaṃ Govinda jānahi.'[9]
'Āsanaṃ udakaṃ pajjaṃ madhu-pākañ ca brahmuno,
Agghe[10] Bhavantaṃ pucchāma. Agghaṃ[11] kurutu[12] no Bhavam.'
'Patigaṇhāma[13] te agghaṃ yaṃ tvaṃ Govinda bhāsasi.[14]

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1. S[dt] *add* si. *See* Mhvst. iii. p. 211.
2. S[d] sīrīmā.
3. S[d] āsi; S[t] asiri ; B[m] asa.
4. B[m] naṃtaṃ ; S[cdt] na *or* ta.
5. S[c]-mi.
6. B[m] K mayan ti.
7. B[m] ma.
8. B[m] sanantica.
9. B[m] jānāhi.
10. S[c] aggo; S[d] B[m] agge; S[t] K agghe.
11. Mahāvastu (iii. 211) agraṃ (*twice*).
12. B[m] K kurutu, *always* : SS *often* kurūtu.
13. B[m] K paṭggº.
14. S[c] bhasayi; S[d] sī.

Diṭṭha-dhamma-hitatthāya[1] samparāya-sukhāya[2] ca,
Katâvakāso puccha ssu yaṃ kuñci abhipatthitan' ti.

44. Then Brahmā, the Eternal Youth, when in his mind he knew the thoughts of the High Steward's mind, vanished from his heaven, and, like a strong man shooting his arm out or drawing back his out-shot arm, appeared before the High Steward. Then verily came fear, then came trembling upon the High Steward, then did the hair of his flesh stand up[3] when he saw this thing that had never been seen before. And he, full of fear and dread with stiffening hair, addressed Brahmā the Eternal Youth in these verses :—

'O Vision fair, O glorious and divine !
Who art thou, lord ? knowing thee not we ask,
That we may know !'
'In heaven supreme I'm known
As the Eternal Youth. All know me there.
Know me e'en thou, Govinda.'
'To a Brahmā Blest
Let seat and water for the feet and sweet
Cooked cakes and drink be brought. We ask what gift
The Lord would take. Would he himself decide
The form for us[4].'
'Hereby we take thy gift,
And now—whether it be for good and gain
In this thy present life, or for thy weal

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1. K diṭṭhe dhamme hit°.
2. B[m] hitāya.
3. See above, p. 440.
4. The expressions here are all elliptical, and it is not certain that the meanings supplied are quite right as the idioms agghe pucchati and aggham no karoti do not occur elsewhere. The sequence of ideas would seem to be : 'Only such and such are fit to be offered as a mark of respect to so holy a deity. But not knowing which is best, I ask. Let the Holy One make it right.' Then the deity, who wants nothing, taking the will for the deed, says he accepts; and offers a boon.

In that which shall be—Thou hast leave. Come, ask,
Govinda, whatsoe'er thou fain would'st have ?'

45. Atha kho bho Mahā-Govindassa brāmaṇassa etad ahosi : 'Katâvakāso kho 'mhi Brahmunā Sanaṃku-mārena. Kin nu kho ahaṃ Brahmānaṃ Sanaṃkumāraṃ puccheyyaṃ diṭṭha-dhammikaṃ vā atthaṃ vā atthaṃ Samparāyikaṃ vā ti ?

Atha kho bho Mahā-Govindassa brāhmaṇassa etad ahosi : 'Kusalo kho ahaṃ diṭṭha-dhammikānaṃ atthā-naṃ. Aññe pi maṃ diṭṭha-dhammikaṃ atthaṃ pucchanti. Yannū-nâhaṃ Brahmānaṃ Sanaṃkumāraṃ samparāyikaṃ yeva atthaṃ puccheyyan' ti.

Atha kho bho Mahā-Govindo brāhmaṇo Brahmānaṃ Sanaṃkumāraṃ gāthāya ajjhabhāsi :

'Pucchāmi Brahmānaṃ[1] Sanaṃkumāraṃ
Kaṅkhī[2] akaṅkhiṃ[3] paravediyesu[4]
Katthaṭṭhito kimhi ca[5] sikkhamāno
Pappoti macco amataṃ Brahma-lokan ti ?'[6]

'Hitvā mamattaṃ manujesu brahme[7]
Ekodibhūto karuṇâdhimutto
Nirāmagandho virato methunasmā
Etthaṭṭhito[8] ettha ca sikkhamāno
Pappoti macco amataṃ Brahma-lokan ti.'

45. Then the High Steward thought: 'Leave is given me by Brahmā the Eternal Youth ! What now shall I ask of him, some good thing for this life, or a future good ?' [241] Then it occurred to him : 'I am an expert regarding what is profitable for this life.

1. S[dt] Brahmā.
2. S[t] B[m] -khi.
3. S[c] *omits* ; S[d] B[m] -khi; S[t] -khī.
4. B[m] pavarevediyesu.
5. SS Kimhi ci.
6. *Scan* macco 'mata' Brahmalokan.
7. *So all* MS *and* K. *See* Jāt. ii. 346 ; vi. 525, 531; *and above* p. 240.
8. SS khippaṭṭhito.

Even others consult me about that. What now if I were to ask Brahmā the Eternal Youth for something of advantage in a life to come ? 'And he addressed the god in these verses :—

'I ask the Brahmā, the Eternal Youth,
Him past all doubt I, doubting, ask anent
The things that others would fain know about.
Wherein proficient, in what method trained
Can mortal reach th' immortal world of Brāhm ?'

'He among men, O Brahmin, who eschews
All claims of "me" and "mine"; he in whom thought
Rises in lonely calm, in pity rapt,
Loathing all foul things, dwelling in chastity,—
Herein proficient, in such matters trained,
Mortal can reach th' immortal heav'n of Brāhm.'

46. 'Hitvā mamattaṃ tâhaṃ[1] bhoto ājānāmi.[2] Idh' ekacco appaṃ vā bhogakkhandhaṃ pahāya mahantaṃ vā bhogakkhandhaṃ pahāya appaṃ vā ñāti-parivaṭṭaṃ pahāya mahantaṃ vā ñati-parivaṭṭaṃ pahāya, kesa-massuṃ ohāretvā kāsāyāni vatthāni acchādetvā agārasmā anagāri-yaṃ pabbajati. Iti hitvā mamattaṃ tâhaṃ[3] bhoto ājānāmi.

'Ekodibhūto ti câhaṃ[4] bhoto ājānāmi. Idh' ekacco vivittaṃ senâsanaṃ bhajati araññaṃ rukkha-mūlaṃ pabbataṃ kandaraṃ giri-guhaṃ susānaṃ vana-patthaṃ[5] abbhokāsaṃ palāla-puñjaṃ.[6] Iti ekodibūto ti p'ahaṃ[7] bhoto ājānāmi.

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1. S[cd] mamatta tāhaṃ; B[m] K hitvā mamattanti ahaṃ; K (Sī) mamattaṃtāhaṃ.
2. S[cd] aj°, *and so* SS *often below.*
3. B[m] mamattanti bhahaṃ ; K mamattanti sahaṃ; K (Sī) mamattaṃtāhaṃ ; mamattaṃtipadanti pana pāṭhena bhavitabbaṃ.
4. B[m] dāhaṃ ; K sahaṃ ; K (*note*) ekodibhūtotipadanti pāṭhena bhavitabbaṃ.
5. S[t] vanaspatiṃ ; B[m] -pattaṃ; K patthaṃ. *See* 1.71 ; M.1. 16.
6. K *adds* paṭisantīyati.
7. B[m] *omits* p'; K sahaṃ; K sahaṃ.

'Karuṇâdhimutto ti p'ahaṃ[1] bhoto ājānāmi. Idh' ekacco karuṇā-sahagatena cetasā ekaṃ[2] disaṃ pharitvā viharati, tathā dutiyaṃ[3] tathā tatiyaṃ tathā catutthaṃ. Iti uddh;am adho tiriyaṃ sabbadhi[4] sabbattatāya[5] sabbā-vantaṃ lokaṃ karuṇā-sahagatena cetasā vipulena mahag-gatena appamāṇena averena[6] avyāpajjhena[7] pharitvā viharati. Iti karuṇādhimutto ti p' ahaṃ[8] bhoto ājānāmi.

'Āmagandhe va kho ahaṃ bhoto bhāsamānassa na[9] ājānāmi.

'Ke āmagandhā manujesu Brahme ?
Ete avidvā[10] idha brūhi dhīra.
Ken' āvaṭā[11] vāti pajā kuruṭṭharū[12]
Āpāyikā nīvuṭa-brahmalokā[13] ti.'

'Kodho mosa-vajjaṃ[14] nikatī ca dobho[15]
Ladarouatā[16] atimāno usuyyā[17]
Icchā vicikicchā para-heṭhanā ca
Lobho ca doso ca mado ca moho
Etesu yuttā anirāmagandhā
Āpāyikā nīvuta-brahmalokā ti.'

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1. B[m] Karuṇedhimutto ti ahaṃ ; K sahaṃ.
2. S[d] evaṃkaṃ.
3. S[d] duti āgametu tīṇi māsāni āgametu, *see* § 54. *The intervening passage occurs later, at end of* § 61.
4. B[m] *omits.*
5. S[d] B[m] sabbatthatāya.
6. B[m] *omits.*
7. B[m] abyāpajjh°; K abyāpajh°.
8. B[m] karuṇedhimutto ti ahaṃ; K sahaṃ.
9. SS *and* B[m] *omit* ; K na ca.
10. B[m] aviddhāra ; K aviddhā.
11. S[d] āvaṭhā ; K avuṭā.
12. S[d] kuruṭṭha ; B[m] kurutu; K kururū (K Sī kuruṭṭharū).
13. *All MSS.* nivuta-; (*and so at the end*) ; K nīvuta.
14. SS -vajja.
15. *So* S[cdt] ; B[m] K dobbho.
16. S[d] B[m] kadariyathā.
17. S[d] usūyā ; B[m] ussuyyā ; K ussuyā.

'Yathā kho ahaṃ bhoto āmagandhe bhāsamānassa ājānāmi, te na sunimmadayā[1] agāraṃ ajjhāvasatā, pabbajissāni' ahaṃ bho agārasmā anagāriyan' ti.

'Yassa dāni bhavaṃ Govindo kālaṃ maññatîti.'

46. 'What the Lord saith touching "eschewing all claims of 'me' and 'mine' " I understand. It is to renounce all property whether it be small or large, and to renounce all family life, whether the circle of one's kin be small or large, and with hair and beard cut off and yellow robes donned, to go forth from the home into the homeless life. Thus do I understand this.

'What the Lord saith touching "thought rising in lonely calm" I understand. It is when one chooses a solitary abode—the forest, at the foot of a tree, a mountain brae, a grotto, a rock-cavern, a cemetery, or a heap of grass out in the open field. Thus do I understand this.

'What the Lord saith touching "in pity rapt" I understand. It is when one continues to pervade one quarter of the horizon with a heart charged with pity, and so the second quarter, and so the third, and so the fourth. And thus the whole wide world, above, below, around and everywhere does one continue to pervade with a heart charged with pity, far-reaching, expanded, infinite, free from wrath and ill will. Thus do I understand this.

'Only in what He saith touching "loathing the foul" do I not understand thee, Lord.

What mean'st thou by "foul odours among men,"
O Brahmā ? here I understand thee not.
Tell what these signify, who knowest all.
When cloaked and clogged by what is man thus foul,
Hell-doomed, and shut off from the heaven of Brāhm ?'

'Anger and lies, deceit and treachery,
Selfishness, self-conceit and jealousy,
Greed, doubt, and lifting hands 'gainst fellow men,
Lusting and hate, dulness and pride of life,—
When yoked with these man is of odour foul,
Hell-doomed, and shut out from the heav'n of Brāhm.'

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1. B^m te nimmadayā.

'As I understand the word of the Lord concerning these "foul odours," they cannot easily be suppressed if one live in the world. I will therefore go forth from the home into the life of the homeless state.'

'Do, lord steward, whatever seems to you fit.'

47. Atha kho bho Mahā-govindo brāhmaṇo yena Reṇu rājā ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Reṇu-rājānāṃ etad avoca: 'Aññaṃ dāni bhavaṃ purohitam pariyeatu, yo bhoto rajjaṃ anusāsissati. Icchām' ahaṃ bho agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajituṃ. Yathā kho pana me sutaṃ Brahmuno āmagandhe bhāsamānassa te na sunimmadayā agāraṃ ajjhāvasatā, pabbajissām' ahaṃ bho agārasmā anagāriyan' ti.

**'Āmantayāmi rājānaṃ Reṇuṃ bhūmi-patiṃ ahaṃ,
Tvaṃ pajānassu rajjena, nâhaṃ porohacce[1] rame.'**

**'Sace te[2] ūnaṃ kāmehi ahaṃ paripūrayāmi te,
Yo taṃ hiṃsati vāremi bhūmi-senāpatī[3] ahaṃ,
Tvaṃ pitā 'si[4] ahaṃ putto[5] mā no Govinda pājahi.'[6]**

**'Na m' atthi[7] ūnaṃ kāmehi hiṃsitā[8] me na vijjati
Amanusa-vaco[9] sutvā tasmā 'haṃ na gahe[10] rame.'**

**'Amanusso kathaṃ-vaṇṇo,[11] kan[12] te atthaṃ abhāsatha,
Yaṃ[13] sutvā pajāhāsi[14] no gehe amhe ca kevale.'[15]**

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1. B^m porohicce.
2. S^t naṃ ; S^c taṃ .
3. B^m bhummi.
4. S^{ct} K *omit.*
5. K *adds* ca.
6. S^c pajāhi; S^d pajahi; B^m pajahati.
7. SS nacatti ; B^m namatti ; K na matthi.
8. S^t B^m hisitā; S^{cd} hiṃsikā ; K hiṃsito.
9. B^m -dhaco.
10. B^m gehe.
11. S^t vaṇṇe ; S^d vanno.
12. S^d B^m kin.
13. B^m K yañ ca.
14. S^t jahāti; S^d B^m K jahāsi; S^c jāhāsi.
15. B^m kevalaṃ.

'Upavutthassa me pubbe yatthu-kāmassa[1] me sato
Aggi pajjalito āsi kusapatta-paritthato.
Tato me Bṛahmā pātur ahu Brahma-lokā Sanantano,
So me pañhaṃ viyākāsi taṃ sutvā na gahe rame.'

'Saddahā ahaṃ bhoto yaṃ tvaṃ Govinda bhāsasi,
Amanussa-vaco sutvā kathaṃ vattetha aññathā,
Te taṃ anuvattissāma[2] satthā Govinda no bhava.
Maṇi yathā veḷuriyo akāco[3] vimalo subho,
Evaṃ suddhā carissāma Govindassânusāsane ti.'

'Sace bhavaṃ Govindo agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajissati, aham[4] pi agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajissāmi.[5] Atha yā te gati sā no gati bhavissatîti.'

47. Then the High Steward waited on king Renu and said to him :— 'Will my lord now seek another minister, who will administer my lord's affairs ? I wish to leave the world for the homeless life. I am going forth in accordance with the word of Brahmā which I have heard concerning foul odours. These cannot be easily suppressed when one is living in the world.'

'King Renu, lord o' the land, I here declare :—
Do thou thyself take thought for this thy realm!
I care no longer for my ministry.'

'If for thy pleasures aught there lacketh yet,
I'll make it good. If any injure thee,
Them I'll restrain, warlord and landlord I !
Thou art my father, Steward, lo! I am thy son!
Abide with us, Govinda, leave us not.'

'Naught lack I for my pleasures, nor is there
One who doth injure me. But I have heard
Voices unearthly. Henceforth home holds me not.'

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1. S[cd] yaṃsukhāmassa ; S[t] yaṃsukāmassa; B[m] yiṭha-kāmassa; K yiṭṭhakāmassa.
2. SS anupabbajissāma, *and so* K *and* Sum *as* v.l.
3. S[c] ako ; S[d] akākho; S[t] akokho ; B[m] akāce ; K akāse.
4. B[m] K mayam.
5. B[m] K pabbajissāma.

'What like is this Unearthly ? What did He say
To thee, that having heard thou will straightway
Forsake our house and us and all the world ?'

'Ere I had passed through this Retreat, my care
Was for due altar-rites, the sacred fire
Was kindled, strewn about with kusa-grass.
But lo! Brahmā I saw, from Brahmā's heav'n,
Eternal god. I asked ; he made reply;
I heard. And now irksome is home to me.'

'Lo ! I believe the words that thou hast said.
Govinda. Having heard the Unearthly Voice.
How could it be thou should'st act otherwise ?
Thee will we follow after. Be our guide,
Our teacher ! So, like gem of purest ray,
Purg'd of all dross, translucent, without flaw,—
As pure as that we'll walk according to thy word.'

'If the honourable Steward goes forth from the home into the homeless, I too will do the like. For whither thou goest, I will go.'

48. Atha kho bho Mahā-Govindo brāhmaṇo yena te chakkhattiyā[1] ten' upasaṃkami, upassaṃkamitvā[2] chakkhattiye etad avoca : 'Aññaṃ dāni[3] bhavanto purohitaṃ pariyesantu, yo bhavantānaṃ rajje anusāsissati. Icchām' ahaṃ bho agārasmā angāriyaṃ pabbajituṃ. Yathā kho pana me sutaṃ Brahmuno āmagandhe bhāsamānassa te na sunimmadayā agāraṃ ajjhāvasatā, pabbajissām' ahaṃ bho agārasmā anagāriyan' ti.

Atha kho bho chakkhattiyā ekamantaṃ apakkamma evaṃ samacintesuṃ: 'Ime kho[4] brāhmaṇā nāma dhanaluddhā, yan nūna mayaṃ Mahā-Govindaṃ brāmaṇaṃ dhanena sikkheyyāmâti.'

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1. Bᵐ K cha khattiyā.
2. Bᵐ K *insert* te.
3. Bᵐ *repeats* aññaṃ dāni; K *inserts* kho.
4. K *adds* kho.

Te Mahā-Govindaṃ brāhmaṇaṃ upasaṃkamitvā evam āhaṃsu : 'Saṃvijjati[1] kho bho imesu sattasu rajjesu pahūtaṃ sāpateyyaṃ. Tato bhoto yāatakena attho tāvatakaṃ āhareyyatan ti.[2]

'Alaṃ bho ! Mama p' idaṃ pahūtaṃ sāpateyyaṃ bhavantānaṃ yeva vāhasā, tam[3] ahaṃ yasaṃ[4] pahāya agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajissāmi. Yathā kho pana me sutaṃ Brahmuno āmagandhe bhāsamānassa, te na sunimmadayā agāraṃ ajjhāvasatā, pabbajissām' ahaṃ bho agārasmā anagāriyan' ti.

48. Then the High Steward, the brahmin, waited upon the six nobles, and said to them : 'Will my lords now seek another minister who will administer my lords' affairs ? I wish to leave the world for the homeless life. I am going forth in accordance with the word of Brahmā which I have heard concerning foul odours. These cannot be easily suppressed when one is living in the world.'

Then the six nobles went aside together and thus deliberated:— 'These brahmin folk are greedy for money. What if, we were to gain him over through money?' And coming to the High Steward they said:— 'There is abundance of property, sir, in these seven kingdoms. Wherefore, sir, take of it as much as seems profitable to you.'

'Enough, sirs ! I have already abundant possessions, thanks to the action of my lords. It is that luxury that I am now relinquishing in leaving the world for the homeless life, [even as I have told you].'

49. Atha kho bho te chakkhattiyā ekamantaṃ apakkamma evaṃ[5] samacintesuṃ : 'Ime kho brāhmaṇā nāma

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1. *So* B^m K; SS - vijjanti.
2. B^m āhariyanti; K āharīyatanti.
3. *For* vāhasā tam S^t *has* vātam ; B^m vā hotu tam ; K tathā sāpateyyaṃ. *See* Mil. 379, 430 ; Vin. iv. 158.
4. B^m K sabbaṃ.
5. S^d apakkamm'imaṃ ; S^t apakkammamimaṃ.

itthi-luddhā. Yan nūna mayaṃ Mahā-Govindaṃ brāhmaṇaṃ itthīhi sikkheyyāmâti ?'

Te Mahā-Govindaṃ brāhmaṇaṃ upasaṃkamitvā evam āhaṃsu : 'Samvijjante[1] kho bho imesu sattasu rajjesu pahūtā itthiyo. Tato bhoto yāvatikāhi attho, tāvatikā āniyyatan'[2] ti.

'Alaṃ bho ! mama p' imā[3] cattārisā bhariyā sādisiyo. Tā p' ahaṃ[4] sabbā pahāya agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajissāmi. Yathā kho pana me sutaṃ Brahmuno āmagandhe bhāsamānassa, te na sunimmadayā agāraṃ ajjhāvasatā, pabbajissām' ahaṃ bho agārasmā anagāriyan' ti.

49. Then the six nobles went aside together, and thus deliberated: 'These brahmin folk are greedy about women. What if we were to gain him over through women ?' And coming to the High Steward they said : 'There is, sir, in those seven kingdoms abundance of women. Wherefore, sir, conduct away with you as many as you want.'

'Enough, sirs! I have already these forty wives equal in rank. All of them I am forsaking in leaving the world for the homeless life, [even as I have told you].'

50. 'Sace bhavaṃ Govindo agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajissati, mayam pi agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabba-jissāma, atha yā te gati no gati bhavissatîti.'

'Sace jahātha[5] kāmāni yattha satto puthujjano
Ārabhavho[6] daḷhā hotha khanti-bala-samāhitā.
Esa maggo uju maggo esa[7] maggo anuttaro
Saddhammo sabbhi rakkhito Brahmalokûpapattiyā ti.'

50. 'If the honourable Steward goes forth from the home into the homeless life, we too will do the like. Whither thou goest we will go.'

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1. S[d] yaṃvijjanto ; B[m] K -janti.
2. S[t] āniyya°; S[c] an°; B[m] aniyatanti; K ānīyatāti.
3. S[t] maṃ cichamā tā; S[d] maṃ machamā tā ; S[t] maṃ cajamānā ; B[m] mama pi tā.
4. B[m] K tāpāhaṃ ; K (Sī) tāpahaṃ.
5. S[d] chatha; B[m] hetha; K pajahatha.
6. S[ctd] apabhavho; B[m] ārambhavo; K ārambho.
7. SS visa.

'If ye would put off fleshly lusts that worldling's heart coerce,

Stir ye the will, wax strong, firm in the power of patience.

This is the Way, the Way that's Straight[1], the Way unto the End[2],

The Righteous Path that good men guard, to birth in Brahmā's heaven.'

51. 'Tena hi bhavaṃ Govindo satta vassāni āgametu, sattannaṃ vassānaṃ accayena mayam pi agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajissāma, atha yā te gati sā no gati bhavissatîti.'

'Aticiraṃ kho bho satta vassāni. Nâhaṃ sakkomi bhavante satta vassāni āgametuṃ. Ko kho[3] pana bho jānāti jīvitānaṃ. Gamanīyo samparāyo, mantāya bodhabbam,[4] kattabbaṃ kusalaṃ, caritabbaṃ brahmacariyaṃ, n' atthi jātassa amaraṇaṃ. Yathā kho pana me sutaṃ Brahmuno āmagandhe bhāsamānassa te na sunimmadayā agāraṃ ajjhāvāvasatā, pabbajissām' ahaṃ bho agārasmā anagāriyan' ti.

51. 'Wherefore, my lord Steward, wait yet seven years, and when they are over, we too will go forth from the world into the homeless life. Whither thou goest we will go.'

'Too long, my lords, are seven years! I cannot wait for my lords seven years. For who can answer for the living ?[5] We must go toward the future, we must learn by wisdom[6], we must do good, we must walk in righteousness, for there is no escaping death for all that's born. Now I am going forth in accordance

1. See S. I, 33 :— 'Straight is that way named.'
2. Anuttaro, lit. having no beyond. The Cy. interprets asadiso, uttamo (unique, supreme).
3. SS me ; B^{m} K nu kho ; *in the reptition* §§ 54-55, ko kho pana. *So* Sum *here.*
4. S^{d} bodhabbaṃ ; S^{c} boddhabbaṃ ; S^{t} B^{m} bhoddhabbaṃ ; K voṭṭhabbaṃ. *See* A. iv. 136, 137.
5. See above, p. 268.
6. Mantāya. Mantā vuccati paññā, says Buddhaghosa. Cp. the commentary on Dhp. 363; and Anguttara II. 141-228.

with the word of Brahmā which I have heard concerning foul odours. They cannot be easily suppressed when one is living in the world.'

52. 'Tena hi bhavaṃ Govindo cha vassāni āgametu . . . pe . . . pañca vassāni āgametu . . . [pe] . . . cattāri vassāni āgametu . . . [pe] . . . tīṇi vassāni āgametu . . . [pe] . . . dve vassāni āgametu . . . [pe] . . . ekaṃ vassaṃ āgametu. Ekavassassa[1] accayena mayem pi agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajissāma, atha yā te gati sā no gati bhavissatîti ?

52. 'Well then, lord Steward, wait for us six years, . . . [or] wait five years . . . four years . . . three . . . two years . . . one year. When a year has gone by we too will leave the world for the Homeless State. Whither thou goest we will go.'

53. 'Aticiraṃ kho bho ekaṃ vassaṃ. Nâhaṃ sakkomi bhavante ekaṃ vassaṃ āgametuṃ. Ko[2] kho pana bho jānāti jīvitānaṃ. Gamanīyo samparāyo, mantāya bodhabbaṃ, kattabbaṃ kusalaṃ, caritabbaṃ brahmacariyaṃ, n' atthi jātassa amaraṇaṃ. Yathā kho pana me sutaṃ Brahmuno āmagandhe bhāsamānassa te na sunimmadayā āgāraṃ ajjhāvasatā, pabbajissām' ahaṃ bho agārasmā anagāriyan' ti.

'Tena hi bhavaṃ Govindo satta māsāni āgametu. Sattannaṃ māsānaṃ accayena mayam pi agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajissāma, atha yā te gati sā no gati bhavissatîti.'

53. 'Too long, my lords, is one year. I cannot wait for my lords one year. For who can answer for the living ? We must go towards the future, we must learn by wisdom, we must do good, we must walk in righteousness, for there is no escaping death for all that's born. Now I am going forth in accordance with the word of Brahmaâ which I have heard concerning foul odours. They cannot easily be suppressed when one is living in the world.'

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1. Bm K ekassa vassassa.
2. Bm K *add* nu.

54. 'Aticiraṃ kho bho satta māsāni. Nâhaṃ sakkomi bhavante[1] satta māssāni āgametuṃ. Ko[2] kho pana bho jānāti jīvitānaṃ ? Gamanīyo samparāyo, mantāya bodhabbaṃ, kattabbaṃ kusalaṃ, caritabbaṃ brahma-cariyaṃ, n'atthi jātassa amaraṇaṃ. Yathā kho pana me sutaṃ Brahmuno āmmagandhe bhāsamānassa te na sunimmadayā agāraṃ ajjhāvasatā, pabbajissām' ahaṃ bho agārasmā anagāriyan' ti.

'Tena hi bhavaṃ Govindo cha māsāni āgametu . . . pe . . . pañca māsāni āgametu . . . [pe] . . . cattāri māsāni āgametu . . . [pe] . . . tīṇi māsāni āgametu . . . [p] . . . dve māsāni āgametu . . . [p] . . . addha-māsaṃ[3] āgametu. Addha-māsassa accayena mayam pi agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajissāma, atha yā te gati sā no gati bhavissatîti ?

54. 'Well then, lord Steward, wait for us seven months . . . six months . . . five . . . four . . . three . . . two months . . . one month . . . half a month . . . seven days, till we have devolved our kingdoms on to our sons and brothers. When seven days are over, we will leave the world for the Homeless State. Whither thou goest we will go.'

'Seven days, my lords, is not a long time. I will wait, my lords, for seven days.'

55. 'Aticiraṃ kho bho addhamāso. Nâhaṃ sakkomi bhavante addhamāsam āgametuṃ. Ko kho pana bho jānāti jīvinaṃ ?[4] Gamanīyo samparāyo, mantāya boddhabbaṃ, kattabbaṃ kusalaṃ, caritabbaṃ brahma-cariyaṃ, n' atthi jātassa amaraṇaṃ. Yathā kho pana me sutaṃ Brahmuno āmagandhe bhāsamanassa te na sunimmadayā agārasmā ajjhāvasatā, pabbajissām' aham bho agārasmā anagāriyan' ti.

'Tena hi bhavaṃ[5] Govindo sattāhaṃ āgametu yāva

1. S^c bhavanto.
2. B^m K *add* nu.
3. K (*note*) aḍḍhamāsan ti pi pāṭho.
4. *So all* MSS. *and* K.
5. S^c *omits;* B^m bhava.

mayaṃ sake putta-[1] bhātaro rajje anusāsāma.[2] Sattāhassa accayena mayam pi agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajissāma, atha yā te gati sā no gati bhavissatîti.'

'Na ciraṃ kho bho sattāhaṃ.[3] āgamissām' ahaṃ bhavante sattāhan' ti.

56. Atha kho bh Mahā-Govindo brāhmaṇo yena te satta brāhmaṇā mahā-sālā satta ca nahātaka-satāni ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā satta brāhmaṇa-mahāsāle satta ca nahātaka-satāni etad avoca :

'Aññaṃ dāni[4] bhavanto ācariyaṃ pariyesantu,[5] yo bhavantānaṃ mante vācessati. Icchām' ahaṃ bho agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajituṃ. Yathā kho pana me sutaṃ Brahmuno āmagandhe bhāsamānassa te na sunimmadayā agāraṃ ajjhāvasatā, pabbajissām' ahaṃ bho agārasmā anagāriyan' ti.

'Mā bhavaṃ Govindo agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbaji,[6] pabbajjā bho appesakkhā ca appalābhā ca, brahmaññaṃ[7] mahesakkhañ ca mahālābhañ câti.'

'Mā bhavanto evaṃ avacuttha[8]: "Pabbajjā appesakkhā ca appalābhā ca, brahaññaṃ mahesakkhañ ca mahālābhañ câti." Ko nu kho bho añño[9] mayā mahesakkhataro vā mahālābhataro vā. Ahaṃ hi bho[10] etarahi rājā ca raññaṃ Brahmā ca brāhmaṇānaṃ devatā ca gahapatikānaṃ, taṃ p' ahaṃ sabbaṃ pahāya agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajissāmi. Yathā kho pana me sutaṃ Brahmunno āmagandhe bhāsamā-

1. SS putte.
2. B^m K anusāsissama.
3. SS *insert* bho *again.*
4. S^d aññad°; S^t aññāni dāni.
5. SS ācariyapācariyesantu ; B^m ācariyapari°.
6. SS pabbajito bho pabbajjā
7. SS *and* B^m *sometimes* brahmaññā *and put the adjectives in* ā.
8. S^t avuttha. B^m K *repeat the whole clause.*
9. B^m K aññatra; K (*note*) añño ti vā pāṭho.
10. *So* SS B^m ; K ahaṃ vo; K (Sī) ahaṃ hi bho.

nassa te na sunimmadayā agāraṃ ajjhāvasatā, pabbajissām' ahaṃ bho agārasmā angāriyan' ti.

'Sace bhavaṃ Govindo agārasmā angāriyaṃ pabbajissati, mayam pi agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajissāma, atha yā to gati sā no gati bhavissatîti.'

56. Then the High Steward, the brahmin, came to those seven eminent and wealthy brahmins and to those seven hundred graduates, and said:— 'Will ye now seek another teacher, sirs, who will (by repetition) teach you the mystic verses ?[1] I wish to leave the world for the homeless life. I am going forth in accordance with the word of Brahmā which I have heard concerning foul odours. These cannot easily be suppressed when one is living in the world.'

'Let the honourable Steward not leave the world for the homeless life! Leaving the world means little power and little gain; to be a brahmin brings great power and great gain.'

'Speak not so, gentlemen, of leaving the world or of being a brahmin. Who for that matter has greater power or wealth than I ? I, sirs, have been hitherto as a king of kings, as Brahmā to brahmins, as a deity[2] to householders. And this, all this, I put away in leaving the world, in accordance with the word of Brahmā . . .'

'If the lord Steward leaves the world for the Homeless State, we too will do the like. Whither thou goest, we will go."

57. Atha kho bho Mahā-Govindo brāhmaṇo yena cattārīsā[3] bhariyā sādisiyo ten' upasamkami, upasaṃkamitvā vattārīsā bhariyā sādisiyo etad avoca : 'Yā bhoti naṃ[4] icchati sakāni va[5] ñāti-kulāni gacchatu,[6] aññaṃ[7]

1. Mante. See last note.
2. Devatā; 'like Sakka, king of gods, to all other heads of families.' Cy. The phrase might be taken to mean that Brahmā was not a devatā.
3. S^{c} -risa ; S^{t} B^{m} K -risā.
4. *MSS.* na.
5. SS pañ; B^{m} *omits* ; K vā.
6. S^{cd} gacchati; K gacchantu (B^{m} gacchatu).
7. B^{m} K *add* vā.

bhattāraṃ pariyesatu.[1] Icchām' ahaṃ bhoti agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajituṃ.[2] Yathā kho pana me sutaṃ Brahmuno āmagandhe bhāsamānassa te na sunimmadayā agāraṃ ajjjhāvasatā, pabbajissām' ahaṃ bhoti agārasmā anagāriyan' ti.

'Tvaṃ yeva no ñāti ñāti-kāmānaṃ. Tvaṃ pana bhattā bhattu-kāmānaṃ. Sace bhavaṃ Govindo agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajissati, mayam pi agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajissāma, atha yā te gati sā no gati bhavissatîti.'

57. Then the High Steward, the Brahmin, went to his forty wives, all on an equality, and said :— 'Will each of you, ladies, who may wish to do so, go back to her own family and seek another husband ? I wish, ladies, to leave the world for the homeless life, in accordance with the word of Brahmā . . .'

'Thou, even thou, art the kinsman of our hearts' desire; thou art the husband of our hearts' desire. If the lord Steward leaves the world for the Homeless State, we too will do the like. Whither thou goest, we will go.'

58. Atha kho bho Mahā Govindo brāhmaṇo tassa sattāhassa accayena kesa-massuṃ ohāretvā kāsāyāni vatthāni acchādetvā agārasmā anagāriyam pabbaji. Pabbajitañ[3] ca pana Mahā-Govindaṃ brāhmaṇaṃ, satta ca rājāno khattiyā muddhâvasittā, satta ca brāhmaṇa-mahāsālā satta ca nahātaka-satāni, cattārīsā ca bhariyā sādisiyo, anekāni ca khattiya-satāni, cattārīsā ca bhariyā sādisiyo, anekāni ca khattiya-sahassāni, anekāni ca brāhmaṇa-sahassābni, anekāni ca gahapati-sahassāni, anekā[4] ca itthâgārehi[5] itthikāyo[6] kesamassuṃ ohāretvā kāsāyāni vatthāni acchādetvā Mahā-Govindaṃ brāhmaṇaṃ agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajitaṃ anupabbajiṃsu. Tāya sudaṃ bho parisāya parivuto Mahā-

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1. SS K -santu ; B^m -satu.
2. S^c pabbajissituṃ ; S^{dt} -jissatu.
3. SS tañ.
4. SS anekāni; B^m anekahi.
5. *So* SS B^m ; K itthāgārā.
6. B^m K itthiyo.

Govindo brāhmaṇo gāma-nigama-rāja-dhānīsu cārikaṃ carati. Yaṃ kho pana bho tena sama-yena Mahā-Govindo brāhmaṇo gāmaṃ vā nigamaṃ vā upasaṃkamati, tattha rājā va hoti raññaṃ Brahmā va brāhmaṇānaṃ devatā va gahapatikānaṃ. Ye ca[1] kho pana bho tena samayena manussā khipanti[2] vā upak-khalanti[3] vā, te evam āhamsu : 'Nam' atthu Mahā-Govindassa brāhmāṇassa, nam' atthu satta-purohitassâti.'

58. And so the High Steward, the brahmin, when those seven days were past, let his hair and beard be cut off, donned the yellow robes and went forth from his home into the Homeless State. And he having so acted, the seven kings also, anointed kshatriyas, as well as the seven eminent and wealthy brahmins and the seven hundred graduates, the forty wives all on an equality, several thousand nobles, several thousand brahmins, several thousand commoners and several young women from women's quarters, let their hair be cut, donned the yellow robes and went forth from their homes into the Homeless State. And so, escorted by this company, the High Steward, the brahmin, went a-wandering through the villages, towns, and cities. And whether he arrived at village or town or city, there he became as a king to kings, as Brahmā to brahmins, as a deity to commoners,. And in those days when any one sneezed or slipped, they called out:— 'Glory be to the High Steward, the brahmin ! Glory be to the Minister of Seven !'

59. Mahā-Govindo bho[4] brāhmaṇo mettā-sahagatena cetasā[5] ekaṃ disaṃ pharitvā vihāsi, tathā dutiyaṃ, tathā tatiyaṃ, tathā catutthaṃ. Iti uddham adho tiriyaṃ sabbadhi sabbattatāya[6] sabbāvantaṃ lokaṃ mettā-sahagatena cetasā vipulena mahaggatena appamāṇena averena avyāpajjhena

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1. B^m K *omit.*
2. S^t khippanti.
3. S^c ukkhalanti.
4. B^m K *omit.*
5. K *inserts* averena abyāpajjhena.
6. *So* S^c *corrected to* -atthatāya ; S^d B^m -atthatāya (*as at* p. 242).

pharitvā vihāsi. Karuṇā-sahaga-tena cetasā . . . . muditā-sahagatena cetasā . . . . . . upkhā-sahagatena cetasā[1] ekaṃ disaṃ pharitvā vihāsi tathā dutiyaṃ tathā tatiyaṃ tathā catut-thaṃ. Iti udham adho tiriyaṃ sabbadhi sabbattatāya[2] sabbāvantaṃ lokaṃ upekhā-sahagatena cetasā vipulena mahaggatena appamāṇena averena avyāpajjhena pharitvā vihāsi, sāvakānañ ca Bhahmaloka[3] -sahavyatāya maggaṃ desesi.

59. Now the High Steward, the brahmin, continued to pervade each of the four quarters of the horizon with a heart charged with love . . . with pity . . . with sympathy in joy . . . with equanimity. And so the whole wide world above, below, around, and everywhere did he continue to pervade with heart charged with equanimity, far-reaching, expanded, infinite, free from wrath and ill will. And he taught to disciples the way to union with the world of Brahmā.

60. Ye kho pana bho tena samayena Mahā-Govin-bassa brāhmaṇassa sāvakā sabbena sabbaṃ sāsanaṃ ājāniṃsu,[4] te kāyassa bhedā param maraṇā sugatiṃ Brahma-lokaṃ upapajjiṃsu. Ye na sabbena sabbaṃ sāsanaṃ ājāniṃsu, te kāyassa bhedā param maraṇā app ekacce Paranimmita-Vasavattīnaṃ devānaṃ sahavyataṃ uppajjiṃsu, app ekacce Nimmāna-ratīnaṃ devānaṃ sahavyataṃ uppajjiṃsu, app ekacce Tusitānaṃ devānaṃ sahavyataṃ uppajjiṃsu, app ekacce Yāmānaṃ devānaṃ sahavyataṃ uppajjiṃsu, app ekacce Tāvatiṃsānaṃ devānaṃ sahavyataṃ uppajjiṃsu, app ekacce Cātumma-hārājikānaṃ devānaṃ sahavyataṃ uppajjiṃsu. Ye sabbe sabba-nihīna-kāyaṃ paripūresuṃ te gandhabba-kāyaṃ paripūresuṃ.

Iti kho bho[5] sabbesaṃ yena tesaṃ kula-puttānaṃ

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1. B[m] K pa *to the end of the section.*
2. *So* S[c], *again corrected as above, note.*
3. S[d]-loke.
4. S[t] jāniṃsu ; S[cd] aj°.
5. B[m] K pana.

amoghā pabbajjā ahosi avañjhā[1] saphalā sa-uddisā ti.[2]

60. Now all they who at that time had been the High Steward's disciples and in all points 'wholly understood his teaching, were after their death reborn into the blissful world of Brahmā. They who had not in all points wholly understood his teaching, were after their death reborn into the company either of the gods who Dispose of Joys purveyed from without, or of the gods of the Heaven of Boundless Delight, or of the gods of the Heavens of Bliss, or of the Yāma gods, or of the Three-and-Thirty gods, or of the gods who are the Four Kings of the Horizon. Even they who accomplished the lowest realm of all, attained to the realm of the Gandharva fairies.

Thus of all those clansmen there was not one whose renunciation proved vain or barren ; in each case it bore fruit and development.'

61. 'Sarati taṃ[3] Bhagavā ti ?'

'Sarām'[4] ahaṃ[5] Pañcasikha. Ahaṃ tena samayena Mahā-Govindo brāhmaṇo ahosiṃ.[6] Ahaṃ tesaṃ sāvakānaṃ Brahmaloka-sahavyatāya maggaṃ desesiṃ.[7] Taṃ kho pana Pañcasikho brahmacariyaṃ na nibbidāya na virāgāya na nirodhāya na upasamāya na abhiññāya na sambodhāya na nibbānaya saṃvattati, yāvad eva Brah-malokûpapattiyā. Idaṃ kho pana me Pañcasikha brahmacariyaṃ ekanta-nibbidāya virāgāya nirodhāya abhiññāya sambodhāya nibbānāya saṃvattati,[8] ayaṃ eva ariyo aṭṭhaṅgiko Maggo, seyyathîdaṃ sammādiṭṭhi sammā-saṃkappo sammā-vācā sammā-kammanto sammā-ājīvo sammā-vāyāmo sammā-sati sammā-

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1. Bm K avajjā ; K (*note*) avañjhāti vāavajjhāti vā pāṭho.
2. St sa-uddiyā ; Bm sa-uddrayā ; K sa-udrayā.
3. Sd kaṃ
4. Sc sārām.
5. Bm K *insert* bho.
6. Sdt ahosi.
7. Sct desesi.
8. Bm K *insert* katamañ ca taṃ Pañcasikha brahmacariyaṃ ekanta-nibbidāya virāgāya nirodhāya upasamāya abhiññāya sambodhāya nibbānāya saṃvattati ?

samādhi. Idaṃ kho taṃ Pañcasikha brahmacariyaṃ ekanta-nibbidāya virāgāya nirodhāya upasamāya abhiññāya sambodhāya nibbānāya saṃvattati.

61. 'Does the Exalted One remember ?'

'I do remember, Five-crest. I was the High Steward of those days.[1] I taught my disciples the way to communion with the Brahmā world. But, Five-crest, that religious, life did not conduce to detachment, to passionlessness, to cessation of craving, to peace, to understanding, to insight of the higher stages of the Path, to Nirvana, but only to rebirth in the Brahmā-world. On the other hand my religious system, Five-crest, conduces wholly and solely to detachment, to passionlessness, to cessation of craving, to peace, to understanding, to insight of the higher stages of the Path, to Nirvana. And that is the Aryan Eightfold Path, to wit, right views, right intention, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, right rapture.

62. 'Ye kho pana me Pañcasikha sāvakā sabbena sabbaṃ sāsanaṃ ājānanti, te āsāvānaṃ khayā anāsavaṃ ceto-vimuttiṃ paññā-vimuttiṃ diṭṭhe vā dhamme sayaṃ abhiññā sacchikatvā upasampajja viharanti. Ye na sabbena sabbaṃ sāsanaṃ[2] ājānati appekacce pañcannaṃ orambhāgiyānaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayā opapātikā honti, tattha parinibbāyino anāvatti-dhammā tasmā lokā. Ye na sabbena sabbaṃ sāsanaṃ ājānanti app ekacce tiṇṇam saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayā rāga-dosa-mohānaṃ tanuttā sakadāgāmino honti sakid eva imaṃ lokaṃ āgantvā dukkhass' antaṃ karonti[3]. Ye na sabbena sabbaṃ sāsanaṃ ājānanti app ekacce tiṇṇaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayā sotâpannā honti avinipāta-dhammā niyatā sambodhi-parāyanā. Iti kho Pañcasikha sabbesaṃ yeva imesaṃ kula-puttānaṃ amoghā pabbajjā

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1. In spite of this express statement this legend of the High Steward does not appear in the canonical collection of Birth Stories. See Rhys Davīds's 'Buddhist India,' p. 196, for other instances.
2. B^{m} K te.
3. B^{m} K karissahti.

avañhā[1] saphalā sa-uddisā 'ti.[2]

Idam avoca Bhagavā. Attamano Pañcasikho Gandhabbaputto Bhagavato bhāsitaṃ abhinanditvā anumoditvā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā padakkhiṇaṃ katvā tatth' ev' antardhāyîti.

62. 'Those of my disciples, Five-crest, who in all points wholly understand my teaching, they from the destruction of the Deadly Taints have by and for themselves understood, realized and attained to, even in this life, freedom from taint, liberty of heart, liberty of intellect. Those who do not in all points wholly understand my teaching, some of them, in that they have broken away the five Fetters belonging to the Hither Side, are reborn without parents, where they will utterly pass away, being no more liable to return to this world. And some of them, in that they have broken away three [other] Fetters, and have worn down passion and hate and dulness, become Once. Returners, who after once returning to this world shall make an end of Ill. And some of them, again, in that they have broken away those three Fetters, become Stream-Attainers, not liable to be reborn in any state of woe, but assured of attaining to the Insight. And so, Five-crest, of all, even all those persons, there is not one whose renunciation is vain or barren ; in each case it will have brought fruit and development.' Thus spoke the Exalted One. And Five-crest of the Gandharva fairies was pleased at the word of the Exalted One, and in delight and gladness he saluted the Exalted One, and with the salutation of the right side he vanished from that place.

Mahā-Govinda-Suttaṃ[3]
Niṭṭhitaṃ.[4]

Here endeth the Story of the Lord High Steward.

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1. B^m^ K avajjā.
2. S^cd^ sariddāyati; S^t^ *as before* § 60 ; B^m^ sa-udrayā.
3. *MSS and* K Suttaṃ.
4. B^m^ *adds* chaṭṭhaṃ ; K chaṭṭham *for* niṭṭhitaṃ.

INTRODUCTION
TO THE
Mahā-Samaya Sutta

The twentieth is the Mahā-Samaya Sutta, which is of special importance to the historians of religion in so far as it bears testimony to the continual change in animistic belief prevalent in India at the time. There are three parts to the poem. The first is the list of gods, the second, the frame work, put into the Buddha's mouth, at the beginning (after the prologues) and at the end, the third the prologue, with the verses of the four gods of the Pure abode.

This Sutta refers to some gods of the earth and also of the regions above and in it, there is a reference to a long list of gods.

xx. Mahā-Samaya Sutta[1]

The Great Concourse

1. [2] Evam me sutaṃ. ekaṃ samayaṃ Bhagavā Sakkesu viharati Kapilavat-thusmiṃ Mahāvano mahatā bhikkhu-saṃghena saddhiṃ pañca-mattehi bhikkhu-satehi sabbeh' eva arahantehi, dasahi ca loka-dhātūhi[3] devatā yebhuyyena sannipatitā honti Bhagavantaṃ dassanāya bhikkhu-saṃghañ ca.

1. Thus have I heard. The Blessed One was once dwelling among the Sākiyas, at Kapilavatthu in the Great Wood, together with a great band of the brethren, about five hundred of them, all being Arahants. And gods from the ten thousand world-systems oft-times assembled there that they might visit the Exalted One and the band of brethren.

2. Atha kho catunnaṃ Suddhâvāsakāyikānaṃ devānaṃ etad ahosi :

'Ayaṃ kho Bhagavā Sakkesu viharati Kapila-vatthusmiṃ Mahāvane mahatā bhikkhu-saṃghena saddhiṃ pañca-mattehi bhikkhu-satehi sabbeh' eva arahantehi, dasahi ca loka-dhātūhi dhātūjo devatā yebhuyyena sannipatitā honti Bhagavantaṃ dassanāya bhikkhu-saṃghañca. Yan nūna mayam pi yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṃkamey-yāma, upasaṃkamitvā Bhagavato santike pacceka-gāthaṃ[4] bhāseyyāmâti.'

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1. *Edited by* Grimblot, *Septs Suttas Pālis, Paris,* 1876, pp. 280-88, = Gr ; *by* Frankfurter, *Handbook of Pali,* London, 1883, pp. 112-118 = F; *Anonymously in Colombo,* 1891 = Col ; *by* Takakusu, *pali Chrestomathy, Tokyo,* 1900 = Tak.
2. §§ 1–3 *in* S. 1. 26.
3. Col -dhātuhi.
4. S^c -ekagāthā ; S^d -ekagātha ; Gr F Tak *and* Feer (S. i. 26 *in note*),

2. Now to four gods of the hosts of the Pure Abodes this thought occurred:— 'That Blessed One is now dwelling among the Sākiyas, at Kapilavatthu in the Great Wood, together with a great band of the brethren, about five hundred of them, all being Arahants. And gods from the ten thousand world-systems oft-times are assembling there to see the Exalted One and his band of brethren. What if we, too, were to go into his presence, and before him were to recite each of us a poem ?'

3. Atha kho tā devatā seyyathā pi nāma balavā puriso sammiñjitaṃ vā bāhaṃ pasāreyya, pasāritaṃ vā bāhaṃ sammiñjeyya, evam evaṃ[1] Suddhâvāsesu devesu antarahitā Bhagavato purato pâtur ahṃsu.[2] Atha kho tā devatā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ atthaṃsu, ekamantaṃ ṭhitā kho ekā devatā Bhagavato santiko imaṃ gāthaṃ abhāsi:–

'Mahā-samayo pavanasmiṃ, deva-kāyā samāgatā,
Āgat' amha[3] imaṃ dhamma-samayaṃ dakkhitāye[4] aparānita-saṃghan ti.'

Atha kho aparā devatā Bhagavato santike imaṃ gāthaṃ abhāsi:—

'Tatra[5] bhikkhavo samādahaṃsu cittaṃ[6] attano ujukaṃ akaṃsu,
Sārathi[7] va nettā ni[8] gahetvā indriyāni rakkhanti paṇḍitā ti.'

Atha kho aparā devatā Bhagavato santike imaṃ gāthaṃ abhāsi:—

-ekaṃ gātham ; K (*note*) pāyato evaṃ ; paccekagāthālipi pāṭhena pana bhavitabbam.

1. Bᵐ eva. SS F Col evam evaṃ, *and so* Trenckner *always* (*except* M. 1.205); Bᵐ Gr Tak K evam eva.
2. Gr Tak ahosuṃ.
3. Bᵐ F Gr Tak amhā *and so all MSS. at* D. i. 18.
4. Sᵈ -āhe ; Bᵐ Gr -tāya, *note* -tāye ; K dakkhitā yeva.
5. Sᵗ *adds* kho.
6. Sᵈ ttā.
7. Sᵈ sarᵒ ; Sᵗ K -thī.
8. Bᵐ nattāni ; Gr nethāni (*note* nettāni) ; yottāni.

'Chetvā khilaṃ[1] chetvā palighaṃ[2] inda-khīlaṃ ūhacca-m-anejā,[3]
Te caranti suddhā vimalā cakkhumatā sudantā susu nāgā ti.'

Atha kho aparā devatā Bhagavato santike imaṃ gāthaṃ abhāsi:—

'Ye keci Buddhaṃ saraṇaṃ gatāse na te gamissanti apāyam,[4]
Pahāya mānusaṃ dehaṃ deva-kāyaṃ paripūressantîti.

3. Then those gods, as easily as a strong man might stretch out his arm, or draw back his out-stretched arm, vanished from the Pure Abodes, and appeared before the Exalted One. There they saluted him and stood on one side. And so standing one of the gods recited to the Blessed One this verse :—

'Great is the gathering in the glade ! The hosts of heaven together met!
We too are come unto this congress blest, and fain would see
The Company Invincible.'

Then another god recited to the Exalted One this verse :—

'The brethren there, wrought up to concentration rapt, make straight their hearts,
Wisely, as driver keeping grip on rein, their faculties they guard.'

Then another god recited to the Exalted One this verse:—

'All bars and bolts are hewn in twain for them,

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1. SS B^{m} Gr Col khilaṃ ; Gr (*note*) F Tak K Khīlaṃ.
2. K palīghaṃ.
3. K *and* Feer S i. 27, ohacca ; Gr F Tak Col uhacca. *See* S.N. 1119 (*quoted* Kathā Vatthu 64).
4. *So* SS, *all MSS. at* Sum i. 233, *and* B^{m} Gr F Col Tak ; K *and* Feer apāyabhūmim ; K (*note*) sabbapotthakesu pāyato apāyanti pāṭho dissati. Divy, p. 195, *has* durgatiṃ.

The threshold is dug up.[1]
In purity, their way they go,
Stainless, with vision clear, like well-tamed elephants.'

Then the other god recited to the Exalted One this verse :—

'Who in the Buddha refuge take, they shall not go to woeful doom.
When they put off this human frame they shall fill up the hosts in heaven.'

4. Atha kho Bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi :—

'Yebhuyyena bhikkhave dasasu loka-dhātusu devatā sannipatitā[2] Tathāgataṃ dassanāya bhikkhu-saṃghañ ca. Ye pi te bhikkhave ahesuṃ atīta, addhānaṃ arahanto sammā-sambuddhā, tesam pi Bhagavantānaṃ eta-paramā yeva devatā sannipatitā ahesuṃ seyyathā pi mayhaṃ etarahi. Ye pi te bhikkhave bhavissanti anāgatam addānaṃ arahanto sammāsammāsambuddhā, tesam pi Bhagavantānaṃ eta-parammā yeva devatā sannipatitā bhavissanti seyyathā pi mayhaṃ etarahi. Ācikkhissāmi bhikkhave devakāyānaṃ nāmāni, kittayissāmi bhikkhave deva-kāyānaṃ nāmāni, desissāmi bhikkhave devakāyānaṃ nāmāni. Taṃ suṇātha sādhukaṃ manasikarotha, bhāsissāmîti.'

'Evaṃ bhante ti' kho te bhikkhū Bhagavato paccassosuṃ.

Bhagavā etad avoca :—

4. Then said the Exalted One to the brethren:— 'Oft-times, brethren, do gods from the ten world-systems foregather to see the Tathāgata and the company of the Brethren. Whosoever, brethren, in the past were Arahant Buddhas supreme, upon them waited a like number of the heavenly hosts, and a like number shall wait upon whosoever shall, in the future, be Arahant Buddhas supreme. I will detail to you, brethren, the names of the

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1. 'The bars and bolts and hindering threshold stone of lust, ill-will and stupidity,' explains Buddhaghosa.
2. B^{m} K *add* honti. SS Gr F Col Tak *omit it.*

hosts of gods, I will publish abroad, brethren, their names, I will teach you, brethren, their names. Hearken hereunto and pay heed, and I will speak.'

'Even so, lord,' responded the brethren. And the Exalted One spake thus :—

5. 'Silokam anukassāmi ; yattha[1] bhummā tad assitā,
Ye sitā giri-gabbharaṃ[2] pahitattā samāhitā
Puthaū sihā v' asallinā lomahaṃsâbhisambhuno
Odāta-manasā suddhā vippasannā-m-anāvilā[3]
Bhīyyo[4] pañca-sate ñatvā vane Kāpilavatthave.'
Tato āmantayi Satthā sāvake sāsane rate:
'Deva-kāyā abhikkantā te vijānātha bhikkhavo.'
Te ca ātappam akaruṃ sutvā Buddhassa sāsanaṃ.

5. 'In measured speech I will give utterance :—
Where'er their realm, there will ye find the gods,
But they who in the bowels of the hills
Sit with heart throughly purged and well composed,
Like to so many lions crouching still,
Are vanquishers over the creeping dread,
White-minded, pure, serene and undefiled
Seeing within Kapilavatthu's grove
Five hundred such and more, disciples all,
To them who loved his word the Master spoke :
"Celestial hosts draw nigh !
Look to it, brethren, that ye them discern !"
And they, hearing the Buddha's word, forthwith
Strove ardently to see.[5]

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1. Gr Fr Tak yathā.
2. B^{m} Col Gr gabbharaṃ ; S^{cdt} Tak Fr K gabbharaṃ.
3. *So* S^{ct} Sum Gr; S^{d} K Col Tak Gr *note* vippasannam-; F vippassanaṃ; B^{m} *omits* m.
4. S^{cd} Col bhīyyo ; B^{m} K bhiyyo ; Gr F Tak bhīyo.
5. The connexion of the various clauses of this stanza is obscure ; and the interpretations of the native scholars differ. We have followed the version of the Colombo Sannaya of 1891. Samarasekhara's translation (Col. 1905) takes the assitā in line. 1 to refer to the

6. Tesaṃ pātur ahū[1] ñāṇaṃ amanussāna dassanaṃ
App eke satam addakkhuṃ sohassaṃ atha sattatiṃ[2]
Sataṃ eke sahassānaṃ amanussānamm addasuṃ[3]
App eke 'nantam addakkhuṃ, disā sabbā phuṭā[4] ahū.
Tañ ca sabbaṃ abhiññāya vavakkhitvāna[5] cakkhumā
Tato āmantayi Satthā sāvake sāsane rate :
'Deva-kāyā abhikkantā te vijānātha bhikkhavo,
Ye vo 'haṃ kittayissāmi girāhi anupubbaso.

6. And lo ! in them
Arose vision of those not born of men.
Some saw one hundred gods, ten hundred, some,
And some saw seventy thousand, others saw
Infinite multitudes thronging around.
And all their sight and seeing He Who Sees
Intuitively marked and understood.
Then to his followers who loved his Word
The Master turned and spoke :— "Celestial hosts
Draw near ! Them do ye, brethren, recognize
As I, in rhythmic speech, each in their turn
Proclaim them unto you in order due :—"

7. Satta sahassā va[6] yakkhā bhummā Kāpilavatthavā
Iddhimanto jutīmanto vaṇṇavanto yasassino
Modamānā abhikkāmuṃ bhikkhūnaṃ samitiṃ vanaṃ

Cha-sahassā Hemavatā yakkhā nānatta-vaṇṇino,
Iddhimanto jutīmanto vaṇṇavanto yasassino,
Modamānā abhikkāmuṃ bhikkhūnaṃ samitiṃ vanaṃ.

Arahants. Buddhaghosa's commentary may be understood either way. All agree in referring ñatvā in line 5 to the Buddha.

1. S^c āhuṃ ; S^d F Tak āhu ; S^t Col ahū ; B^m Gr K ahu.
2. S^c K sattariṃ ; B^m *and* Col *in note* sattari ; Gr F Tak sattati (*nore* sattharuñ *and* sattatiṃ).
3. S^t F Tak addaṃsu.
4. S^d Sum B^m puṭā ; Col *and* Gr *in note* phuṭhā.
5. B^m *and* Col *in note* pavekkhitvāna ; K (*note*) vavatthi-tvānâti vā pāṭho ; Fr Tak pavakkhitvāna.
6. Gr te ; F *and* Tak *omit, and put ca after* yakkhā.

Sātāgirā ti-sahassā yakkhā nānatta-vaṇṇino,
Iddhimanto jutīmanto vaṇṇavanto yasassino,
Modamānā bhikkāmuṃ bhikkhūnaṃ samitiṃ vanaṃ.

Icc ete soḷasa-sahassā yakkhā nānatta-vaṇṇino,
Iddhimanto jutīmanto vaṇṇavanto yasassino,
Modamānā abhikkāmuṃ bhikkhūnaṃ samitiṃ vanaṃ.

7. Seven thousand Yakkhas of our country's soil
Of wondrous gifts and powers exceeding great,
And comeliness, and splendid following[1],
Are come rejoicing to the forest glade
To see the brethren met together there.

Six thousand Yakkhas from Himālaya,
Diverse in hue, of wondrous gifts and powers
And comeliness and splendid following,
Are come rejoicing to the forest glade
To see the brethren met together there.

From Sāta's Hill three thousand Yakkhas more,
Diverse in hue, of wondrous gifts and powers
And comeliness, with splendid following,
Have come rejoicing to the forest glade
To see the brethren met together there.

Thus have I sixteen thousand Yakkhas told,
Of diverse hue, of wondrous gifts and powers
And comeliness, and splendid following,
Who come rejoicing to the forest glade
To see the brethren met together there.

8. **Vessāmittā pañca-satā yakkhā nānatta-vaṇṇino,**
Iddhimanto jutīmanto vaṇṇavanto yasassino,
Modamānā abhikkāmuṃ bhikkhūnaṃ samitiṃ vanaṃ.

Kumbhīro Rājagahiko Vepullassa nivesanaṃ,
Bhiyyo naṃ sata-sahassaṃ yakkhānaṃ[2] payirupāsati,
kumbhīro Rājagahiko so p'āga samitiṃ vanaṃ.

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1. Yassassino, glossed here by Buddhaghosa as parivārasam-pannā, and later, in this Sutta, by yasena samannāgatā.
2. B^{m} yakkhā.

8. Five hundred more from Vessāmittā's host,
Of diverse hue, of wondrous gifts and powers
And comeliness and splendid following,
Have come rejoicing to the forest glade
To see the brethren met together there.

Kumbhîra, too, of Rājagaha town,
Having his dwelling on Vepulla's mount,
More than a hundred thousand in his train,
This Yakkha likewise to the wood is come.

**9. Purimañ ca disaṃ rājā Dhataraṭṭho[1] pasāsati,
Gandhabbānaṃ ādhipati[2] Mahārājā yasassi so.
Puttā pi tassa bahavo Inda-nāmā mahabbalā,[3]
Iddhimanto jutīmanto vaṇṇavanto yasassino,
Modamānā abhikkāmuṃ bhikkhūnaṃ samitiṃ vanaṃ.**

**Dakkhiṇañ ca disaṃ rājā Virūḷho taṃ[4] pasāsati,
Kumbhaṇḍānaṃ ādhipati Mahārājā yasassi so.
Puttā pi tassa bahavo Inda-nāmā mahabbalā,
Iddhimanto jutīmanto vaṇṇavanto yasassino,
Modamānā abhikkāmuṃ bhikkhūnaṃ samitiṃ vanaṃ.**

**Pacchimañ ca disaṃ rājā Virūpakkho pasāsati,
Nāgānaṃ va[5] ādhipati Mahārāja yasassi so.
Puttā pi tassa bahavo Inda-nāmā mahabbalā,
Iddhimanto jutīmanto vaṇṇavanto yasassino,
Modamānā abhikkāmuṃ bhikkhūnaṃ samitiṃ vanaṃ.**

**Uttarañ ca disaṃ rājā Kuvero taṃ pasāsati[6]
Yakkhānaṃ va ādhipati Mahārājā yasassi so.
Puttā pi tassa bahavo Inda-nāmā mahabbalā,**

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1. *All MSS. and editions except* B^m Gr K *add* taṃ *both here and in the* Virūpakkha *verse.*
2. B^m Gr (*in note*) F Tak adhipati, *and so below.*
3. K (*note*) aṭṭhakathāyaṃ sabbavāresu mahābalāti pāṭho. So Sum, *on the recurrence of the phrase in* Virūḷha's *section.*
4. Sum B^m Gr taṃ *here* ; K tappasāsati.
5. Gr Fr Tak ca. *All MSS.,* K *and* Col *omit. In next stanza all omit it.*
6. So SS B^m Gr ; K tappasāsati.

Iddhimanto jutīmanto vaṇṇavanto yasassino,
Modamānā bhikkāmuṃ bhikkhūnaṃ samitiṃ vanaṃ.

Purimaṃ disaṃ Dhatraṭṭho dakkhiṇena Virūḷyako
Pacchimena Virūpakkho Kuvero uttaraṃ disaṃ
Cattāro te mahārājā samantā caturo disā,
Daddallamānā[1] aṭṭhaṃsu nave Kāpilavatthave.

9. King Dhataraṭṭha rules the Eastern clime,
Lord of Gandhabbas, mighty monarch he,
With splendid following. Sons has he too,
Many and strong, all after Indra named.
And these of wondrous gifts and mighty power
And comeliness and splendid following,
Have come rejoicing to the forest glade
To see the brethren met together there.

Virūlha, ruler of the Southern clime,
Lord of Kumbandas, mighty monarch he,
With splendid following. Sons has he too,
Many and strong, all after Indra named.
And these of wondrous gifts and mighty power
And comeliness and splendid following,
Have come rejoicing to the forest glade
To see the brethren met together there.

Virūpakkha rules o'er the Western clime,
Lord of the Nāgas, mighty monarch he,
With splendid following. Sons has he too,
Many and strong, all after Indra named.
And these, of wondrous gifts and mighty power
And comeliness and splendid following,
Have come rejoicing to the forest glade
To see the brethren met together there.

Kuvera rules over the Northern clime,
Lord of the Yakkhas, mighty monarch he,

1. B[m] daddaḷamānā ; K *note* dadaḷhamānātipi pāṭho. *See* Vim. V. p. 85 *and* Hardy V. V. A. 48.

With splendid following. Sons has he too,
Many and strong, all after Indra named.
And these, of wondrous gifts and mighty power
[288] And comeliness and splendid following,
Have come rejoicing to the forest glade
To see the brethren met together there.

So stood those four great kings within the wood
Of Kapilavatthu, on the four climes
Shedding effulgent radiance round about:
Over the East King Dhataratthza shone,
To right, Virūlhaka, westward
Virūpakkha, Kuvera o'er the North.

10. Tesem̩ māyāvino dāsā āgu[1] vañcanikā saṭhā
Māyā[2] Kuṭeṇḍu Veṭeṇḍu[3] Viṭuc ca[4] Viṭucco[5] saha
Candano Kāmaseṭṭho ca Kinnughaṇḍu Nighaṇḍu ca
Panādo Opamañño ca devasūto ca Mātali.
Cittaseno ca gandhabbo Nalo[6] rājā Janesabho
Āgu[7] Pañcasikho c' eva Timbarū Suriyavaccasā.[8]
Ete c' aññe ca rājāno gandhabbā saha rājubhi
Modamānā bhikkāmuṃ bhikkhūnaṃ samitiṃ vanaṃ

10. With them are come their vassals versed in craft,
Hoodwinking wizards, apt to cloak and feign :—
Māyā, Kutendu, Vetendu, Vitu,
Vitucca, Caridana, Rāmasettha too,
Kinnughandu, Nighandu (nine in all).
Next, these Gandhabba chieftains all are come:—

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1. K āgū, *and below.*
2. S[d] B[m] mayā.
3. S[t] Veteṇḍu *and so* Sum *as* v. 1.
4. K Viṭū ca (Sum eko Viṭu nāma).
5. B[m] Viṭuto; K Viṭuṭo.
6. Sum B[m] Gr K Naḷo ; SS Fr Tak Nala-.
7. Fr Tak āguṃ ; Gr Col āga.
8. B[m] K vacchasā ; K (*note* Sī) suriyavaccasā (*see* p. 265)

Panāda, Opamañña too, and Mātali
The driver of the gods, Cittasena
The Gandhabba, Nala, Janesabha,
Pañcasikha and Suriyavaccasā,
Daughter of Timbarū. These princes all
And with them other chiefs, Gandhabbas too,
Are come rejoicing to the forest glade
To see the brethren met together there.

11. Ath' āgu Nābhasā nāgā Vesālā[1] saha Tacchakā,
Kambalassatarā[2] āgu Pāyāgā saha ñātibhi.
Yāmunā Dhataraṭṭhā ca āgu nāgā yasassino,
Erāvano mahā-nāgo so p'āga samitiṃ vanaṃ.
Ye nāga-rāje[3] sahasā haranti
Dibbā dijā[4] pakkhi visudda-cakkhū
Vehāsayā te vana-majjha-pattā
Citrā[5] Supaṇṇā iti tesaṃ nāmaṃ.
Abhayan tadā nāga-rājānam āsi,[6]
Supaṇṇato khemam akāsi Buddho.
Saṇhāhi vācāhi upavhayantā
Nāgā Supaṇṇā saraṇaṃ agaṃsu[7] Buddhaṃ.[8]

11. Now too Nāgas are come from Nabhasa,
And from Vesāli and from Tacchaka,
Kambalas, Assataras, Pāyāgas
With all their kin. Nāgas from Yamuna,
And Dhatarattha, too, with brilliant trains,
Erāvana, great among Nāga folk,
He too is come into the forest glade.

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1. Gr *text* Fr Tak Vesalā ; Gr *note* Vesālā *and* Vesāli.
2. S[d] - narā.
3. S[d] rājā ; B[m] naga°; Gr nāgā raje.
4. Gr dvijā.
5. B[m] Gr cittā; Gr *note* citra.
6. Gr *note* K āsī.
7. B[m] Gr *note* akaṃsu.
8. B[m] Buddhi.

They who twice-born[1], winged and keen
Of sight, the heavenly Harpies who,
With violence prey on Nāga chiefs,—
Gaudy and Well-winged are their names—
Have flown into the wood. —
The cobra kings felt quite secure.
A refuge from the dreadful birds
Buddha had made. With gentle words
Entreating one another they,
The Harpies and their prey alike
To the Buddha as their Sanctuary come.

12. Jitā Vajira-hatthena samuddaṃ Asurā sitā
Bhātaro Vāsavass' ete iddhimanto yasassino
Kālakañjā mahābhiṃsā[2] asurā Dānaveghasā
Vepacitti Sucitti ca Pahārādo Namucī saha
Satañ ca Bali-puttānaṃ sabbe Veroca-nāmakā
Sannayhitvā baliṃ senaṃ Rāhubhaddam upāgamuṃ :
'Samayo dāni bhaddan te bhikkhūnaṃ samitiṃ vanaṃ.'

12. They whom the Lightning-Hand did smite,
Now dwellers in the ocean, Asuras,
Vāsava's brethren, they of wondrous gifts
And splendid train[3]:—The Kālakañjas all
Of fearsome shape, the Dānaveghasas,
Sucitti, Vepacitti, and Pahārada—
With them came Namuct, spirit of Evil;
And Ball's hundred sons, all of them named

1. All birds are twice-born, first from the mother's womb (when she lays the egg), and then from the egg itself.
2. S[d] B[m] Gr *note* K -bhismā.
3. These are all born of Sujā, Vāsava's mother, and had been driven out of heaven by 'Him-with-the-thunderbolt-in-his-hand.' The latter had been identified, at the time when this poem was composed, with Sakka.

After Veroca[1], having armed a host
Of warriors, hied them to their noble liege,
And Rāhu said, "Good luck attend this mote
For which the brethren now have sought the wood!"

13. Āpo ca devā[2] Paṭhavī[3] Tejo Vāyo tad āgamuṃ,
Varuṇā Vāruṇā[4] devā Somo ca Yasasā saha,[5]
Mettā-karuṇā-kāyikā āgu devā yasassino.
Das' ete dasadhā kāyā sabbe nānatta-vaṇṇino
Iddhimanto jutīmanto vaṇṇavanto yasassino
Modamānā abhikkāmuṃ bhikkhūnaṃ samitiṃ vanaṃ.

13. The gods of Fire and Water, Earth and Air
Are hither come ; celestial Varunas
With their attendant Varuneian sprites,
And Soma with Yaso. Come, too, the gods
From Love and Pity born, with splendid train.
These ten, a tenfold host in all, of hue
Diverse, of wondrous gifts and mighty power,
And comeliness, with splendid following,
Are come rejoicing to the forest glade
To see the brethren met together there.

14. Veṇhū[6] ca devā Sahaḷī ca Asamā ca duve Yamā,
Candassûpanisā[7] devā candam āgu purakkhatvā,[8]
Suriyassûpanisā devā Suriyam āgu purakkhatvā,[9]

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1. That is, their uncle Rāhu.
2. B[m] devo.
3. *All MSS. and* Sum *add* ca.
4. S[d] varuṇāvaruṇā
5. S[d] yasasasasā.
6. S[d] dvenhu.
7. Gr Fr Tak upanissā. *See* A. iv. 351 ; S.N. *p.* 135.
8. B[m] pūrekkhatvā ; Gr purakkhitvā (*note* -khatvā) ; K purakkhitā *twice, but not the third time.*
9. K - itā.

Nakkhattāni purakkhatvā[1] āgu Manda-valāhakā,[2]
Vasūnaṃ Vāsavo seṭṭho Sakkho p' āga purindado.
Das' ete dasadhā kāyā sabbe nānatta-vaṇṇino
Iddhimanto jutīmanto vaṇṇavanto yasassino
Modamānā abhikkāmuṃ bhikkhūnaṃ samitiṃ vanaṃ.

14. Come Vishnu with his gods, the Sahalis,
The Asamas and the Yama twins[3] ; the elves
That dwell within the moon attend the Moon,
The solar fairies too attend the Sun,
While fragile spirits of the Clouds attend
The Constellations ; Lord of the Vasus, too,
God Sakka, Generous One of yore[4]:—
These ten, a tenfold host in all, of hue
Diverse, of wondrous gifts and mighty powers,
And comeliness, with splendid following,
Are come rejoicing to the forest glade
To see the brethren met together there.

15. Ath' āgu Sahabhū[5] devā jalam aggi-sikhā-r-iva,
Ariṭṭhakā ca Rojā ca ummā-puppha-nibhāsino,
Varuṇā Saha-dhammā ca Accutā ca Anejakā,
Sūleyya-rucirā[6] āgu,[7] āgu Vāsavanesino.
Das' ete dasadhā kāyā sabbe nānatta-vaṇṇino
Iddhianto jutīanto[8] vaṇṇavanto yasassino
Modamānā abhikkāmmuṃ bhikkhūnaṃ samitiṃ vanaṃ.

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1. *So* K *here.*
2. S[d] āgucchandavalāhakā.
3. The Castor and Pollux of Indian mythology.
4. This seems to come in here most strangely: but it is an epithet of Sakka expressly designed to distinguish him from Indra, the Vedic god, whose epithet was 'Destroyer of Towns,' see p. 297.
5. S[c] -bhu.
6. S[d] sul°.
7. K *always* āgū.
8. Col. *nearly always* jutīmanto.

15. Now too are come the fairies Sahabhu,
In flaming radiance like crests of fire :—
The Aritthakas, Rojas, like azure flowers,
With Varunā and eke Sahadhammā,
And Accutā is come, Anejakā
And Suleyya and Rucirā are come,
Come too Vāsavanesi deities.
These ten, a tenfold host in all, of hue
Diverse, of wondrous gifts and mighty powers,
And comeliness, with splendid following,
Are come rejoicing to the forest glade
To see the brethren met together there.

16. Samānā Mahā-samānā Mānusā Mānusuttamā
Khiḍḍā-padusikā[1] āgu, āgu Mano-padūsikā,
Ath' āgu Harayo devā ye ca Lohita-vāsino
Pāragā Mahā-pāragā āgu devā yasassino.
Das' ete dasadhā kāyā sabbe nānatta-vaṇṇino
Iddhimanto jutīmanto vaṇṇavanto yasassino
Modamānā abhikkāmuṃ bhikkhūnaṃ samitiṃ vanaṃ.

16. Samānas, Great Samānas, sprites like men
And sprites like Supermen, are come, the gods
Debauched-by-sport[2] are come and those Debauched
In-mincl[3], fairies that haunt the Green and they
That wear the Red, they too that Pass-Over,
And the Great Passers-o'er, with splendid following.
These ten, a tenfold host in all, of hue
Diverse, of wondrous gifts and mighty powers,
And comeliness, with splendid following,
Are come rejoicing to the forest glade
To see the brethren met together there.

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1. S[d] -dus; B[m] -dos°. *See vol.* i. p. 19.
2. On these described in the Brahmajāla Sutta, see Dialogues I, 32, 33.
3. Nimmānarati, Paranimmita [vasavatti].

17. Sukkā Karumhā Aruṇā[1] āgu Veghanasā saha,
Odāta-gayhā[2] pāmokkhā āgu devā vicakkhaṇā,[3]
Sadāmattā Hāragajā Missakā ca yasassino,
Thanayaṃ āga[4] Pajjunno yo disā abhivassati.
Das' ete dasadhā kāyā sabbe nānatta-vaṇṇino
Iddhimanto jutīmanto vaṇṇavanto yasassino
Modamānā abhikkhāmuṃ bhikkhūnaṃ samitiṃ vanaṃ

17. Sukka, Aruna, Karumha fairies too,
With Veghanasas, having at their head
Th' Odātagayhas, come ; Vicakkhanas,
Sadāmattas, Harāgajas, and they
Called the Mixed gods with splendid following ;
Pajunna thundering is come, he who
Pours down the rains upon the quarters four.
These ten, a tenfold host in all, of hue
Diverse, of wondrous gifts and mighty powers,
And comeliness, with splendid following,
Are come rejoicing to the forest glade
To see the brethren met together there.

18. Khemiyā Tusitā Yāmā Kaṭṭhakā[5] ca yasassino,
Lambītakā[6] Lāma-seṭṭhā Joti-nāma ca Āsavā,
Nimmāna-ratino āgu, ath' āgu Paranimmitā.
Das' ete dasadhā kāyā sabbe sabbe nānatta-vaṇṇino
Iddhimanto jutīmanto vaṇṇavanto yasassino
Modamānā abhikkāmuṃ bhikkhūnam samitiṃ vanaṃ.

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1. K Arūṇā.
2. B^{m} odātavhayā
3. S^{cdt} vicakkhanā, *but* Col. *has the* n.
4. S^{ct} aga ; S^{d} bhāga ; B^{m} Gr Col. āgu' K āgā, Note yebhuyyena āgūti pāṭho dissati. *See next page, note.*
5. Sum (*according to a note in* K) Kathakā.
6. B^{m} Gr K Lambitakā.

18. The Khemiyas and gods from Tusita
    And Yāma heav'ns, the Katthakas and suite,
    Lambîtakas and the chief Lāma-gods,
    The Fiery spirits, and the Āsavas,
    They who rejoice in shapes they make themselves,
    And they who use creations not their own[2].
        These ten, a tenfold host in all, of hue
        Diverse, of wondrous gifts and mighty powers,
        And comeliness, with splendid following,
        Are come rejoicing to the forest glade
        To see the brethren met together there.

19. Saṭṭh' ete deva-nikāyā sabbe nānatta-vaṇṇino,
Nāmanvayena āgañchuṃ ye c' aññe sadisā saha.
'Pvuttha-jātiṃ akhilaṃ[1]ogha-tiṇṇaṃ anāsavaṃ
Dakkhem' ogha-taraṃ nāgaṃ candaṃ ca saitâtigaṃ.'[2]

19. These sixty spirit hosts, of divers hues,
    According to their name and class are come,
    And with them others, whosoe'er they be,
    Saying "Him who has outlived birth, for whom
    No barrier stands, for whom the flood is crossed,
    The Āsavas are not, Him shall we see,
    Ferry-man o'er the flood, mighty through purity[3],
    Moon that has passed beyond th' enshrouding dark."

20. Subrahmā Paramatto ca puttā iddhimato saha
Sanaṃ-kumāro Tisso ca so p' āga samitiṃ vanaṃ.
Sahassa-Brahmalokānaṃ[4] Mahā-Brahmā 'bhitiṭṭhati,
Upapanno jutīmanto bhismā-kāyo yasassi so.[5]
Das' ettha issarā āgu pacceka-vasavattino,

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1. K -jātimakkhīlaṃ.
2. K asitātitaṃ ; K *note* asitātiganti vā pāṭho.
3. In this word-play, Nāgo means also N'āgu, not having sin, says the Cy.:—āgum akaranato. So the gods, too, make bad puns!—untranslateable ones, alas.
4. Col. sahassaṃ.
5. S[ct] yasassino.

[1] Tesañ ca majjhato[1] āga[2] Hārito parivārito.

20. Then Tissa, the Eternal Youth, and with
Him Paramatta and Subrahmā, sons
Of the Potent One, came to the congress-wood.
Great Brahmā, suzerain of thousand worlds
In Brahmā-heaven, has thither been reborn[3],
Mighty in power, and in shape awesome
And vast, of great renown. Ten of his lords,
Each regnant o'er a Brahma-world, are come,
And in their midst with all his suite comes Hārita[4].

1.1. *So* S[c] *corrected from* tesamajjhato; S[d] tesamajjhagato ; S[t] tesaṃ majjhato.

2. B[m] Gr āgu; Gr *note* āga ; K āgā ; K *note* pāyato āgūti pāṭho dissatî.

3. Upapanno. Note the Buddhist care to bring even 'Great Brahmā' under the universal Law, 'rem inexorabilem.'

4. The inter-dependence of the clauses, and also of the names, in this stanza, is ambiguous. It may hereafter become clear that the author (or authoress) thought of Tissa and the Eternal Youth as two distinct persons, or of the Eternal Youth and the Great Brahmā of the Buddha's time as one. The grammar is against the first of these suppositions. But we have seen (above, p. 272, 3) that the Mahā-Brahmā of Govinda's time was Sanam-kumāra, the Eternal Youth (so also D.° I, 200 compared with D. II, 209, 225); and Tissa according to tradition (Smp. p. 296, 7) was the name of a Mahā-Brahmā. Buddha-ghosa explains 'the Potent One' (iddhimā) as the Buddha; it is much more likely to have been intended for Brahmā, who claims (above, p. 247) to have acquired the potency of iddhi.

This legend of the Ever-virgin Knight, Sanam-kumāra, is the Indian counterpart of the European legend of Sir Galahad. The oldest mention of it is in the Chāndogya Upanished (Ch. VII), where the ideal of the saintly knight teaches a typical brahmin about the highest truth (compare Deussen's note on p. 171 of Sechzig Upanishads'). In the Nikāyas the Eternal Youth is frequently quoted as the author of a famous verse which says that, though the knight takes precedence among all those that trust in lineage, he that is perfect in wisdom takes precedence over all (see above, I, 121, and M. I, 358; S. I, 153; A. V, 326. At S. II, 284 the verse is ascribed to the Buddha). A similar sentiment is ascribed to

21. Te ce sabbe abhikkante sa-Inda-[1] deva sa-Brahmake,[2]
Māra-senā[3] abhikkāmi,[4] passa Kaṇhassa mandiyaṃ.[5]
'Etha gaṇhatha bandhatha[6] rāgena baddham[7] atthu ve
Samantā parivāretha mā vo muñcittha[8] koci naṃ.'
Iti tattha Mahā-seno Kaṇha-senaṃ apesayi,
Pāṇinā talam[9] āhacca saraṃ katvāna bheravaṃ.
Yathā pāvussako megho thanayanto savijjuko,
Tadā so paccudāvatti saṃkuddho asayaṃvasī.[10]

21. To all of them thus hither come, those gods,
Marshalled around the Lord and Great Brahmā,
The host of Māra cometh up. Lo! now
The folly of the Murky One[11] :—"Come on
And seize and bind me these, let all be bound
By lust! Surround on every side, and see
Ye let not one escape, whoe'er he be!"

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him in the Great Bhārata. In mediaeval literature he is said to have been one of five or seven mind-born sons of Brahmā, like the Sons of the Potent One in our verse. (For the five see the references in Wilson's 'Vishnu Purāna', I, 38; for the seven those in Garbe's 'Sāmkhya-philosophie,' p. 35). Buddhaghosa has a similar tale (quoted J.R.A.S., 1894, p. 344). A later and debased Jain version of the legend tells us at length of the love adventures and wives of the chaste knight, with a few words at the end on his conversion to the saintly life (Jacobi, 'Ausgewählte Erzählun-gen in Mahārashtrî' pp. 20-28, translated by de Blonay in 'Rev. de l'H. des Rel.,' 1895, pp. 29-41).

1. S[t] Col. sa-Inde; B[m] Inda; Gr sa-Inda; Gr *note* sa-Inde ; K sinde.
2. B[m] sabrahmaṇe.
3. S[ct] senām; S[d] senaṃ ; B[m] Gr K senā.
4. Col. abhikkāmuṃ.
5. S[c] -yā ; S[d] candisā ; S[t] B[m] Gr K mandivaṃ.
6. S[t] bandatha.
7. S[t] B[m] Gr K bandham.
8. B[m] muñcatha; Sum *gives a u. l.* muñcetha.
9. Col thalaṃ.
10. S[d] B[m] -vasi ; Gr *note* -vasi *and* vase ; K -vase.
11. Kanho, for Māra. Cf. Kālī, the Black Woman.

Thus the Great Captain bade his swarthy host[1],
And with his palm did smite upon the ground
Making a horrid din, as when a storm-cloud
Thunders and lightens, big with heavy rains.
Then he recoiled, still raging, powerless
Aught to effect.

22. Tañ ca sabbaṃ abhiññāya vavakkhitvāna cakkhumā
Tato āmantayi Satthā sāvake sāsane rate :
'Māra-senā abhikkantā, te vijānātha bhikkhavo.'
Te ca ātappam akaruṃ sutvā Buddhassa sāsanaṃ.
Vīta-rāgehi pakkāmuṃ na saṃ lomaṃ pi[2] iñjayuṃ.
Sabbe vijita-saṃgāmā bhayâtītā yasassino
Modanti saha bhūtehi sāvakā te jane sutā ti.

22. And He-Who-Sees by insight knew all this
And understood. Then to his followers
Who loved his word the Master spake: "The host
Of Mara comes ! Brethren, beware of them !"
And they, hearing the Buddha's word, forthwith
Held themselves all alert. The foe departs
From them in whom no lust is found, nor e'er
Upon whose bodies stirs a hair. [Then Māra spake :–]
"All they, those victors in the fight, for whom
All fear is past, great of renown, His followers,
Whose fame among the folk spreads far and wide,
Lo! now with all creation they rejoice[3]." '

Mahā-Samaya-Suttaṇtaṃ[4]
Niṭṭhitaṃ

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1. Māra is called Mahā-seno, his army being of course senā. The Pāli, making no distinction between syena (hawk) and sena, it is not impossible that a pun is here intended.
2. S^d sanaṃlomaṃhi ; S^c nasaṃlomaṃhi ; S^t Col saṃlomam pi; B^m K nesaṃ lomam pi. *The* Sanna *takes* saṃ *as belonging to* iñjayuṃ.
3. We have followed the traditional interpretation in ascribing these last four lines to Māra. They may quite as well, or better, be a statement by the author himself.
4. B^m K Col Suttaṃ (*but the* Sanna *in* Col *has* sūtrānta, *three lines below.*)

INTRODUCTION
TO THE
Sakka-Pañha Sutta

The twenty first is the Sakkapañha Sutta which is, in some respects, the most interesting of all mythological dialogues.

Sakka, king of the Thirty three, finding it difficult to approach the Buddha who was then in deep meditation, sought the aid of a Gandhabbha named Pañcasikha who by the sweet Play of his lyre sang in praise of the Awakened one, the Truth, the Arahant and the love. The verses sung by the Gandhabba were adressed to a lady by one who received no return for his love for her as she was then in love with another. The song put into the mouth of the heavenly musician is clothed in words conveying a couple meaning, one applicable to the Buddha and the other to the lady. The Buddha being moved by the music conversed with the Gandhabba who in the course of conversation informed Buddha of the advent of Sakka. Then Sakka Came forward and paid homage to the Exalted One. He put to the Buddha several questions mostly dealing with ethics and psychology. Buddha answered the questioned to the great satisfaction of sakka who was thereafter converted to the Buddhist faith. The conversation of the king of the Thirty three appears, at first sight, to be Prosposterous, but the analysis of the meaning in which the word 'Sakka' is used, leads us to hold that the king of the gods is not free from the three deadly evils, lusts, ill will, and stupidty, nor from anxiety. He is still subject to death and rebirth, and as such, he desires to be reborn in some higher planes of celestial beings.

Some other topics are discussed in the Sutta: (1) Causes

of malice and avarice, (2) causes of farour or disfavour, (3) path leading to Papañca (any of the evil conditions), Saññā (consciouness) and saṁkhāra nīrodha (cessation of confections) and (4) how a bhikkhu can be said to bellow the rules of the Pātimokkha.

The Sakkapañha Sutta refers to the Buddha dwelling in the Magadhan kingdom and to a Sākya Princess Gopikā. She was pleased with the Buddha Dhamma and Saṁgha. She used to observe Precepts fully, became disgusted with woman life and meditated to become a man.

xxi. Sakka-Pañha Sutta[1]

The Questios of Sakka

1. 1. Evam me sutaṃ ekaṃ samayaṃ Bhagavā Magahesu[2] viharati, pācīnato[3] Rājagahassa Ambasaṇḍ[4] nāma brāhmaṇa-gāmo, tass' uttarato Vediyake pabbate Indasāla-guhāyaṃ.[5] Tena kho pana samayena Sakkassa devānam indassa ussukkam udapādi Bhagavantaṃ dassanāya.

Atha kho sakkassa devānam indassa etad ahosi : 'Kahan[6] nu kho Bhagavā etarahi viharati arahaṃ arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho ti ?' Addassā kho Sakko devānam indo Bhagavantaṃ Magadhesu viharantaṃ, pācīnato Rājaga-hassa Ambasaṇḍānā nāma brāhmaṇa-gāmo, tass' uttarato Vediyade pabbate Indasā-guhāyaṃ. Disvā[7] deve Tāvatiṃse āmantesi:

'Ayaṃ mārisā Bhagavā Magadhesu viharati, pācīnato Rājagahassa Ambasaṇḍā nāma brāhmaṇagāmo, tass' uttarato Vediyake pabate indasāla-guhāyaṃ. Yadi pana mārisā mayan taṃ Bhagavantaṃ dassanāya upasaṃkameyyāma arahantaṃ sammā-sambuddhan ti.'

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1. This Sutta is quoted by name at Samyutta III, 13; Mahāvastu I, 350; Milinda 350; Sumaṅgala Vilāsinî I, 24 (where it is called vedalla). The last passage is repeated at Gandha Vamsa 57.
2. S[d] Māg-, *see vol.* i. *p.* 127.
3. B[m] pācin° *and below.*
4. *So* SS Sum; B[m] *here* Ambasaṇḍo *below usually* Sambasaṇḍo ; K *throughout* Ambasaṇḍo.
5. *See* Fa-Hian, chap. xxviii. *and* Yuan Chwang chap. ix. Julien, "Memoires," ii. 58, *conjectures* Indracilagouha; *and* Beal, 'Records, ii. 180, Indasailaguhā.
6. S[t] B[m] K kahaṃ.
7. B[m] disvānaṃ ; K disvāna.

'Evaṃ bhaddan tavâti' kho devā Tāvatiṃsā Sakkassa devānam indassa paccassosuṃ.

1. Thus have I heard. The Exalted One was once staying in Magadha, to the east of Rājagaha, at a brahmin village named Ambasandā. There he resided on the Vediya mountain to the north of the village, in the cave called the cave of Indra's Sāl Tree[1]. Now at that time a longing came over Sakka, the king of the gods, to visit the Exalted One.

And this idea occurred to him :— 'Where may he now be staying, the Exalted One, the Arahant, the Buddha supreme?' And Sakka saw that he was staying in Magadha at Ambasandā, east of Rājagaha, in the cave called Indra's Sāltree Cave on the Vediya mountain to the north of the village. And seeing that, he said to the Three-and-Thirty gods:— 'Gentlemen, that Exalted One is staying in Magadha, to the east of Rājagaha at a brahmin village named Ambasandā, in the cave called Indra's Sāltree Cave, on the Vediya mountain to the north of the village. How would it be, gentlemen, if we were to go and visit the Exalted One ?'

'So be it and good luck to you !' replied the Three-and-Thirty gods consenting.

2. Atha kho Sakko devānam indo Pañcasikham Gandhabba-puttaṃ āmantesi :

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1. Inda-sāla-guhā. Buddhaghosa says there was a cave here between two overhanging rocks with a large Sal tree at the entrance. The village community had added walls with doors and windows ; and ornamented it with polished plaster scroll-work and garlands, and presented it to the Buddha. In Fā Hian's time (Legge. p. 81) it was still inhabited. In Yuan Chwāng's time (Walters, II, 173) it was deserted. Both pilgrims were told that certain marks on the rock had been made by Sakka writing his questions (!). The Sanskritisation of the name into Indra-śaila-guhā (Schiefner, Böhtlingk-Roth, Julien, Legge, and Beal) is a mere blunder. The name Indra enters into the names of several plants, probably merely in the sense of excellent. There is nothing to justify the idea that Indra was supposed to haunt this tree.

'Ayaṃ tāta Pañcasikha Bhagavā Magadhesu viharati, pāncīnato Rājagahassa Ambasaṇḍā nāma brāhamaṇa-gāmo, tass' uttarato Vediyake pabbate Indasāla-guhāyaṃ. Yadi pana tāta Pañcasikha mayan taṃ Bhagavantaṃ dassanāya upsaṃkameyyāma arahantaṃ sammā-sambuddhan ti.'

'Evaṃ bhaddan tavâti' kho Pañcasikho Gandhabba-putto Sakkassa devānam indassa paṭissutvābeluva-paṇḍu-vīṇam[1] ādāya Sakkassa devānam indassa anucariyaṃ[2] uapāgami.

Atha kho sakko devānam indo devehi Tāvatiṃsehi parivuto Pañcasikhena Gandhabba-puttena purakkhato, seyyathā pi nāma balavā puriso sammiñjitaṃ vā bāhaṃ pasāreyya pasāritaṃ vā bāhaṃ sammiñjeyya, evam evaṃ[3] devesu Tāvatiṃsesu antarahito Magadhesu, pācīnato Rājagahassa Ambasaṇḍā nāma brāhmaṇa-gāmo, tass' uttarato Vediyake pabbate paccuṭṭhāsi.

2. Then Sakka [made the same statement and proposal to Five-crest the Gandhabba, and received the same reply] and Five-crest taking his lyre of yellow Beluva wood, followed in attendance on Sakka, the king of the gods.

So Sakka, the king of the gods, surrounded by the Thirty-and-Three, and attended by Five-crest the Gandhabba, vanished from his heaven as easily as a strong man might shoot out his arm, or draw in his arm outshot, and reappeared in Magadha, standing on the Vediya mountain.

3. Tena kho pana samayena Vediyako pabbato atiriva[4] obhāsa-jāto hoti, Ambasaṇḍā ca[5] brāhmaṇa-gāmo, yathā taṃ devānaṃ devânubhāvena. Api 'ssudaṃ parito gāmesu manussāevam āhaṃsu:

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1. S[d] veluve pācīnaṃ; S[c] beluva-paṇḍu-vīnā; B[m] beluva-panḍu-vinaṃ; K veḷuva (*so* M. B. V. p. 31. *See* S. i. 122 = Dhp. A 255.)
2. S[cdt] anucciyaṃ.
3. B[m] eva; K eva kho.
4. S[t] atīva.
5. B[m] va.

'Āditt' assu nām ajja Vediyako pabbato, pajjhāyit'[1] assu nām' ajja Vediyako pabbato, jalit' assu[2] nām' ajja Vediyako pabbato.[3] Kim su nām' ajja Vediyako pabbato[4] atiriva[5] obhāsa-jāto, Ambasaṇḍā ca brāmaṇa-gāmo' ti saṃviggā lomhaṭṭha-jātā[6] ahesuṃ.

3. Now at that time the Vediya mountain was bathed in radiance, and so was Ambasandā, the brahmin village,—such is the potency of the celestials—so much so that in the villages round about folk were saying :— 'For sure the Vediya mountain is on fire to-day, for sure the Vediya mountain is burning to-day, for sure the Vediya mountain is in flame to-day ! Why. O why, is the Vediya mountain bathed in radiance to-day, and Ambasandā too the brahmins' village ?' And they were anxious and sore afraid.

4. Atha kho Sakko devānam indo Pañcasikhaṃ Gandhabba-puttaṃ āmantesi :

'Durupasaṃkamā kho tāta Pañcasikha Tathāgatā mādisena,[7] jhāyī jhāna-ratādc[8] tadanataraṃ[9] patisallīnā.[10] Yadi pana[11] tāta Pañcasikha Bhagavantaṃ paṭhamam pasādeyyāsi, tayā tāta paṭhamaṃ pasāditaṃ pacchā mayaṃ taṃ Bhagavantaṃ dassanāya upasaṃkameyyāma arahantaṃ sammā-sambuddhan ti.'

'Evaṃ bhaddan tavâti' kho Pañcasikho Gandhabba-putto Sakkassa devānam indassa paṭissutvā beluva-paṇḍu-vīṇaṃ ādāya yena Indasāla-guhā ten' upasaṃkami. Upasaṃ-

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1. SS pajjhāyati sajju ; B[m] jhāyati ; K jhāyatassu.
2. S[d] jalita su; B[m] jalatissu; K jalatassu ; K (*note*) ; jhāyitassu . . . jalitassûtipi pāṭhadvayena bhavitabbaṃ.
3. K *omits.*
4. B[m] *omits.*
5. S[t] atiriv' ;
6. S[t] lomahaṭṭhā jātā.
7. S[c] *omits ;* S[d] jhādisena.
8. S[cdt] -vataṃ.
9. S[c] udantarāja : S[dt] udantaraṃ ; B[m] tadantaraṃ.
10. K paṭsallīnā (*see* D. i. 134 ; M. i. 526; S. v. 12, 13; A. iv. 120).
11. B[m] K *add* tvam.

kamitvā: 'Ettāvatā me Bhagavā n'eva atidūre bhavissati[1] na accāsanne,[2] saddañ ca kho sossatîti' ekamantaṃ aṭṭhāsi. Ekamantaṃ ṭhito kho Pañcasikho Gandhabba-putto beluva-paṇḍu-vīṇaṃ assāvesi imā ca gāthā[3] abhāsi Buddhûpasaṃhitā dhammûpasaṃhitā[4] arahantûpasaṃhitā kāmûpasaṃhitā :

4. Then said Sakka, the king of the gods, to Five-crest the Gandhabba :—'Difficult of approach, dear Five-crest, are Tathāgatas, to one like me when they are rapt in the bliss of meditation, and for that purpose abiding in solitude. But if you were first to gain over the Exalted One [by your music] then might I afterwards come up and visit him, the Arahant, the Buddha supreme.'

'So be it and good luck to you !' consented Five-crest, and taking his lyre he went to the Indra-Sāltree-cave. On coming there he thought:— 'Thus far will the Exalted One be neither too far from me nor too near to me, and he will hear my voice.' And he stood on one side, and let his lyre be heard and recited these verses concerning the Awakened One and the Truth, the Arahants and Love :—[5]

5. 'Vande te pitaraṃ bhadde Timbaru Suriya-vaccase,[6]
Yena jātā 'si kalyāṇi[7] ānanda-jananī mama.

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1. K kho vasati.
2. B[m] nāccāsanne ; K nāccāsane.
3. K gāthāyo *as* B[m] *at end of* § 6.
4. B[m] K *add* saṃghûpasaṃhitā; K (Sī) saṃghûpasaṃhitāti pāṭho na dissati.
5. This idea is found again in the Mahā-bhārata (I, 2. 383). That poem there claims to be artha-śāstra, dharma-śāstra, and kāma-śāstra. So Windisch ('Buddha's Geburt,' 82) speaks of a group of ideas, recurrent in Indian literature, which very happily sums up and exhausts the matter—the Useful, the True, and the Agreeable—to which Emancipation is sometimes added as a fourth. Our passage here is the earliest in which such a group appears.
6. B[m] Sūriyavacchase ; K suriyavacchase ; K (Sī) suriya-vaccase. *See* D. i. 114, *and* ii. 258.
7. SS kalyāṇi (*all five times*) ; B[m] *twice* ī K ī *throughout.*

Vāto va[1] sedakaṃ[2] kanto pānīyaṃ[3] va pipāsino[4]
Aṅgīrasī[5] piyā me 'si dhammo arahatām iva,[6]
Āturass'[7] eva bhesajjaṃ, bhojanaṃ va jighacchato,[8]
Parinibbāpaya[9] bhadde jalantam iva[10] vārinā.
Sītodakiṃ pokkharaṇiṃ yuttaṃ[11] kiñjakkha-reṇunā
Nāgo ghammâbhitatto[12] va ogahe te thanûdaraṃ.[13]
Accaṃkuso va nāgo jitaṃ me tutta-tomaraṃ,[14]
Kāraṇaṃ nappajānāmi sammatto lakkhaṇûrasā.[15]
Tayi gathita-citto[16] 'smi cittaṃ vipariṇāmitaṃ,
Paṭigantuṃ[17] na sakkomi vaṅka-ghasto[18] va ambujo.
Vāmurū[19] saja maṃ bhadde saja maṃ mandalocane,[20]
Palissaja[21] maṃ kalyāṇi etam me abipatthitaṃ.

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1. SS Pāto ca.
2. *So all MSS. and* K ; Sum: sedanaṃ (*for* sedānaṃ.)
3. S[c] *adds* yaṃ ; B[m] pāniyaṃ.
4. B[m] K pipāsato.
5. B[m] aṅgīrasmiṃ ; K angīraṃsī.
6. S[ct] arahām iva ; B[m] arahataṃmiva ; K arahataṃ iva.
7. B[m] ātūr°
8. B[m] jighacchito.
9. S[c] -pasaṃ ; B[m] -paya maṃ ; K -payi.
10. S[c] vārito; B[m] K vārinā.
11. S[t] yutaṃ; B[m] K yattaṃ.
12. S[d] gam°.
13. S[d] ogahetatthenudaraṃ ; S[t] ogahetethahūdaraṃ ; B[m] ogāhe te samanuddaraṃ ; K -thanūdaraṃ.
14. *See* Car. Pit. p. 95 ; M. iii., 133.
15. S[t] ūsarā B[m] lakkhaṇurūhā; K lakkhaṇūruyā; Sum. ūrasā *in text, ūruyā in explanation. Comp.* Th. i. 27, 233; Jāt. ii. 275.
16. S[d] gacita- ; S[c] ganita-; B[m] K gadhitā.
17. K paṭiggantuṃ.
18. S[d] vaṃ kaghasto va ; S[t] vaṃkagattho va; S[c] taṃ paṭigghasto va; B[m] vaṃkaghaso va; K vaṃkaghatto va; vaṃkaghasovātipi pāṭho. Sum-ghasto, *with* -ghaso *as* v. l.
19. S[t] B[m] K vāmūru. *See* Jāt. ii. 443.
20. *So* B[m] K; S[dt] Sajja maṃ mandā mocane (S[t] -da).
21. S[c] palassaja; S[d] palissajaṃ. *See* Jāt. v. 158.

Appako vatame santo kāmo vellita-kesiyā[1]
Aneka-bhāgo[2] sampādi arahante va dakkhiṇ.
Yam me atthi kataṃ puññaṃ arahantesu tādisu,
Tam me sabbaṅga-kalyāni tayā saddhiṃ vipaccataṃ.
Yam me atthi kataṃ puññaṃ asmiṃ puthuvi-maṇḍale,[3]
Tam me sabbaṅga-kalyāṇi tayā saddhiṃ vipacca-taṃ.
Sakya-putto va jhānena ekodi[4] nipako[5] sato
Amataṃ muni jigiṃsāno[6] tam ahaṃ[7] Suriyava-ccase.[8]
Yathā pi muni nandeyya patā sambobhim uttamaṃ,
Evaṃ nandeyya[9] kalyāṇi missī-bhāvaṃ[10] gato tayā.
Sakko ca[11] me varaṃ dajjā[12] Tāvatiṃsānam issaro,
Tāhaṃ[13] bhadde[14] vareyyāhe evaṃpitaraṃ te sume-dhase
Vandamāno namassāmi yassa s'etādisī[16] pajā ti.'

5. 'Lady, thy father Timbaru I greet
With honour due, O Glory-of-the-Sun![17]

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1. S^c vellitarosiyā ; S^d vellī tarosiyā ; S^t vellātarosiyā.
2. S^t pāgo ; B^m K -bhāvo ; K (*note*) anekabhāgotipi pāṭho.
3. M^m pathavi-; K paṭhavi. *See* Jāt. v. 156.
4. Ss eko va.
5. B^m nipakā.
6. S^c jiṃsāno; B^m jigisāgino.
7. B^m ahī.
8. S^dt vaccaye; B^m K vacchase.
9. B^m K nandeyyaṃ.
10. SS B^m missi-; K missa-. *See* Jāt. ii. 330, iv. 471.
11. B^m K ce.
12. S^d dajja.
13. S^c tasaṃ.
14. B^m bhaddena.
15. S^c K sālavanaṃ.
16. S^dt yetādīsi ; B^m sethādisi.
17. Suriya-vaccase, the young lady's name; sunshine in prose. See § 10 of the Mahā-samaya.

In that he wrought a thing so nobly fair
As thou, O fount divine of all my joy !

Sweet as the breeze to one foredone with sweat,
Sweet as a cooling drink to one athirst,
So dear art thou, O presence radiant!
To me, dear as to Arahants the Truth.

As medicine bringing ease to one that's sick,
As food to starving man, so, lady, quench,
As with cool waters, me who am all a-flame.

E'en as an elephant with heat oppressed,
Hies him to some still pool, upon whose face
Petals and pollen of the lotus float,
So would I sink within thy bosom sweet.

E'en as an elephant fretted by hook,
Dashes unheeding curb and goad aside,
So I, crazed by the beauty of thy form,
Know not the why and wherefore of my acts.

By thee my heart is held in bonds, and all
Bent out of course ; nor can I turn me back,
No more than fish, once he hath ta'en the bait.

Within thine arm embrace me, lady, me
With thy soft languid eyne embrace and hold,
O nobly fair ! This I entreat of thee.

Scanty in sooth, O maid of waving locks,
Was my desire, but now it swelleth aye,
Indefinitely great, e'en as the gifts
Made by the faithful to the Arahants.

Whate'er of merit to such holy ones
I've wrought, be thou, O altogether fair,
The ripened fruit to fall therefrom to me.

Whate'er of other merit I have wrought
In the wide world, O altogether fair,
Be thou the fruit thereof to fall to me.

As the great Sakyan Seer, through ecstasy

Rapt and intent and self-possessed, doth brood
Seeking ambrosia, even so do I
Pursue the quest of thee, O Glory-of-the-Sun !

As would that Seer rejoice, were he to win
Ineffable Enlightenment, so I
With thee made one, O fairest, were in bliss.

And if perchance a boon were granted me
By Sakka, lord of Three-and-Thirty gods,
'Tis thee I'd ask of him, lady, so strong
My love. And for thy father, wisest maid—
Him as a sāl-tree freshly burgeoning
I worship for such peerless offspring giv'n.'

6. Evaṃ vutte Bhagavā Pañcasikhaṃ Gandhabbaputtaṃ etad avoca:

'Saṃsandati kho pana[1] te Pañcasikha tantissaro gītassarena gītassaro va tantissarena, na ca pana te Pañcasikha tantissaro ativaṇṇati gītassarammṃ, gītassaro vā tantissaraṃ. Kadā saṃyūḷhā[2] pana te[3] Pañcasikha imā gāthā Buddhûpasaṃhitā dhammûpasaṃhitā[4] arahantûpasaṃhitā kāmûpasaṃhitā ti ?'

'Ekam ida[5] bhante samayaṃ Bhagavā Uruvelāyaṃ viharati najjā Nerañjarāya tīre Ajapāla-nigrodha-mūle[6] paṭhamâbhisambuddho. Tena kho panâhaṃ bhante samayena, Bhaddā[7] nāma Suriya-vaccas[8] Timbaruno Gandhabba-rañño dhītā, tam abhikaṃkhāmi.[9] Sa[10] kho pana bhante bhaginī[11]

1. B[m] K *omit.*
2. S[d] saṃsul°; S[t] sasūl°; B[m] samyuḷā. *See* M.i. 386, 562.
3. SS tā; B[m] panāte.
4. B[m] K *add* saṃghûpasaṃhitā (*see end* of § 4).
5. S[ct] B[m] K idâhaṃ ; S[t] idaṃ. *See* § 9.
6. B[m] K nigrodhe.
7. S[t] gandada ; S[cd] handadā.
8. S[d] -vaccasaṃ ; B[m] sūriyacchesā ; K -vacchasā
9. S[d] abhikkhāmi ; B[m] K ābhikaṅkhāmi.
10. S[cd] sa ; K *prints* sakho.
11. SS -ni ; B[m] bhagīni.

parakāminī hoti, Sikhaddhi[1] nāma Mātalissa saṅgāhakassa[2] putto, tam abhikaṃkhati.[3] Yato kho ahaṃ bhante taṃ bhaginiṃ nâlatthaṃ kenaci pariyāyena, athâhaṃ beluva-paṇḍu-vīṇaṃ ādāya yena Timbaruno Gandhabba-rañño nivesanaṃ ten' upasaṃkamiṃ, upasaṃkamitvā beluva-paṇḍu-vīṇaṃ assāvesiṃ, imā ca[4] gāthā[5] abhāsiṃ Buddhûpasaṃhitā dhammûpasaṃhitā[6] arahantûpasaṃhitā kāmûpasaṃhitā:—

6. When Five-crest had finished the Exalted One said to him :— 'The sound of your strings, Five-crest, so harmonizes with that of your song, and the sound of your voice with that of the strings, that your lyre does not too much colour your song, nor your song too much colour your play. Where, Five-crest, did you learn these verses "concerning the Awakened One and the Truth, the Arahants, and Love ?" '

'The Exalted One, lord, was once staying at Uruvelā, on the bank of the Nerañjarā river, at the foot of the Goatherd's Banyan tree before he attained to Enlightenment. Now at that time, lord, the lady called Bhaddā, in appearance as Sunshine, daughter of Timbaru, king of the Gandhabbas, was beloved by me. But that lady, lord, was in love with another—Sikhaddi, son of Mātali the charioteer. And since I could not get the lady by any method whatever, I took my lyre of yellow Beluva wood, and going to the abode of Timbaru, king of the Gandhabbas, I played my lyre and recited these verses concerning the Awakened One, the Truth, the Arahants and Love :—

7. 'Vande te pitaraṃ bhadde Timbarau[7] Suriya-vaccase[8]
Yena jātā' si kalyaṇi ānanda-jananī mama.

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1. S[t] Sakh°.
2. *See* A. iv. 90, 470 ; Jāt. ii, 257, iv. 63.
3. S[d] abhikkhati ; S[t] abhikaṃkhanti ; B[m] Kataṃābik°.
4. K *omits.*
5. B[m] gāthāyo, *as* K *at end of* § 4.
6. B[m] K *add* saṃghûpasaṃhitā.
7. SS -ru.
8. B[m] K vacchase.

. . . pe . . .

Sālaṃ va na[1] ciraṃ phullaṃ pitaraṃ te sumedhase
Vandamāno namassāmi yassa s'etādisī pajā ti.'

'Evaṃ vutte bhante Bhaddā Suriya-vaccasā maṃ etad avoca:

' "Na kho me mārisa so Bhagavā sammukhā diṭṭho, api ca suto yeva me so Bhagavā devānaṃ Tāvatiṃsānaṃ Sudhammāyaṃ sabhāyaṃ upanaccantiyā. Yato kho tvaṃ mārisa taṃ 'Bhagavantaṃ kittesi, hotu no ajja samāgamo ti." '

'So yena no bhante tassā[2] bhaginiyā saddhiṃ samāgamo ahosi, na ca dāni, tato pacchā ti.'

7. 'Lady, thy father Timbaru I greet
With honour due, O Glory-of-the-Sun,
In that he wrought a thing so nobly fair
As thou, O fount divine of all my joy !

Sweet as the breeze to one foredone with sweat,
Sweet as a cooling drink to one athirst,
So dear art thou, O presence radiant!
To me, dear as to Arahants the Truth.

As medicine bringing ease to one that's sick, As food to
Starving man, so, lady, quench,
As with cool waters, me who am a-flame.

E'en as an elephant with heat oppressed,
Hies him to some still pool, upon whose face
Petals and pollen of the lotus float,
So would I sink within thy bosom sweet.

E'en as an elephant fretted by hook,
Dashes unheeding curb and goad aside,
So I, crazed by the beauty of thy form,
Know not the why and wherefore of my acts.

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1. S[dt] B[m] vana ; K sālavanaṃ.
2. B[m] tāya.

By thee my heart is held in bonds, and all
Bent out of course ; nor can I turn me back,
No more than fish, once he hath ta'en the bait.

Within thine arm embrace me, lady, me
With thy soft languid eyne embrace and hold,
O nobly fair ! This I entreat of thee.

Scanty in sooth, O maid of waving locks,
Was my desire, but now it swelleth aye,
Indefinitely great, e en as the gifts
Made by the faithful to the Arahants.

Whate'er of merit to such holy ones
I've wrought, be thou, O altogether fair,
The ripened fruit to fall therefrom to me.

Whate'er of other merit I have wrought
In the wide world, O altogether fair,
Be thou the fruit thereof to fall to me.

As the great Sākyan Seer, through ecstasy
Rapt and intent and self-possessed, doth brood
Seeking ambrosia, even so do I
Pursue the quest of thee, O Glory-of-the-Sun !

As would that Seer rejoice, were he to win
Ineffable Enlightenment, so I
With thee made one, O fairest, were in bliss.

And if perchance a boon were granted me
By Sakka, lord of Three-and-Thirty gods,
'Tis thee I'd ask of him, lady, so strong
My love. And for thy father, wisest maid—
Him as a sāl-tree freshly burgeoning
I worship for such peerless offspring giv'n.

'And when I had finished, lord, the Lady Suriya-vaccasā said to me :—

"That Blessed One, sir, I have not seen-face to face, and yet I heard of him when I went to dance at the Sudhamma Hall

of the Three-and-Thirty gods[1]. Since you so extol the Blessed One, let there be a meeting between thee and me to-day. So, lord, I met that lady, not on that day but afterwards." '

8. Atha kho sakkassa devāvam indassa etad ahosi:

'Paṭisammodati kho[2] Pañcasikho Gandhabba-putto Bhagavatā, Bhagavā ca Pañcasikhenâti.'

Atha kho Sakko devānam indo Pañcasikhaṃ Gandhabba-puttaṃ āmantesi:

'Abhivādehi me tvaṃ tāta Pañcasikha Bhagavantaṃ: sakko bhante devānam indo sâmacco saparijano Bhagavato pāde sirasā vandatīti.

'Evaṃ bhaddan tavâti' kho Pañcasikho Gandhabba-putto Sakkassa devānam indassa paṭissutvā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādesi:

'Sakko bhante devānam Indo sâmacco saparijano Bhagavato pāde sirasā vandatîti.'

'[3]Sukhī hotu Pañcasikha Sakko devānam indo sâmacco saparijano, sukha-kāmā hi devā manussā Asurā Nāgā Gandhabbā ye c' aññe santi puthu-kāyā ti.'

Evañ ca pana Tathāgatā evrūpe[4] mahesakkhe[5] abhi-vadanti. Abhivādito[6] Sakko devānam indo Bhagavato Indasāla-guhaṃ pavisitvā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhāsi, devā pi Tāvatiṃsā Indasāla-guhaṃ pavisitvā Bhagavantaṃ bhivādetvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhaṃsu, Pañcasikho pi Gandhabba-putto Indasāla-guhaṃ pavisitvā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhāsi.

8. Now Sakka, the king of the gods, thought:— 'Five-crest and the Exalted One are in friendly converse.' And he called to Five-crest and said :— 'Salute the Exalted One for me, dear

1. When Sakka pronounced his eulogy in the Mahā-govinda, says Buddhaghosa.
2. B[m] *omits.*
3. B[m] *inserts* evaṃ.
4. SS evape.
5. B[m] K *add* yakkhe.
6. S[t] K -vadito ; S[cd] -vadato.

Five-crest, and tell him :— "Sakka, lord, the ruler of the gods, with his ministers and suite, does homage at the foot of the Exalted One." [And Five-crest did so.]

'May good fortune, Five-crest, attend Sakka, ruler of gods, and his ministers and suite. For they desire happiness—those gods and men, Asuras, Nāgas, Gandhab-bas, and whatever other numerous hosts there be !' On this wise do the Tathāgatas salute these dignitaries. And so saluted by the Exalted One, Sakka, the king of the gods, entered the cave of Indra's Sāl-tree, and saluting the Exalted One stood on one side. Thus did also the Three-and-Thirty gods and Five-crest the Gandhabba.

9. Tena kho pana samayena Indasāla-guhā visamā yanti samā[1] sampādi,[2] sambādhā[3] yanti urundā[4] sampādi,[5] andhakāra-guhāyaṃ[6] āloko udapādi, yathā taṃ devānaṃ devânubhāvena. Atha kho Bhagavā Sakkaṃ devānaṃ indaṃ etad avoca :

'Acchariyam idaṃ āyasmato Kosiyassa, abbhutam idaṃ āyasmato Kosiyassa, tāva[7] bahukiccassa bahukaraṇīyassa, yad idaṃ idhāgamanan ti.'

'Cira-paṭikāhaṃ[8] bhante Bhagavantaṃ dassanāya upasaṃkamitu-kāmo, api ca devānaṃ Tāvatiṃsānaṃ kehici kehici[9] kicca-karaṇīyehi vyāvaṭo[10] evâhaṃ[11] nâsak-khiṃ[12] Bhagavantaṃ dassanāya upasaṃkamituṃ. Ekam ida[13] bhante

1. S^d *repeats.*
2. B^m K samapādi *both times.*
3. SS sambādha ; B^m -bādā ; K - bādhā.
4. S^t urunda ; K santi uruddhā ; K (Sī) urundā.
5. B^m K samapādi.
6. B^m K -kāro g° ; B^m *adds* antadhāyi : K antaradhāyi.
7. K tava.
8. S^c cirapatik° ; S^d cirapathikāhaṃ : S^t virūpaṭk° ; B^m -paṭkāyaṃ; K paṭikāhaṃ ; Sum cirapaṭi 'ham. *See* S. iii. 120.
9. K *omits.*
10. S^{ct} vāvaṭo ; B^m K byāvaṭo. *See* D. ii. 141.
11. S^d evaṃ.
12. S^d B^m nâsakkhi.
13. SS B^m K idaṃ. *See* § 6.

samayaṃ Bhagavā sāvatthiyaṃ viharati Salalâgārake.[1] Atha kho 'ham bhante Sāvatthiyaṃ[2] agamāsiṃ Bhagavantaṃ dassanāya.

9. Now at that time in the cave the rough passages were made smooth, the narrow spaces were made wide, and in the dark cavern it became bright, such was the potency of the celestials. Then said the Exalted One to Sakka :— 'Wonderful is this ! marvellous is this, that the venerable Kosiya, with so much to do, so much to perform, should come hither !'

'For a long time, lord, have I been desirous of coming to see the Exalted One, but I was hindered by one task and another that I had to perform for the Three-and-Thirty gods, and was not able to come. On one occasion the Exalted One was staying at Sāvatthi, in the Salala cottage. So I went to Sāvatthi to see the Exalted One.

10. 'Tena kho pana bhante samayena Bhagavā añña-tarena samādhinā nisinno hoti, Bhuñjatī[3] ca nāma Vessa-Vaṇassa[4] paricārikā Bhagavantaṃ paccupaṭṭhitā hoti pañjalikā namassamānā.[5] Atha kho 'haṃ bhante Bhuñjatiṃ etad avocaṃ[6] :

"Abhivādehi[7] tvaṃ me bhagini Bhagavantaṃ : Sakko bhante devānam indo sâmacco saparijano Bhagavato pāde sirasā vandatīti."

'Evaṃ vutte[8] Bhuñjatī maṃ eted avoca : "Akālo kho mārisa Bhagavantaṃ dassanāya, patisallīno Bhagavā ti."

' "Tena hi bhagini yadā Bhagavā tamhā samādhimhā vuṭṭhito hoti, atha mama vacanena Bhagavantaṃ abhivā-dehi: Sakko bhante devānam indo sâmacco saparijano Bhagavato

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1. S[d] Saladāg° ; S[t] Saladag° ; B[m] K sum Salaḷāgārake. *See* S. v. 200.
2. V[m] K Sāvatthiṃ.
3. B[m] K Bhujati ; K (Sī) Bhuñjati ; K *omits* ca.
4. B[m] -vaṇṇassa : K -vaṇassa ; B[m] K *add* mahārājassa.
5. B[m] K *add* tiṭṭhati.
6. SS B[m] avoca.
7. S[t] -vāti ; S[cd] - vadeti.
8. B[m] K *add* bhante sā.

pāde sirasā vandatīti." Kacci[1] me sā bhante Bhaginī Bhavantaṃ abhivādesi, sarati Bhagavā tassā bhaginiyā vacanan ti ?'

'Abhivādesi maṃ sā devānam inda bhaginī. Sarām' ahaṃ tassā bhaginiyā vacanaṃ. Api câhaṃ āyasmato ca nemi-saddena[2] tamhā[3] samādhimhā vuṭṭhito ti.'

10. 'Now at that time, lord, the Exalted One was seated, rapt in some stage of meditation, and Bhuñjatī, wife of Vessavana[4], was waiting on him, worshipping with clasped hands. Then I said to Bhuñjatī :— "Madam, do you salute the Exalted One for me, and say :— 'Sakka, lord, ruler of gods, with ministers and suite, does homage at the feet of the Exalted One.' " And Bhuñjatī replied :— "Tis not the right time, sir, for seeing the Exalted One; he is in retreat." "Well then, madam, when the Exalted One rouses himself from his meditation, salute him for me and say what I have told you." Did the lady so salute the Exalted One, lord, for me ? And does the Exalted One remember what she said?'

'She did salute me, ruler of gods. I remember her words. And this too—that it was the noise of your excellency's chariot wheels that aroused me from that meditation.'

11. 'Ye te bhante devā amhehi paṭhamataram Tāvatiṃsa-kāyaṃ uppannā,[5] tesam me sammukhā sutaṃ sammukhā paṭiggahītaṃ: "Yadā Tathāgatā loke uppajjanti arahanto sammā-sambuddhā, dibbā[6] kāyā paripūrenti, hāyanti saura-kāyā[7] ti." Tam me idaṃ bhanto sakkhi-diṭṭhaṃ yato Tathāgato loke uppanno arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho,

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1. S[t] ka ; B[m] kicci.
2. B[m] K cakka-nemi.
3. S[t] tasmā.
4. That is, Kuvera, king of the North Quarter, ruler over Yakkhas. See previous Sutta, § 9.
5. B[m] K upapannā.
6. S[c] K dibbā : S[dt] B[m] dibba- (*but below,* SS B[m] K dibbā. *And so above,* p. 208).
7. B[m] asūra-kāyā.

dibbā kāyā paripūrenti hāyanti asura-kāyā ti. Idh' eva bhante Kapilavatthusmiṃ Gopikā nāma Sakya-dhītā ahosi Buddhe pasannā dhamme passannā saṃghe pasannā sīlesu paripūrakārinī. Sā itthicittaṃ[1] virājetvā purisa-cittaṃ[2] bhāvetvā kāyassa bhedā param maraṇā sugatiṃ saggaṃ lokaṃ uppannā devānaṃ Tāvatiṃsānam sahavyataṃ, amhākaṃ puttattaṃ ajjhûpa-gatā. Tatra pi[3] naṃ evaṃ jānanti: Gopako deva-putto Gopako deva-putto ti. Aññe pi bhante tayo bhikkhū Bhagavati brahmacariyaṃ caritvā hīnaṃ Gandhabba-kāyaṃ uppannā.[4] Te pañcahi kāma-guṇehi samappitā samaṅgi-bhūtā paricārayamānā amhākaṃ upaṭṭhānaṃ āgacchanti amhākaṃ pāricariyaṃ. Te amhākaṃ upaṭṭānaṃ āgate amhākaṃ pāricariyaṃ Gopako deva-putto paṭicodesi : "Kuto-mukhā nāma tumhe mārisā tassa Bhagavato dhammaṃ assutvā ?[5] Ahaṃ hi[6] itthikā samānā Buddhe pasannā dhamme pasannā saṃghe pasannā sīlesu paripūrakārinī itthi-cittaṃ virājetvā purisa-cittaṃ bhāvetvā kāyassa bhedā param maraṇā sugatiṃ saggaṃ lokaṃ uppannā, devānaṃ Tāvatiṃsānaṃ saha-vyataṃ Sakkassa devānam Indassa puttattaṃ ajjhûpagatā. Idha pi[7] maṃ evaṃ jānanti: Gopako deva-putto Gopako deva-putto ti. Tumhe pana mārisā Bhagavati brahmacariyaṃ caritvā hīnaṃ Gandhabba-kāyaṃ uppannā. Duddiṭṭha-rūpaṃ vata addasāma, ye mayaṃ addasāma sahadhammike hīnaṃ Gandhabba-kāyaṃ uppanne ti." Tesaṃ bhante Gopakena deva-puttena paṭicoditānaṃ dve devā diṭṭhe va dhamme satiṃ paṭilabhiṃsu kāyaṃ Brahma-purohitaṃ. 'Eko pana devo te va[8] kāme ajjhāvasi.'

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1. B^{m} itthittaṃ, *but* itthi-cittaṃ *below.*
2. B^{m} pūrisattaṃ, *but* purisa-cittaṃ *below.*
3. B^{m} K tatrāpi.
4. B^{m} K upapannā *throughout.*
5. S^{t} asutvā; K āyūhittha.
6. S^{c} *omits;* B^{m} K *add* nāma.
7. B^{m} K idhâpi.
8. B^{m} K *omit* te va.

11. 'Lord, I have heard and understood when in the presence of those gods who were reborn into the heaven of the Three-and-Thirty before Us, that when a Tathāgata, an Arahant Buddha supreme, arises in the world, the celestial hosts wax in numbers, and the Asura hosts wane. And I myself, lord, have seen and can witness that this is so. Take, lord, this case. There was, at Kapilavatthu, a daughter of the Sākyans named Gopikā, who trusted in the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Order, and who fulfilled the precepts. She, having abandoned a woman's thoughts and cultivated the thoughts of a man, was, at the dissolution of the body after her death, reborn to a pleasant life, into the communion of the Three-and-Thirty gods, into sonship with us. And there they knew her as "Gopaka of the sons of the gods, Gopaka of the sons of the gods." Moreover, lord, there were three bhikkhus who, having followed the religious life prescribed by the Exalted One, were reborn into a lower state among the Gandhabbas. Surrounded by and enjoying the pleasures of the five senses, they used to wait upon and minister to us. Things being so, Gopaka upbraided them saying :— "Where were your ears, sirs, that ye hearkened not to the Dhamma of the Exalted One ? Here am I who being but a maiden, trusting in the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Order, and fulfilling the precepts, abandoned all my woman's thoughts and, cultivating a man's thoughts, was reborn after my death into a pleasant life, into communion with the Three-and-Thirty gods, into the sonship of Sakka, the lord of the gods, and am known as Gopaka, son of the gods. But ye, sirs, following the religious life of the Exalted One, have only been reborn into the lower state of Gandhabbas. A sad thing, indeed, is this to see, when we behold our co-religionists reborn into the inferior condition of Gandhabbas." Of those fairies, lord, thus rebuked by Gopaka, two acquired in that same lifetime mindfulness, and therewith the heaven of the ministers of Brahmā. But the third fairy clave to sensuous enjoyment.

12. 'Upāsikā cakkhumato ahosiṃ nāmam pi mayhaṃ ahu Gopikā ti,

Buddhe ca dhamme ca abhippasannā saṃghañ c' upaṭṭhāsiṃ[1] pasanna-cittā.
Tass' eva Buddhassa sudhammatāya Sakkassa putto 'mhi mahânubhāvo
Mahā-jutiko[2] Tidivûpapanno, jānanti pi maṃ idha[3] Gopako ti.
Ath'[4] addasaṃ bhikkhavo diṭṭha-pubbe Gandhabba-kāyû-pagate vasīne,[5]
Ime hi te[6] Gotama-sāvakāse[7] ye ca mayaṃ pubbe manussa-bhūtā
Annena pānena upaṭṭhahimhā pādûsaṃgayha[8] sake nivesane.
Kuto-mukhā nāma ime bhavanto Buddhassa dhammaṃ na[9] paṭiggahesuṃ.
Paccattaṃ veditabbo hi[10] dhammo sudesito[11] cakkhumatâ-nubuddho.
Aham pi tumhe ca[12] upāsamānā sutvāna[13] ariyāna subhā-sitāni,[14]
Sakkassa putto 'mhi mahânubhāvo mahājutiko[15] Tidivû-papanno.
Tumhe pana seṭṭham upāsamānā anuttare[16] brahmacariyaṃ caritvā,

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1. SS saṃgham up° ; B[m] -āsi.
2. S[ct] -jutīko. *See below,* p. 273.
3. B[m] idha pi.
4. S[d] K (*but not* B[m]) *omit.*
5. B[m] K vasine.
6. S[c] so; S[d] *omits.*
7. S[d] B[m] K -se ; S[ct] -so.
8. S[c] mahânubhāvo pādûpamaggayha ; S[t] pādûpamag-gayhā; B[m] pādūpasamghe (*sic*)
9. S[d] dhammāhi ; S[ct] dhammāni (*or* °ti).
10. S[c] *omits.*
11. SS desito.
12. B[m] K va.
13. B[m] sutvā.
14. B[m] *adds* naṃ.
15. S[t] jutīko. *See above, p.* 272 *note*[6].
16. B[m] anuttaraṃ.

Hīna-kāyaṃ upapannā[1] bhavanto anānulomā[2] bhavatûpapatti.[3]
Duddiṭṭharūpaṃ vata addasāma sadhammike[4] hīna-kāyûpapanne,
Gandhabba-kāyûpagatā bhavanto devānam āgacchatha pāricariyaṃ.
Agāre[5] vasato mayhaṃ idaṃ passa visesataṃ,
Itthi hutvā svajja[6] pumo[7] 'mhi devo dibbehi kāmehi samaṅgibhūto.'

Te coditā Gotama-sāvakena saṃvegam āpādu[8] samecca[9] Gopakaṃ:
'Handa vitāyāma[10] viyāyamāma[11] mā no mayaṃ para-pessā ahumha.'
Tesaṃ duve vīriyam[12] ārabhiṃsu, anussarā[13] Gotamasāsanāni
Idh' eva cittāni virājayitvā kāmesu ādīnavam addasiṃsu.
Te kāma-saṃyojana[14]-bandhanāni pāpima[15]-yogani duraccayāni
Nāgo va sandāna-guṇāni[16] bhetvā[17] deve Tāvatiṃse atikkamiṃsu.

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1. SS uppannā.
2. S^{d} B^{m} ananulomā.
3. *So* S^{t} B^{m} K; S^{cd} -uppatti.
4. B^{m} K sahadhammike.
5. S^{ct} agārā ; S^{d} agāra.
6. K svājja.
7. S^{t} pume.
8. S^{c} adu; S^{t} āduṃ.
9. B^{m} samacca.
10. S^{d} vacītā° ; S^{t} hañcitāyāma ; B^{m} vihāyāma; K handa vigāyāma.
11. S^{d} vidhāyamāma ; S^{t} idhāyāmāma ; B^{m} byāyāma ; K viyāyamāma.
12. S^{c} viriya ; S^{dt} B^{m} viriyaṃ.
13. S^{d} B^{m} K -raṃ.
14. S^{c} saññо ; S^{dt} saṃño.
15. B^{m} K pāpimato.
16. *All MSS. and* K sandāni ; Sum-sandāna-.
17. S^{d} bhotvā ; B^{m} K chetvā ; K (Sī, bhetvā.

Sa-Inda-devā[1] sa-Pajāpatīkā sabbe Sudhammāya sabhāy' uviṭṭhā.[2]
Te sannisinnānam atikkamiṃsu vīrā virāgā[3] virajaṃ karonta.
Te disvā saṃvegam akāsi Vāsavo devâbhibhū[4] devagaṇassa majjhe :
'Ime hi te hīna[5]-kāyûpapannā deve Tāvatiṃse atikkamanti.'
Samvega-jātassa vaco[6] nisamma so[7] Gopako Vāsavaṃ ajjhabhāsi :
'Buddho pan' Ind' atthi manussa-loke kāmâbhibhû Sakyamunîti ñāyat,
Tass' ete[8] puttā satiyā vihīnā cūtā[9] mayā te sati[10] paccalatthuṃ.[11]
Tiṇṇaṃ tesaṃ avasīn' ettha[12] eko Gandhabba-kāyûpagato[13] vasīno[14]
Dve c'eva[15] sambodhi-pathānusārino[16] deve pi hīḷenti[17] samāhitattā.
Etādisī dhamma-pakāsan' ettha na tattha kiṃ kaṃkhati koci sāvako.

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1. Bm Sanandā devā.
2. Sd uyiṭṭhā ; Bm K upaviṭṭhā.
3. Sd virāvirājā ; St virāgāvirāgā ; Bm cīrāvirāgā ; K vīrā viṛāgā.
4. Sc debhibhūta ; Sdt-bhūtā.
5. Sc imehi te hīna-; Sd imehitehina-; St idha me hi te hīna-. *See p.* 272.
6. *So* SS Bm ; K va te.
7. K *omits.*
8. Bm K eva te.
9. St cūtā ; Scd cutā ; Bm vuditā; K cuditā.
10. Bm satiṃ.
11. SS -tthu.
12. Scd Bm K avasinettha.
13. Sd -kāyāpahato ; Sct -kāyāpāgato.
14. Sc sīno.
15. Bm K dve va.
16. Bm pasānusārino; K padānusārino.
17. SS jālenti; Bm (*much overwritten*) hi uḷenti; K hiḷenti.

Nittiṇṇa-oghaṃ[1] vicikiccha-chinnaṃ Buddhaṃ namassāma jinaṃ janindaṃ,
Yan te dhammaṃ idh' aññāya visesaṃ ajjhagaṃsu te
Kāyaṃ brahma-purohitaṃ duve tesaṃ visesagū.
Tassa[2] dhammassa pattiyā āgat' amhāse[3] mārusam
Katokāsā[4] Bhagavatā pañhaṃ pucchemu mārisâti.'

12. Gopaka's Verses.

"Disciple once of Him-Who-Sees,—
By name they called me :—Gopikā,—
In Buddha, Dhamma, firm my trust,
I served the Order glad of heart.
Through this good service paid to Him
Behold me son of Sakka, born
All glorious in the Deva-world,
Of mighty power, and known henceforth
As Gopaka. Now saw I men
Who, bhikkhus in a former birth,
Had won to mere Gandhabba rank.
What! persons erst of human kind,
And followers of Gotama,—
Supplied by us with food and drink
And tended in our own abode,—
Where were their ears that they, so blest,
Yet failed to grasp the Buddha's Law ?
The Gospel well proclaimed to all
And understood by Him-Who-Sees,
Each for himself must comprehend.
I, serving only you, have heard
The good words of the Noble Ones—
And now behold me reborn here,
All glorious and powerful,

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1. B^m K nitiṇṇa-.
2. SS *and* Sum *have* mayam pi *before* Tassa (*perhaps an old gloss*).
3. SS amhāsi ; K amhāpi.
4. SS tāvakāsā ; B^m K katāvakāsā.

As Sakka's son in Deva-world,
But you who served the Best of men,
And by the Highest shaped your lives,
Have re-appeared in lowly rank,
Degraded from your due advance.
An evil sight is this, to see
One's co-religionists sunk low,
Where, as Gandhabba spirits, sirs,
Ye come to wait upon the gods.
For me see ! what a change is here!
From house-life as a woman, I,
A male to-day, a god reborn,
In joys celestial take my share."

Upbraided thus by Gopaka,
Disciple erst of Gotama,
They in sore anguish made response :—
"Yea verily ! let us go hence
And strive our utmost, lest we live
The slaves of others ! "Of the three
Two bent their will unto the work,
Mindful of Gotama's behests.
The perils in the life of sense
They saw, e'en here cleansing their heart
And like an elephant that bursts
Each strap and rope, so they o'ercame
The fetters and the bonds of sense,
Ties of the Evil One, so hard
To get beyond—yea, e'en the gods,
The Three-and-Thirty, seated round
With Indra, with Pajāpati,
Enthroned in Sudhammā's Hall,
The heroes twain left far behind,
Purging all passion, ousting lust.

At sight of them distress arose
In Vāsava, ruler of gods,
In midst of all his retinue:—

"Lo now! these, born to lower rank,
Outstrip the Three-and-Thirty gods !"
His sovereign's apprehension heard,
Gopaka spake to Vāsava :—
"O Indra ! in the world of men
A Buddha, called the Sākya Sage,
Is conqueror o'er the world of sense.
And these his children, who had lost
All conscience when they left the world,
Through me their conscience have regained.
One of the three yet dwelleth here,
Reborn among Gandhabba folk ;
And two, on highest Wisdom bent,
In deepest rapture scorn the gods.
Let no disciple ever doubt
That by the kind who here abide
The Truth may yet be realized.
All hail to Buddha who hath crossed
The flood and put an end to doubt,
Great Conqueror and Lord of all !"

They recognized thy Truth e'en here ; and they
Have onward passed and won to eminence.
'Mong Brahmā's ministers they twain have won
A higher place than this. And we are come,
O master, here that we too may attain
That Truth[1]. If the Exalted One should grant
Us leave, Master, we fain would question him.'

13. Atha kho Bhagavato etad ahosi : 'Dīgha-rattaṃ visuddho kho ayaṃ Sakko. Yaṃ kiñci maṃ[2] pañhaṃ pucchissati sabbaṃ attha-saṃhitaṃ yena pucchissati no

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1. We follow the printed text. It is more probable that pattiyā is the gloss. In that case the version would be: ' For that Truth's sake, O master, have we come.' The full stop after visesagû is a misprint.
2. B[m] *omits.*

anattha-saṃhitaṃ, ya[1] assâhaṃ puṭṭho vyākarissāmi taṃ khippam eva ājānissatîti.'

Atha kho Bhagavā Sakkaṃ devānam indaṃ gāthāya ajjhabhāsi :—

'Puccha Vāsava maṃ pañhaṃ yaṃ kiñci manas' icchasi,
Tassa tass' eva pañhassa ahaṃ antaṃ karomi te ti.'

13. Then the Exalted One thought: 'For a long time now this Sakka has lived a pure life. Whatever question he may ask of me will be to good purpose, and not frivolous. And what I shall answer, that will he quickly understand.' Then did the Exalted One address these verses to Sakka, lord of gods :—

'Question me, Vāsava, whate'er thy mind desires,
And on each problem put I'll end thy doubts !'

Paṭhamaka-bhāṇavāraṃ.[2]

End of the First Portion for Recitation.

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1. Bm K yañ ca.
2. Bm *omits* ; K Paṭhama-bhāṇavāraṃ.

CHAPTER II

2. 1. Katâvakāso Sakko devānam indo Bhagavantaṃ[1] imaṃ[2] paṭhamaṃ pañhaṃ pucchi :

'Kiṃ-saṃyojanā nu kho mārisa devā manussā asurā nāgā gandhabbā ye c' aññe santi puthukāyā, te : averā adaṇḍā asapattā avyāpajjhā[3] viharemu averino ti iti ce nesaṃ[4] hoti atha ca pana saverā sadaṇḍā sasapattā savyāpajjhā viharanti erino[5] ti ?'

Itthaṃ[6] Sakko devānam indo Bhagavantaṃ imaṃ paṭhamaṃ[7] pañhaṃ apucchi.[8] Tassa Bhagavā pañhaṃ puṭṭho vyākāsi :

'Issā-macchariya-saṃyojanā kho devānam inda devā manussā asurā nāgā gandhabbā ye c'aññe santi puthukāyā te averā adaṇḍā asapattā avyāpajjhā viharemu averino ti iti ce nesaṃ[9] hoti atha ca pana saverā sadaṇḍā sadaṇḍā sasapattā savyāpajjhā viharanti verino ti.'

Itthaṃ Bhagavā Sakkassa devānam indassa pañhaṃ puṭṭho vyākāsi. Attamano Sakko devānam indo Bhagavato bhāsitaṃ abhinandi anumodi: 'Evam etaṃ Bhagavā evam etaṃ Sugata, tiṇṇā m'ettha kaṃkhā vigatā kathaṃ-kathā Bhagavato pañha-veyyākaraṇaṃ sutvā ti.'

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1. B^m K Bhagavatā.
2. B^m K *add* Bhagavantaṃ.
3. B^m abyāpajjā (*and below*).
4. K ca tesaṃ (*and below*).
5. B^m K saverino (*and below*).
6. B^m imam atthaṃ (*and below,* attaṃ *for* atthaṃ).
7. B^m K *omit* imaṃ paṭhamaṃ.
8. S^c pucchi, *and adds* tassa Bhagavā pañhaṃ pucchi.
9. B^m *here* ca nesaṃ.

1. Thus invited, Sakka, the ruler of the gods, asked this first question of the Exalted One:— 'By what fetters, sir, are they bound—gods, men, Asuras, Nāgas, Gandhabbas, and whatever other great classes of beings there be—in that they, wishing thus :— "Would that, without hatred, injury, enmity, or malignity, we might live in amity ! "—do nevertheless live in enmity, hating, injuring, hostile, malign ?

Such was the fashion of Sakka's first question to the Exalted One. To him the Exalted One so asked made answer:—

'By the fetters of envy and selfishness, ruler of gods, are they bound—gods, men, Asuras, Nāgas, Gandhabbas and whatever other great classes of beings there be—in that they wishing thus :— "Would that, without hatred, injury, enmity, or malignity, we might live in amity !" —do nevertheless live in enmity, hating, injuring, hostile, malign.'

Such was the fashion of the Exalted One's answer to Sakka's question. And Sakka, delighted with the Exalted One's utterance, expressed his pleasure and appreciation saying :—' That is so, Exalted One, that is so, Welcome One! I have got rid of doubt and am no longer puzzled, through hearing the answer of the Exalted One.'

2. Iti ha[1] Sakko devānaṃ indo Bhagavato bhāsitaṃ abhinanditvā anumoditvā Bhagavantaṃ uttariṃ pañhaṃ apucchi :

'Issā[2]-macchariyaṃ pana mārisa kiṃ-nidānaṃ kiṃ-samudayaṃ kiṃ-jātikaṃ[3] kiṃ-pabhavaṃ, kismiṃ[4] sati issā-macchariyaṃ hoti, kismiṃ[5] asati issā-macchariyaṃ na hotîti?'

'Issā-macchariyaṃ kho devānam inda piyâppiya-nidānaṃ piyâppiya-samudayaṃ piyâppiya-jātikaṃ piyâppiya-pabbavaṃ, piyâppiye hi[6] sati issā-macchariyaṃ hoti, piyâppiye asati issā-macchariyaṃ na hotîti'.

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1. S[c] *throughout* itīha.
2. S[c] icchassa ; S[d] icchā, *and onwards.*
3. S[c] jāti.
4. K *adds* hi.
5. K *adds* hi.
6. B[m] K *omit.*

'Piyâppiyaṃ pana[1] mārisa kiṃ-nidānaṃ kiṃ-samudayaṃ kiṃ-jātikaṃ kiṃ-pabhavaṃ, kismiṃ sati piyâppiyaṃ hoti, kismiṃ asati piyâppiyaṃ na hotîti ?'

'Piyâppiyaṃ kho devānam inda chanda-nidānaṃ chanda-samudayaṃ chanda-jātikaṃ chanda-ppabhavaṃ, chande sati piyâppiyaṃ hoti chande asati piyâppiyaṃ na hotîti.'

'Chando pana mārisa kiṃ-nidāno kiṃ-samudayo kiṃ-jātiko kiṃ-pabhavo, kismiṃ sati chando hoti, kismiṃ asati chando na hotîti ?'

'Chando kho devānam inda vitakka-nidāno vitakka-samudayo vitakka-jātiko vitakka-pabhavo, vitakke sati chando hoti, vitakke asati chando na hotîti.'

'Vitakko pana mārisa kiṃ-nidāno kiṃ-samudayo kiṃ-jātiko kiṃ-pabhavo, kismiṃ sati vitakko hoti, kismiṃ asati vitakko na hotîti ?'

'Vitakko kho devānam inda papañca-saññā-saṅkhā-nidāno papañca-saññā-saṅkhā- samudayo papañca-saññā-saṅkhā-jātiko papañca-saññā-saṅkhā-pabhavo, papañca-saññā-saṅkhāya sati vitakko hoti, papañca-saññā-saṅkhāya asati vitakko na hotîti.'

2. So Sakka, expressing pleasure and appreciation, asked a further question of the Exalted One :— 'But envy and selfishness, sir,—what is the source thereof, the cause thereof ? what gives birth to them ? how do they come to be ? What being present, are envy and selfishness also present ? What being absent, are they also absent ?'

'Things as dear and not dear to us, ruler of gods,— this is the source and cause of envy and selfishness, this is what gives birth to them, this is how they come to be. In the presence of what is dear or not dear, envy and selfishness come about, and in the absence of such feelings, they do not come about.'

'But what, sir, is the source, what the cause of things being dear and not dear, what gives birth to these feelings, how

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1. S[t] *omits* pana.

do they come to be ? What being present, do we so feel, and what being absent, do we not so feel ?'

'Desire[1], ruler of gods, is the source and cause of things being dear or not dear, this is what gives birth to such feelings, this is how they come to be. If desire be present, things become dear and not dear to us ; if it be absent, things are no more felt as such.'

'But desire, sir,—what is the source and cause of that ? What gives birth to it, how does it come to be ? What being present, is desire present, and what being absent, is desire also absent ?

'Mental pre-occupation[2], ruler of gods,—this is the source, this is the cause of desire, this is what gives birth to desire, this is how desire comes to be. Wherewith our mind is pre-occupied, for that desire arises ; if our mind is not so pre-occupied, desire is absent.'

'But what, sir, is the source and what is the cause of our mind being pre-occupied ? What gives birth to such a state, how does it come to be ? What being present, does our mind become pre-occupied, and what being absent, does it not ?'

'The source, ruler of gods, the cause of our becoming pre-occupied is what we may call obsession[3]. This is what gives

1. Chand a. The Cy. distinguishes exegetically five kinds of chanda:— desire to seek, to gain, to enjoy, to hoard, to spend, and includes all in the present connexion with the words: 'here it is used in a sense tantamount to craving (tanhā).'
2. Vitakka. The Cy. does not give the Abhidhamma definition of this term (see. Dh. S., § 7 ; 'Bud. Psy.,' p. 10: ' the disposing, fixating, focusing, applying the mind.' Cf. also ' Compendium of Buddhist Philosophy,' Appendix: vitakka, P.T.S., 1910), but gives as a parallel term vinicchaya *(see.* above, p. 55 'lābhara paticca vinicchayo'— 'deciding respecting gain'). The word is used, according to Sutta method, not with any fine shade of psychological meaning, but in its popular sense of merimnáw, ' taking thought for' (Matt. vi. 25), 'being pre-occupied about.'
3. Papañca-saññā (idée fixe). An exactly similar sequence of ethical states is put elsewhere (M. I, 111, 112) into the mouth of Mahā

birth to pre-occupation of mind, this is how that comes about. If that obsession is present, our mind is pre-occupied [by the idea by which we are obsessed]; if it is absent, it is not.'

3. ' Kathaṃ-paṭipanno pana mārisa bhikkhu papañca-saññā-saṅkhā-nirodha-sāruppa-gāmini-paṭipadaṃ paṭi-panno hotîti?'

'Somanassaṃ p'ahaṃ[1] devānam inda duvidhena vadāmi, sevitabbaṃ pi asevitabbam pi. Domanassaṃ p'ahaṃ devānam inda duvidhena vadāmi, sevitabbam pi asevitabbam pi. Upakhaṃ p'ahaṃ devānam inda duvidhena vadāmi, sevitabbam pi asevitabbam pi.

"Somanassaṃ p'ahaṃ devānam inda duvidhena vadāmi, sevitabbam pi asevitabbam pîti," iti kho pan' etaṃ vuttaṃ. Kiñ c'etaṃ paticca vuttaṃ ? [2]Tattha yaṃ jaññā soma-nassaṃ : Imaṃ kho me somanassaṃ sevato akusalā dhammā abhivaḍḍhanti kusalā dhammā parihāyantîti, evarūpam somanassaṃ na sevitabbam. Tattha yaṃ jaññā somanassaṃ: Imaṃ kho me somanassaṃ sevato akusal dhammā parihāyanti kusalā dhammā abhivaḍḍhantîti, evarūpaṃ somanassaṃ sevitabbaṃ. Tattha[3] yañ ce savitakkaṃ savicāraṃ, yañ ce avitakkaṃ avicāraṃ, ye avitakke avicāre se[4] paṇītatare.

Kaccāna. Buddhaghosa glosses papaña here by mattappa-mattākāra-pāpana, where pāpana is etymological word-play, and mattappamatta may be rendered 'infatuation.' The infatuation is either craving (tanhā) in one or other of its 108 forms, or self-conceit (māna) in one or other of its nine forms, or speculation (ditthi) in one or other of its sixty-two forms.

This is one of the most recurrent conceptions of the higher Buddhism, the system of the Aryan Path (see above, Vol. I, p. 188), and is one of the many ways in which the early Buddhists struggled to give more precise and ethical an implication to the Indian conception of Avijjā. It is also one of the technical terms most frequently misunderstood. Neumann all through the Majjhima renders it Vielheit, plurality, and Dahlke follows him.

1. K cāhaṃ ; K (Sī) sabbavāresu pahanti pāṭho dissati (*and onwards*).
2. *See* A. iv. 366.
3. S[t] *omits* tattha.
4. *So* S[ct] *and* Sum ; Sd ye; B[m] te; K *omits (and so throughout).*

"Somanassaṃ p'ahaṃ devānam inda duvidhena vadāmi sevitabbam pi asevitabbamm pîti" iti yan taṃ vuttaṃ idam etaṃ paticca vuttaṃ.

"Domanassaṃ p'ahaṃ devānam inda duvidhena vadāmi sevitabbam pi asevitabbam pîi," iti kho pan' etaṃ vuttaṃ. Kiñ c' etaṃ[1] paticca vuttaṃ ? Tattha yaṃ jaññā domanassaṃ : Imaṃ kho me domanassaṃ sevato akusalā dhammā abhivaḍḍhanti kusalā dhammā parihāyantîti, evarūpaṃ domanassaṃ na sevitabbaṃ. Tattha yaṃ jaññā domanassaṃ : Imaṃ kho me domanassaṃ sevato akusalā dhamāyanti kusalā dhammā abhivaḍḍhantîti, evarūpaṃ domanassaṃ sevitabbaṃ. Tattha yañ ce savitakkaṃ savicā-raṃ, yañ ce avitakkaṃ avicāraṃ, ye avitakke avicāre se paṇītatare.

"Domanassaṃ p'ahaṃ devānam inda duvidhena vadāmi sevitabbam pi asevitabbam pîti" iti yan taṃ vuttaṃ idam etaṃ paticca vuttaṃ.

"Upekham[2] p'ahaṃ devānam inda duvidhena vadāmi, sevitabbam pi asevitabbam pîti" iti kho pan' etaṃ vuttaṃ kiñ c' etaṃ paṭicca vuttaṃ ? Tattha yaṃ jaññā upekhaṃ : Imaṃ kho me upekhaṃ sevato akusalā dhammā abhivaḍḍhanti kusalā dhammā parihāyantîti, evarūpā upekhā na sevitabbā. Tattha yaṃ jaññā upekhaṃ : Imaṃ kho me upekhaṃ sevato akusalā dhammā parihāyanti kusalā dhammā abhivaḍḍhantîti, evarūpā upekhā sevitabbā. Tattha yañ ce savitakkaṃ savicāraṃ, yañ ce avitakkaṃ avicāraṃ, ye avitakke avicāre se paṇītatare.

"Upekhaṃ p'ahaṃ devānam inda duvidhena vadāmi sevitabbam pi asevitabbam pîti" iti yan taṃ vuttaṃ idaṃ etaṃ paṭicca vuttaṃ.

"Evaṃ paṭipanno kho devānam inda bhikkhu papañca-saññā-saṅkhā-nirodha[3]-sāruppa-gāmini-paṭipadaṃ paṭipanno hotîti."

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1. K kiccetaṃ.
2. B^m K upekkam *throughout.*
3. SS (*here only*) nisedha- (S^t -dhā-).

Itthaṃ Bhagavā Sakkassa devānam indassa pañhaṃ puṭṭho vyākāsi. Attamano Sakko devānam Indo Bhagavato bhāsitaṃ abhinandi anumodi: 'Evam etaṃ Bhagavā evam etaṃ Sugata, tiṇṇā m'ettha kaṅkhā vigatā kathaṅkathā Bhagavato pañha-veyyākaraṇaṃ sutvā ti.'

3. 'But how, sir, has that bhikkhu gone about who has reached the path' suitable for and leading to the cessation of obsession ?'

'Happiness, ruler of gods, I declare to be twofold, according as it is to be followed after, or avoided. Sorrow too I declare to be twofold, according as it is to be followed or avoided. Equanimity too I declare to be twofold, according as it is to be followed or avoided.

'And the distinction I have affirmed in happiness, was drawn on these grounds :—When in following after happiness I have perceived that bad qualities developed and good qualities were diminished, then that kind of happiness was to be avoided. And when, following after happiness, I have perceived that bad qualities were diminished and good qualities developed, then such happiness was to be followed. Now of such happiness as is accompanied by pre-occupation and travail of mind, and of such as is not so accompanied, the latter is the more excellent.

'Thus, ruler of gods, when I declare happiness to be twofold, according as it is to be followed after, or avoided, I say so for that reason.

'Again, ruler of gods, when I declare sorrow to be twofold, according as it is to be followed after, or avoided, for what reason do I say so ? When, in following after sorrow[1] I have

1. The two sorts of sorrow or grief are geha-sita and nekkhamma-sita, and are well paralleled by St. Paul's tou kósmon luph and katá qeòn lúph (2 Cor. vii. 10). And the working of the latter: 'for that ye sorrowed after a godly sort . . . wrought in you . . . what vehement desire, yea, what zeal'—has its counterpart in Buddhaghosa's exposition, namely, that through insight into the impermanence of all sensuous satisfaction 'arouses yearning for deliverances even without beyond (anuttaresu), and that yearning leads to sorrow, when one thinks, O that I might reach that state wherein the elect (Ariyas) do dwell even now."

perceived that bad qualities developed and good qualities were diminished, then that kind of sorrow was to be avoided. And when, following after sorrow, I have perceived that bad qualities were diminished and good qualities were developed, then such sorrow was to be followed after. Now of such sorrow as is accompanied by pre-occupation and travail of mind, and of such as is not so accompanied, the latter[1] is the more excellent. Thus, ruler of gods, when I declare sorrow to be twofold, according as it is to be followed after, or avoided, I say so for that reason.

'Again, ruler of gods, when I declare equanimity to be twofold, according as it is to be followed after, or avoided, for what reason do I say so ? When, in following after equanimity, I have perceived that bad qualities developed and good qualities were diminished, then that kind of equanimity was to be avoided. And when, following after equanimity, I perceived that bad qualities were diminished and good qualities were developed, then that kind of equanimity was to be followed after[2]. Now of such equanimity as is accompanied by pre-occupation and travail of mind and of such as is not so accompanied, the latter is the more excellent. Thus, ruler of gods, when I declare equanimity to be twofold, according as it is to be followed after, or avoided, I say so for that reason.

'And it is on this wise that a bhikkhu, ruler of gods, must have gone about, who has reached the path suitable for, and leading to, the cessation of perceiving and taking account of distractions.'

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1. According to the Cy., 'the latter' in this and the foregoing paragraph refers especially to the state of mind reached in the second and higher stages of Jhāna, as compared with the first, which is savîtakkam savicāram.
2. For equanimity thus ethically distinguished, see M. I, 364. The Commentator (who repeats his comment in Asl. 194) describes the former ethical indifference (upekhā) as that of the foolish average person, confused in mind, who has not overcome limitations or results (of Karma), but is bound by his world of objects of sense.

Such was the fashion of the Exalted One's answer to Sakka's question. And Sakka, delighted with the Exalted Ones utterances, expressed his pleasure and appreciation saying :— 'That is so, Exalted One, that is so, O Welcome One! I have got rid of doubt and am no longer puzzled, through hearing the answer of the Exalted One.'

4. Iti ha Sakko devānam indo Bhagavato bhāsitaṃ abhinanditvā anumoditvā Bhagavantaṃ uttariṃ pañhaṃ apucchi :

'Kathaṃ-paṭipanno pana mārisa bhikkhu pātimokkha-saṃvarāya paṭipanno hotîti ?'

'Kāya-samācāram p'ahaṃ devānam inda duvidhena vadāmi, sevitabbam pi asevitabbam pi. Vacī-samā-cāraṃ p'ahaṃ devānam inda duvidhena vadāmi, sevitabbam pi asevitabbam pi. Pariyesanaṃ p'ahaṃ devānaṃ inda duvidhena vadāmi, sevitabbam pi asevitabbam pi.

"Kāya-samācāraṃ p'ahaṃ devānam inda duvidhena vadāmi, sevitabbam pi asevitabbam pîti," iti kho pan' etaṃ vuttaṃ. Kiñ c' etaṃ paṭicca vuttaṃ ? Tattha yaṃ Jaññā kāya-samācāraṃ : Imaṃ kho me kāya-samācāraṃ sevato akusalā dhammā abhivaḍḍhanti, kusalā dhammā parihā-yantîti, evarūpo kāya-samācāro na sevitabbo. Tattha yaṃ jaññā kāya-samācāraṃ : Imaṃ kho me kāya-samācāraṃ sevato akusalā dhammā parihāyanti kusalā dhammā ahivaḍḍhantîti, evarūpo kāya-samācāro sevitabbo.

"Kāya-samācāraṃ p'ahaṃ devānam inda duvidhena vādāmi sevitabbam pi asevitabbam pîti" iti yan taṃ vuttaṃ idam etaṃ paṭicca vuttaṃ.

"Vacī-samācāram p'ahaṃ devānam inda duvidhena vadāmi, sevitabbam pi asevitabbam pîti," iti kho pan' etaṃ vuttaṃ. Kiñ c' etaṃ paṭicca vuttaṃ ? Tattha yaṃ jaññā vacī-samācāraṃ : Imaṃ kho me vacī-samācāraṃ sevato akusalā dhammā abhivaḍḍhanti, kusalā dhammā parihāyantîti, evarūpo vacī-samācāro na sevitabbo. Tattha yaṃ jaññā vacī-samācāraṃ : Imaṃ kho me vacī-samācāraṃ sevato akusalā dhammā parihāyanti kusalā dhammā abhivaddhantîti, evatūpo vacī-samācāro sevitabbo.

"Vacī-samācāraṃ p'ahaṃ devānam inda duvidhena vadāmi sevitabbam pi asevitabbam pîti" iti yan taṃ vuttaṃ idam etaṃ paṭicca vuttaṃ.

"Pariyesanaṃ p'ahaṃ devānam inda duvidhena vadāmi, sevitabbam pi asevitabbam pîti" iti kho pan' etaṃ vuttaṃ. Kiñ c' etaṃ paṭicca vuttaṃ ? Tattha yaṃ jaññā pariye-sanaṃ: Imaṃ kho me pariyesanaṃ sevato akusalā dhammā abhivaḍḍhanti kusalā dhammā parihāyantîti, evaūpā pariyesanā na sevitabbā. Tattha yaṃ jaññā pariyesanaṃ: Imaṃ kho me pariyesanaṃ sevato akusalā dhammā parihāyanti kusalā dhammā abhivaḍḍhantîti, evarūpā pariyesanā sevitabbā.

"Pariyesanaṃ p'ahaṃ devānam inda duvidhena vadāmi, sevitabbam pi asevitabbam pîti" iti yan taṃ vuttaṃ idam etaṃ paṭicca vuttaṃ.

"Evaṃ paṭipanno kho devānam inda bhikkhu pātimok-kha-saṃvarāya patpanno hotîti.'

[1]Itthaṃ Bhagavā Sakkassa devānam Indassa pañhaṃ puṭṭho vyākāsi. Attamano Sakko devānam Indo Bhaga-vato bhāsitaṃ abhinandi anumodi : 'Evam etaṃ Bhagavā, evam etaṃ Sugata, tiṇṇā m'ettha kaṅkhā vigatā kathaṅkathā Bhagavato pañha-veyyākaraṇaṃ sutvā ti.'

4. So Sakka, expressing his pleasure and appreciation, asked a further question of the Exalted One :— 'But how, sir, has that bhikkhu gone about who has acquired the self-restraint enjoined by the Patimokkha?'

'I say, ruler of gods, that behaviour in act and in speech, as well as those things we seek after are twofold, according as they are to be followed after or avoided. [260] And for what reason do I say so ? When, in following some mode of behaviour in act or speech or in pursuing some quest, I have perceived that bad qualities developed and good qualities diminished, then such behaviour or such pursuits were to be avoided. And when, again, I perceived as the consequence of some other mode of behaviour

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1. B[m] itthaṃ Bhagavā II la II kathaṃ paṭipanno ; K *omits the whole down to* apucchi.

in act or speech, or of some other pursuit that bad qualities were diminished and good qualities were developed, then that behaviour, or that pursuit, was to be followed after. Thus when I, ruler of gods, declare that behaviour in act, behaviour in speech, and the things we seek after are twofold, I say so for those reasons.

'And it is on this wise, ruler of gods, that a bhikkhu must have gone about to have acquired the self-restraint enjoined by the Pātimokkha.'

Such was the fashion of the Exalted One's answer co Sakka's question. And Sakka, delighted with the Exalted One's utterance, expressed his pleasure and appreciation saying :— 'That is so, Exalted One, that is so, O Welcome One ! I have got rid of doubt and am no longer puzzled, through hearing the answer of the Exalted One.'

5. Iti ha Sakko devānam indo Bhagavato bhāsitaṃ abhinanditvā anumoditvā Bhagavantaṃ uttariṃ pañhaṃ apucchi :

'Kathaṃ-paṭipanno pana mārisa bhikkhu indriya-samvarāya paṭipanno hotîti ?'

'Cakkhu-viññeyyaṃ rūpaṃ p'ahaṃ devānam inda duvidhena vadāmi, sevitabbam pi asevitabbam pi. Sota-viññeyyaṃ saddaṃ p'ahaṃ devānam inda . . . pe . . . Ghāna-viññeyyaṃ gandhaṃ p'ahaṃ devānam inda . . . pe[2] . . . Jivhā-viññeyyaṃ rasaṃ p'ahaṃ devānam inda . . . pe . . . Kāya-viññeyyaṃ phoṭṭhabbaṃ p'ahaṃ devānam inda . . . pe . . . Mano-viññeyyaṃ dhammaṃ p'ahaṃ devānam inda duvidhena vadāmi, sevitabbam pi asevitabbam pîti.'

Evaṃ vutte Sakko devānam indo Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca :

'Imassa kho ahaṃ bhante Bhagavatā saṃ khittena bhāsitassa evaṃ vitthārena atthaṃ ājānāmi. Yathārūpaṃ[2] bhante cakkhu-viññeyyaṃ rūpaṃ[3] sevato akusalā dhammā

1. SS *omit throughout all the* pe's *after the first.*
2. B^{m} K -rūpañ ca kho.
3. SS *omit* rūpaṃ *here, but insert it regularly below ; so* B^{m} K *here.*

abhivaḍḍhanti kusalā dhammā parihāyanti, evarūpaṃ cakkhu-viññeyyaṃ rūpaṃ na sevitabbaṃ ; yathārūpañ ca kho bhante cakkhu-viññeyyaṃ rūpaṃ sevato akusalā dhammā parihāyanti kusalā dhammā abhivaḍḍhanti, evarūpaṃ cakkhu - viññeyaṃ rūpaṃ sevitabbaṃ. athārūpaṃ ca kho[1] bhante sota-viññeyyaṃ saddaṃ sevato . . . pe . . . ghāna - viññeyyaṃ gandhaṃ sevato . . . pe . . . jivhā-viññeyyaṃ rasaṃ sevato . . . pe . . . kāya-viññeyyaṃ phoṭṭhabbaṃ sevato . . . pe . . . mano-viññeyyaṃ dhammaṃ sevato sevato akusalā dhammā abhivaḍḍhanti kusalā dhammā parihāyanti, evarūpo mano-viññeyyo dhammo na sevitabbo. Yathā-rūpañ ca kho bhante mano-viññeyyaṃ dhammaṃ sevato akusalā dhammā parihāyanti kusalā dhammā abhivaḍḍhanti, evarūpo mano-viññeyyo dhammo sevitabbo—Imasa kho me bhante Bhagavatā saṃkhittena bhāsitassa evaṃ vitthāreṇa atthaṃ ājānato[2] tiṇṇā m'ettha kaṅkhā vigatā kathaṅkathā Bhagavto pañha-veyyākaraṇaṃ sutvā ti.'

5. So Sakka, expressing his pleasure and appreciation, asked a further question of the Exalted One :— 'But how, sir, has that bhikkhu gone about who has acquired control of his faculties ?'

'I say, ruler of gods, that the objects of the senses—visible, audible, odorous, sapid, tangible and mental objects[3]—are twofold, according as they are to be followed after or avoided.'

Then said Sakka to the Exalted One:— 'I, sir, understand the details of that which you have told me in outline. Those sense-objects which are not to be followed are such as cause bad qualities to develop and good qualities to diminish ; and those sense-objects which have the opposite effect are to be followed after. And because I can thus understand in detail the

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1. SS *omit here.*
2. SS ajānato ; B[m] ājānato ; K ājānanto.
3. According to Buddhist psychology, these are not ideas as distinct from impressions, but are *any* presentations or objects of consciousness, whether on occasion of sense or of reflexion, *at that stage* when mind 'turns toward' the object and 'receives' it (āvajjana, sampa-ticchana).

meaning of that which the Exalted One has told me in outline, I have got rid of doubt and am no longer puzzled, now that I have heard the Exalted One's answer to my question.'

6. Iti ha Sakko devānam indo Bhagavato bhāsitam abhinanditvā anumoditvā Bhagavantaṃ uttariṃ pañhaṃ apucchī :

'Sabbe va nu kho mārisa samaṇa-brāhmaṇā ekanta-vādā ekanta-sīlā ekanta-chandā ekanta-ajjhosānā ti ?'

'Na kho devānam inda sabbe samaṇa-brāhmaṇā ekanta-vādā ekanta-sīlā ekanta-chandā ekanta-ajjhosānā ti.'

'Kasmā pana mārisa na sabbe samaṇa-brāhmaṇā ekanta-vādā ekanta-sīlā ekanta-chandā ekanta-ajjhosānā ti?'

'Aneka-dhātu nānā-dhātu kho devānam inda, loko. Tasmiṃ anekadhātu[1] - nānādhātusmiṃ loke yaṃ yad eva[2] sattā dhātuṃ abhinivisanti taṃ tad eva[3] thāmasā parāmassa[4] abhinivissa[5] voharanti : "Idam eva saccaṃ mogham aññan ti." Tasmā na sabbe samaṇa-brāhmaṇā ekanta-vādā ekanta-sīlā ekanta-chandā ekanta-ajjhosānā ti.'

'Sabbe va nu kho mārisa samaṇa-brāhmaṇā accanta-niṭṭhā accanta-yogakkhemī accanta-brahmacārī accanta-pariyosānā ti ?'

'Na kho devānam inda samaṇa-brāhmaṇā accanta-niṭṭhā accanta-yogakkhemīaccanta-brahmacārī accanta-pariyosānā ti.'

'Kasmā pana mārisa na sabbe samaṇa-brāhmaṇā accanta-niṭṭhā accanta-yogakkhemī accanta-brahmacārī accanta-pariyosānā ti ?'

'Ye kho te[6] devānam inda samaṇ-brāmaṇā[7] taṇhā-saṅkhaya-vimuttā, te accanta-niṭṭhā accanta-yogakkhemī

1. K anekadhātusmiṃ.
2. K yaṃ yaṃ deva.
3. K tam taṃ deva.
4. S^{d} ap°; B^{m} K parāmāsā.
5. *So* SS, S^{c} *corrects to* -vessa.
6. S^{ct} *omit.*
7. S^{ct} *omit.* The Samyutta (iii. 13), *when twice quoting this sentence, has it, but not* kho *nor* devānam inda.

accanta-brahmacārī accanta-pariyosānā.[1] Tasmā na sabbe samaṇ-brāhmaṇā accanta-niṭṭhā accanta-yogakkhemī accanta-brahmacārī accanta-pariyosānā ti.'

Itthaṃ Bhagavā Sakkassa devānam indassa pañhaṃ puṭṭho vyākāsi. Attamano Sakko devānam Indo Bhagavato bhāsitaṃ abhinandi anukodi : 'Evam etaṃ Bhagavā, evam etaṃ Sugata, tiṇṇā m'ettha kaṅkhā, vigatā kathaṅ-kathā, Bhagavato pañha-veyyākaraṇaṃ sutvā ti.'

6. So Sakka, expressing his pleasure and appreciation, asked a further question of the Exalted One:— 'Are all recluses and brahmins, sir, wholly of one creed, one practice, one persuasion[2], one aim ?'

'No, ruler of gods, they are not.'

'But why, sir, are they not ?'

'Of many and divers elements, ruler of gods, is this world composed. And that being so, people naturally incline to adhere to one or another of those elements ; and to whichsoever it be they, being so inclined, become strongly and tenaciously addicted, holding that "just *this* is true, the rest is foolish." And therefore it is that recluses and brahmins are not all wholly of one creed, one practice, one persuasion, one aim.'

'Are all recluses and brahmins, sir, perfectly proficient, perfectly saved, living perfectly the best life[3], have they attained the right ideal[4] ?'

'No, ruler of gods, they are not all so.'

'Why, sir, are they not all so ?'

'Those recluses and brahmins, ruler of gods, who are set free through the entire destruction of craving, only they are perfectly proficient, only they are perfectly saved, only they are

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1. S. iii. 13, *adds each time* seṭṭhā deva-manussānaṃ.
2. Ekantacchandā, lit. of one desire, will or purpose ; but equated by the Cy. with ekaladdhikā, of one heresy.
3. Accanta-brahmacārī = 'setthatthena brahmaṁ ariyamaggam caratîti.' Cy. 'Walking in the highest, Aryan Path.'
4. Accanta-pariyosānā = 'pariyosānan ti nibbānam.' Cy. 'The ideal' is a free rendering, the term meaning the end, goal or climax.

living perfectly the best life and have attained the ideal. Therefore is it that not all recluses and brahmins are perfectly proficient, perfectly saved, living perfectly the best life, and have attained the ideal[1].'

Such was the fashion of the Exalted One's answer to Sakka's question. And Sakka, delighted with the Exalted One's utterances, expressed his pleasure and appreciation saying :— 'That is so, Exalted One, that is so, O Welcome One ! I have got rid of doubt and am no longer puzzled, through hearing the answer of the Exalted One.'

7. Iti ha Sakko devānam indo Bhagavato bhāsitaṃ abhinanditvā anumoditvā Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca :

'Ejā bhante rogo ejā eaṇḍo djā sallaṃ ejā imaṃ purisaṃ parikaḍḍhati[2] tassa tass' eva bhavassa abhinipphattiyā,[3] tasmā ayaṃ puriso uccāvacam āpajjati. Yesâhaṃ bhante pañhānaṃ ito bahiddhā aññesu samaṇa-brāhmaṇesu okāsa-kammam pi nâlatthaṃ, te me Bhagavatā vyākatā dīgharattânusayino,[4] yañ ca pana me vicikicchā-kathaṅkathā-sallaṃ tañ ca Bhagavatā abbūḷhan[5] ti.'

'Abhijānāsi no tvaṃ devānam inda ime pañhe aññe samaṇa-brāhmaṇe pucchittho ti ?'[6]

" Abhijānām' ahaṃ bhante ime pañhe aññe samaṇa-brāhmaṇe pucchitā ti.'

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1. This paragraph is quoted as from the Sakka-pañha at Samyutta III, 13. Two unnecessary words are there added at the end of it. Buddhaghosa does not say anything on the discrepancy. The two words are either there added by mistake from Majjhima I, 251, where the phrase recurs, or stood originally in our text here.
2. S^{t} anti.
3. S^{d} B^{m} abhnippattiyā ; K abhinibbattiyā ; K (*note*) abhinipphattiyā ti vā pāṭho.
4. S^{dt} B^{m}-ānusayi ; S^{c} -ānusaṃyi ; K -ānupassatā.
5. S^{cd} asammūḷhan. *See* S.N. 593,779 ; M. i. 139 = A. iii. 84; Vim. Vatthu 83. 9, 10.
6. S^{c} pucchittāti *corrected to* pucchitthāti ; S^{t} B^{m} pucchitāti; K pucchitoti. See D. i. 51; sum 158.

'Yathā-kathaṃ pana te[1] devānam inda vyākaṃsu,[2] sace te agaru, bhāsassûti.'

'Na kho me bhante garu yatth' assa Bhagavā nisinno Bhaganta-rūpā vā ti.'[3]

'Tena hi devānam inda bhāsasaûti.'

'Ye sâhaṃ[4] bhante maññāmi samaṇa-brāhmaṇe:[5] "āraññakā panta [6]-senâsanā" ti[7] tyâhaṃ upasaṃkamitvā ime pañhe pucchāmi. Te mayā puṭṭhā na sampāyanti, asampāyantā mamaṃ yeva paṭipucchanti: "Ko nāmo āyasmā ti ?" Tesâhaṃ puṭṭho vyākaromi : "Ahaṃ kho mārisa Sakko devānam indo ti." Te mamaṃ yena uttariṃ paṭi pucchanti: "Kim pan' āyasmā devānam indo[8] kammaṃ katvā imaṃ ṭhānaṃ tattp to ?" Tesahaṃ yathā-sutaṃ yathā-pariyattaṃ dhammaṃ desemi. Te tāvaken'[9] eva attamanā honti: "Sakko ca no devānam indo diṭṭho, yañ ca no apucchimhā tañ ca no vyākāsaîti." Te aññadatthu mamaṃ yeva sāvakā sampajjanti, na câhaṃ tesaṃ, kho pana bhante Bhagavato sāvako, sotâpanno avinipāta-dhamo niyato sambodhi-parāyano ti.'

'Abhijānāsi no tvaṃ devānam inda ito pubbe evarūpaṃ veda-paṭilābhaṃ somanassa-paṭilābha ti ?'

'Abhijānām ahaṃ bhante ito pubbe evarūpaṃ veda-paṭilābhaṃ somanassa-paṭilābhan ti ?'

'Yathā-kathaṃ pana tvaṃ devānam inda abhijānāsi ito pubbe evarūpaṃ veda-paṭilābhaṃ somanassa-paṭilābhan ti?'

'Bhūtapubbaṃ bhante devâsura-saṃgāmo samūpabbūḷho[10] ahosi. Tasmiṃ kho pana bhante saṃgāme devā

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1. S[cd] *omits;* S[t] me. *See* Sum 159.
2. S[d] vayākariṃsu ; B[m] byākaṃsu; K byākariṃsu. *See* D. i. 51.
3. B[m] K -rūpo cāti.
4. S[t] yesahaṃ ; Sum yassâhaṃ (= sandhi *for* ye assu ahaṃ). *See* § 9.
5. B[m] K brāhmaṇā.
6. S[t] paṇṇa; S[cd] pantha- ; B[m] santa-.
7. SS senāsanānīti.
8. B[m] K inda.
9. S[c] tāvayāken' ; B[m] K tāvataken.'
10. *So* SS Sum ; B[m] K samūpabyuḷho; K (Sī) samūpabbuḷho. *But see* M. 1. 253 ; S. i. 98.

jinimsu, asurā parājimsu. Tassa mayhaṃ bhante taṃ saṃgāmaṃ abhivijinitvā[1] vijita-saṃgāmassa etad ahosi: "Yā c' eva dāni dibbā ojā,[2] yā va[3] asura-ojā,[4] ubhayam[5] etaṃ[6] devā paribhuñjissantîti." Yo kho pana me bhante veda-paṭilābho somanassa-paṭilābho sadaṇḍâvacaro sa-satthâvacaro na nibbidāya na virāgāya na nirodhāya na upasamāya na abhiññāya na sambodhāya na nibbānāya saṃvattati. Yo kho pana me ayaṃ bhante Bhagavato dhammaṃ sutvā veda-paṭilābho somanassa-paṭilābho, so adaṇḍâvacaro asatthâvacaro ekanta-nibbidāya virāgāya nirodhāya upasamāya abhiññāya sambodhāya nibbānāya saṃvattatîti.'

7. So Sakka, expressing his pleasure at, and appreciation of the Exalted One's utterance, spoke thus :— 'Passion[7], lord, is disease, passion is a cancer, passion is a dart, passion drags a man about by one rebirth and then another, so that he finds himself now up above now down below. Whereas other recluses and brahmins not of your followers, lord, gave me no opportunity to ask these questions, the Exalted One has answered for me, instructing me at length, so that the dart of doubt and perplexity has by the Exalted One been extracted.'

'Do you admit to us, ruler of gods, that you have put the same questions to other recluses or brahmins ?'

'I do, lord.'

'Then tell me, if it be not inconvenient to you, how they answered you.'

'It is not inconvenient to me when the Exalted One is seated to hear, or others like him.'

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1. S^{cd} abhivijitva.
2. S^{c} mijā ; S^{d} jā.
3. B^{m} K ca.
4. S^{c} asurambajā ; S^{d} K asurā ojā : B^{m} asūrā ojā.
5. S^{c} ubhayacetaṃ.
6. B^{m} K ettha ; K (Sī) etaṃ.
7. Ejā = calanatthena tanhā. Cy., i.e. 'Craving, with respect to the thrill' (e-motion, corn-motion) caused by it. 'Passion' lacks etymological coincidence with the implication of 'movement' in ejā, but no other term is forceful enough.

'Then tell, ruler of gods.'

'I went to those, lord, whom I deemed to be recluses and brahmins, because they were dwelling in secluded forest abodes, and I asked them those questions. Being asked, they did not withdraw themselves, but put a counter-question to me :— "Who is the venerable one ?" I replied, "I, sir, am Sakka, ruler of gods." They asked me further :— "What business has brought the venerable ruler of gods to this place ? "Whereupon I taught them the Dharma as I had heard and learnt it. And they with only so much were well pleased saying :— "We have seen Sakka, ruler of gods, and he has answered that which we asked of him ! "And actually, instead of me becoming their disciple, they became mine. But I, lord, am a disciple of the Exalted One, a Stream-winner, who cannot be reborn in any state of woe, and who has the assurance of attaining to enlightenment[1].'

'Do you admit to us, ruler of gods, that you have ever before experienced such satisfaction and such happiness as you now feel ?'

'Yes, lord, I do admit it.'

'And what do you admit, ruler of gods, with regard to that previous occasion ?'

'In former times, lord, war had broken out between gods and asuras. Now in that fight the gods won and the asuras were defeated. Then when the battle was over, to me the conqueror the thought occurred : "The gods will henceforth enjoy not only celestial nectar but also asura-nectar." But, lord, the experiencing satisfaction and happiness such as this, which was wrought by blows and by wounds, does not conduce to detachment, nor to disinterestedness, nor to cessation, nor to peace, nor to the higher spiritual knowledge[2], nor to enlightenment, nor to Nirvana. But this satisfaction, lord, this happiness that I have experienced in

1. Cf. Vol. I, pp. 190-2.
2. Abhiñña, i.e. knowledge of that advanced (abhi-) nature, which is neither conveyed by the channels of sense, nor is occupied with sense-experience as such.

hearing the Dhamma of the Exalted One, this which is not wrought by blows and by wounds does conduce to detachment, to disinterestedness, to cessation, to peace, to spiritual knowledge, to enlightenment, to Nirvana.'

8. 'Kim pana tvaṃ devānam inda atthavasaṃ sampassamāno[1] evarūpaṃ veda-paṭilābhaṃ somanassa-paṭilā-bhaṃ pavedesîti ?'

'Cha kho ahaṃ bhanto atthavaso sampassamāno evarūpaṃ veda-paṭilabhaṃ somanassa-paṭilābhaṃ pave demi.

'Idh' eva tiṭṭhamānassa deva-bhūtassa me sato
Punar[2] āyu ca[3] me laddho evaṃ jānāhi mārisâti.

'Imaṃ kho ahaṃ bhante paṭhamaṃ atthavasaṃ sampassamāno evarūpaṃ veda-paṭilābhaṃ somanassa-paṭilābhaṃ pavedemi.

'Cutâhaṃ diviyā kāyā āyuṃ hitvā amānusaṃ,
Amūḷho[4] gabbhamissāmi[5] yattha me[6] ramatī[7] mano ti.

'Imaṃ kho ahaṃ bhante dutiyaṃ atthavasaṃ sampassamāno evarūpaṃ veda-paṭilābhaṃ somanassa-paṭilābhaṃ pavedemi.

'So 'haṃ[8] amūḷha-pañh'assu viharaṃ sāsane rato,
Ñāyena[9] viharissāmi sampajāno paṭissato ti.

'Imaṃ kho ahaṃ bhante tatiyaṃ atthavasaṃ sampassamāno evarūpaṃ veda-paṭilābhaṃ somanassa-paṭilābhaṃ pavedemi.

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1. S[cd] *vary, with* samphass°.
2. K pun' ev'.
3. S[t] K va.
4. S[c] - ḷhe.
5. B[m] K essāmi.
6. S[t] *omits*.
7. SS K -tī ; B[m] -ti.
8. S[dt] so ahaṃ ; K svāhaṃ.
9. SS kāyena (*twice*).

'Ñāyena ca me carato[1] sambodhi ce bhavissati,
Aññātā[2] viharissāmi sveva[3] anto bhavissatîti.[4]

'Imaṃ kho ahaṃ bhante catitthaṃ atthavasaṃ sampassamāno evarūpaṃ veda-paṭilābhaṃ somanassa-paṭilābhaṃ pavedemi.

'Citâhaṃ mānusā[5] kāyā āyuṃ hitvāna mānusaṃ,
Puna devo bhavissāmi deva-lokasmiṃ uttamo ti.

'Imaṃ kho ahaṃ bhante pañcamaṃ atthavasaṃ sampassamāno evarūpaṃ veda-paṭilābhaṃ somanassa-paṭilābhaṃ pavedemi.

'Te paṇītatarā[6] devā Akaniṭṭhā yasassino,[7]
Antime vattamānamhi[8] so nivāso bhavissatîti.

'Imaṃ kho ahaṃ bhante chaṭṭhaṃ atthavasaṃ sampassamāno evarūpaṃ veda-paṭilābhaṃ somanassa-paṭilābhaṃ pavedemi.

'Imaṃ kho ahaṃ bhante cha atthavase sampassamāno evarūpaṃ veda-paṭilābhaṃ somanassa-paṭilābhaṃ pavedemi.

8. 'What are the things present to your mind, ruler of gods, when you confess to experiencing such satisfaction and such happiness ?'

'Six are the things present to my mind, lord, that I feel such satisfaction and happiness :—

'I who here merely as a god exist
Have [by my acts][9] incurred the destiny
To live again once more. Hear, sir, and know !

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1. S[t] caraṇo ; K parato.
2. S[cd] aññatāvi ; S[t] aññatā.
3. SS seva ; B[m] svevam.
4. B[m] bhavidassati.
5. S[c] man°.
6. S[t] -ro.
7. S[c] -sano.
8. S[c] vattha°.
9. Cy. aññena kammavipākena, by another result of action.

'This, lord, is the first meaning implied in what I said.

'Deceasing from the gods I shall forsake
The life that's not of men, and straight shall go
Unerring to that womb I fain would choose.

'This, lord, is the second meaning implied in what I said.

'I who have had my problems rendered clear
And live delighting in His Word, shall then
Live righteously, mindful and self-possessed.

'This, lord, is the third meaning implied in what I said.

'And if into my life thus rightly led
Enlightenment should come, then shall I dwell
As one who Knows, and this shall be the end.

'This, lord, is the fourth meaning implied in what I said.

'Deceasing from the human sphere, I then
Forsake the life of men, and lo! once more
A god I'll be, best in the Deva-world.

'This, lord, is the fifth meaning implied in what I said.

'Finer than Devas are the Peerless Gods[1]
All glorious, while my last span of life
Shall come and go 'tis there my home will be.

'This, lord, is the sixth meaning implied in my confession of experiencing such satisfaction and such happiness.

'These, lord, are the six things present to my mind that I feel such satisfaction and such happiness.'

**9. 'Apariyosita[2]-saṃkappo vicikicchī[3] kathaṃkathī,
Vicarī[4] dīgham addhānaṃ anvesanto Tathāgataṃ.**

1. Those called Akaniṭṭhā.
2. S^t aparisoyi.
3. S^c -aṃ ; S^t -iṃ ; B^m -cchā ; K -cchā.
4. B^m vicari ; K vicaraṃ.

Y'assu[1] maññāmi samaṇe[2] pavivitta-vihārino
Sambuddho iti maññāno[3] gacchāmi te[4] upāsituṃ[5]
Kathaṃ ārādhaṇā hoti kathaṃ hoti virādhanā,[6]
Iti puṭṭhā na sambhonti magge paṭipadāsu ca.
Tyāssu[7] yadā maṃ jānanti Sakko devānam āgato,
Tyāssu[8] mam eva pucchanti kiṃ katvā pāpuṇī[9] idaṃ.[10]
Tesaṃ yathā sutaṃ dhammaṃ desayāmi[11] jane sutaṃ,
Ten' ass' attamanā[12] honti diṭṭho no Vāsavo ti ca.
Yadā ca Buddhaṃ[13] addakkhiṃ[14] vicikicchā[15] - vitāraṇaṃ,
So 'mhi vītabhayo ajja sambuddhaṃ payirūpāsiya.[16]
Taṇhā-sallassa hantāraṃ Buddhaṃ appaṭipuggalaṃ,
Ahaṃ vande mahāvīraṃ vandām[17] ādicca-bandhunam.
Yaṃ karomase[18] Brahmuṇo samaṃ[19] devehi mārisa

1. *All MSS. and* K *and* Sum yassa (*see page* 284, *note* [5]).
2. S[cd] samaṇo.
3. S[t] maññāne : K maññamāno.
4. K (Sī) no.
5. B[m] upāsidatuṃ.
6. S[c] -na ; S[t] naṃ.
7. S[d] K tyassa ; B[m] (apparently) tūssu ; *and below.*
8. S[cd] K tyassa.
9. papuṇiṃ ; S[d] pāpunā ; S[t] pāpuṇaṃ ; B[m] pāpuṇi ; K pāuṇī.
10. *So MSS and* K.
11. S[d] desissāmi ; B[m] desiyāmi.
12. S[d] Tenasantamanā ; S[t] tenassattamaṇā ; B[m] K tena attamanā.
13. K Sambuddhaṃ.
14. S[c] B[m] -khi.
15. SS vicikiccha.
16. *So* SS ; B[m] -sayi ; K -sayiṃ.
17. B[m] K Buddham.
18. SS B[m] karomasi.
19. SS sama.

Tad ajja tuyhaṃ kassāma[1] handa sāmaṃ karoma te.[2]
Tuvam ev'asi[3] sambuddho tuvaṃ satthā anuttaro,
Sadevakasmiṃ lokasmiṃ n'atthi te paṭipuggalo ti.'

9. 'With aspirations unfulfilled, perplexed
And doubting, long I wandered seeking him
Who-had-on-That-wise-Thither-Come. Me-thought,
Hermits who dwell secluded and austere
Must sure enlightened be ! To them I'll fare.
"What must I do to win, what doing fail ?"
Thus asked they rede me naught in Path or Ways.
But me, forsooth, whereas they know that I
Who come, am Sakka of the gods, 'tis me
They ask, "What would'st thou that thou comest here?"
Thereat to them I teach, as I have heard,
As all may hear, the Dhamma ; whereat they
Rejoicing cry, forsooth, "Vāsava have we seen !"
But since I've seen the Buddha, seen my doubts
Dispelled, now would I, all my fears allayed,
On him, the Enlightened One, adoring wait.
Him do I worship who hath drawn the dart
Of craving, him the Buddha, peerless Lord.
Hail, mighty hero ! hail, kin to the sun !
E'en as by gods is Brahma reverenced,
Lo ! even thus to-day we worship thee.
Thou art the Enlightened One, Teacher Supreme
Art thou, nor in the world, with all its heav'ns
Of gods, is any found like unto thee !'

10. Atha kho Sakko devānam indo Pañcasīkhaṃ gandhabba-puttaṃ āmantesi :

'Bhûpakāro kho me[4] 'si tvaṃ, tāta Pañcasikha, yaṃ tvaṃ Bhagavantaṃ paṭhamaṃ pasādesi. Tayā tāta paṭhamaṃ

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1. B^{m} K dassāma.
2. S^{d} karomato; S^{t} kamate.
3. B^{m} tvamevapasi ; K tvameva sivaṃ.
4. S^{c} *omits.*

pasāditaṃ[1] pacchā mayaṃ[2] Bhagavantaṃ dassanāya upasaṃkamimha[3] arahantaṃ sammā-sambuddhaṃ. Pettike ṭhāne ṭthapayissāmi, Gandhabba-rājā bhavissasi, Bhaddañ ca[4] te Suriya[5]-vaccasaṃ[6] dammi, sā hi te abhipatthitā[7] ti.'

Atha kho Sakko devānam indo pāṇinā paṭhaviṃ parā masitvā tikkhattuṃ udānaṃ udānesi :

'Namo tassa Bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa!
Namo tassa Bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa!
Namo tassa Bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassâti![8]

Imasmiñ ca pana veyyākaraṇasmiṃ bhaññamāne Sakkassa devānam indassa virajaṃ vītamalaṃ dhamma-cakkhuṃ udapādi: 'Yaṃ kiñci samudaya-dhammaṃ sabban taṃ nirodha-nirodha-dhamman' ti, aññesañ ca asītiyā devatā-sahassānaṃ. Iti ha[9] Sakkena devānam indena ajjhittā[10] pañhā puṭṭhā te Bhagavatā vyākatā. Tasmā imassa veyyākaraṇassa Sakka-pañho t' eva[11] adhivacanan ti.

10. Then spake Sakka, ruler of gods, to Five-crest of the Gandhabbas :— 'Great has been your help to me, dear Five-crest, in that you first placated the Exalted One. For it was after you had first placated him, that we were admitted to his presence to see the Exalted One, the Arahant, Buddha Supreme. I will take the place of father to you, and you shall be king of the

1. S^d -tā ; B^m -dikaṃ.
2. B^m K *add* taṃ.
3. K °iṃhā.
4. S^{ct} *add* se ; S^d *adds* ye.
5. B^m sūriya.
6. B^m K vacchasaṃ.
7. S^c abhippattā, *omits* ti; S^t abhipattito, *corrected to* -pattitā ; B^m-pattitā.
8. *This third repetition omited in* SS.
9. B^m K *add* ye.
10. SS acchariya ; B^m ajjhiṭṭhāyahā ; K ajjhiṭṭha-.
11. B^m tve ; K tveva.

Gandhabbas, and I will give to you Bhaddā, the Sun-maiden, whom you have longed for.'

Then Sakka, touching the earth with his hand to call it to witness, called aloud thrice :—

'Honour to the Exalted One, to the Arahant, to the Buddha Supreme !'

Now while he was speaking in this dialogue, the stainless spotless Eye for the Truth arose in Sakka, the ruler of the gods, to wit : 'Whatsoever thing can come to be, that must also cease to be[1].' And this happened also to eighty thousand of devas besides.

Such were the questions which Sakka was invited to ask, and which were explained by the Exalted One[2]. Therefore has this dialogue the name of ' The Questions of Sakka.'

Sakka-Pañha-Suttaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ.[3]

Here the end of Sakya Pañha Sutta.

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1. See Vol. I, p. 184.
2. 'Was invited' is doubtful. Sakka had not been invited to put any particular questions. Leave had been granted him generally to put any question he liked. Yet the editions printed in Siam and Ceylon read 'the invited questions put.' Buddhaghosa reads ajjhittā. It is doubtful whether the her reading (ajjitthā) could be properly applied to a question. In Vin. I, 113 it is applied to a person who is invited to speak. It looks here like a conjectural emendation of a *lectio difficilior.*
3. B^{m} K suttaṃ aṭṭhamaṃ.

INTRODUCTION
TO THE
Mahā Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta.

The twenty second is the Mahā-Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta. In it the Blessed one urges his disciples to set up mindfulness (Sati). The doctrine expounded in this Sutta may be said to be very important in early Buddhism. The Aryan Path is obtained by practising mindfulness only. It then discussed four types of meditation on impurities and impermanency of body and impermanency of vedana (sensation), citta (thought) and dhamma (condition).

This Sutta Speaks of the five hindrances, seven parts of wisdom, four truths, five khandhas or aggregates, and the various stages breaks up in the Majjhima Nikāya into two Portions each representing a separate discourse such as satipaṭṭhana (chapter on Sati). and Saccavibhaṅga (exposition of truth).

xxii. Mahā-Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta*

Setting-up of Mindfulness

1. Evam me sutaṃ ekaṃ samayaṃ Bhagavā Kurūsu viharati. Kam-māssadhammaṃ[1] nāma Kurūnaṃ nigamo. Tatra kho Bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi 'Bhikkhavo' to. 'Bhadante'[2] ti to bhikkhū Bhagavato paccassosuṃ Bhagavā etad avoca :

[3]Ekāyano ayaṃ bhikkhave maggo sattānaṃ visuddhiyā soka-pariddavānaṃ[4] saṁatikkamāya dukkha-domanas-sānaṃ atthagamāya[5] ñāyassa[6] adhigamāya nibbānassa[7] sacchikiriyāya, yadidaṃ cattāro satipaṭṭhānā.

Katame cattāro ? Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu kāye kāyânupassī viharati ātāpī sampajāno satimā, vineyya loke[8] abhijjhā-domanassaṃ—vedanāsu vedanânupassī viharati ātāpī samapjāno satimā, vineyya loke abhijjhā-domanassaṃ—citte cittânupassī viharati ātāpī sampajano satimā, vineyya loke abhijjhā-domanassaṃ—dhammesu dhammânupassī

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* *Edited at Colombo*, 1883, *by* Baṭuwan Tuḍāwa, *with the old* Sanna *by* Daramiṭipola = Col. *Compare also* Trenckner's *edition of the corresponding text in the* Majjhima (i. 55 foll.) = Mᵗ.

1. Sᵈ Col Kammāssadᵒ; Sᶜᵗ Mᵗ Kammāssadhᵒ; Bᵐ Kammāsadhᵒ; K Kammāsadamᵒ. (*See above, p.* 55 *and* M. i. 532.)
2. Bᵐ bhaddante.
3. *Quoted* Kathā Vatthu 158.
4. Bᵐ K paridevānaṃ (*and so* K.V.) *See* M. i. 532.
5. K atthaṅgᵒ (*and so* K.V.)
6. Bᵐ ñayᵒ.
7. Col nibbāṇᵒ.
8. Col *prints* ātāpīsampajāno satimāvineyyaloke.

viharati ātāpī sampajāno satimā, vineyya loke abhijjhā-domanassaṃ.[1]

1. Thus have I heard.The Exalted One was once staying among the Kurus. Kammāssadhamma is a city of the Kuru country. There the Exalted One addressed the brethren, saying, 'Bhikkhus !' 'Reverend sir !' responded the brethren. And the Exalted One said :

The one and only path, Bhikkhus leading to the purification of beings, to passing far beyond grief and lamentation, to the dying-out of ill and misery, to the attainment of right method[2], to the realization of Nirvana, is that of the Fourfold Setting up of Mindfulness.[3]

Which are the Four? Herein[4], O bhikkhus, let a brother, as to the body, continue so to look upon the body that he remains ardent, self-possessed,and mindful, having overcome both the hankering and the dejection common in the world. And in the same way as to feelings, thoughts, and ideas, let him so look upon each, that he remains ardent, self-possessed, and mindful, having overcome both the hankering and the dejection common in the world.

2. Kathañ ca[5] bhikkhave bhikkhu kāye kāyânupassī viharati ?

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1. B[m] *adds* Uddeso niṭhito; K uddesa-vāra-kathā niṭṭhitā; Col. Uddesa-vāram.
2. Ñāya. Practical Buddhism is summed up (Majjhimn II, 182, 197) as exertion in ñāya, dhamma, and kusala (the Method, the Norm, and the Good). Ñāya is defined at Samyutta V, 388 as what comes pretty much to our method in philosophy. Above (p. 167) it is rendered System. There, in a very old verse, the Buddha says that seeking after Good he had been a pilgrim through the realm of System and Law, outside of which no victory can be won.
3. See Introduction.
4. The commentarial tradition sees in this word idha, the implication of 'belonging to this order or doctrine or school' (imasmiṁ sāsane), and thus an antithesis to 'ito bahiddhā,' outside this [order] —an expression which occurs immediately after the verse mentioned in the last note.
5. B[m] *inserts* pana.

Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu arañña-gato vā rukkha-mūla-gato vā suññâgāra-gato vā nisīdati[1] pallaṅkaṃ ābhujitvā[2] ujuṃ kāyaṃ paṇidhāya parimukhaṃ satiṃ upaṭṭgaoetvā. So sato va assasati, sato[3] passasati. Dīghaṃ vā assasanto 'Dīghaṃ assasāmîti' pajānāti, dighaṃ vā passasanto 'Dīghaṃ passasāmîti' pajānāti, Rassaṃ vā passasanto 'Rassaṃ assasāmîti' pajānāti, rassaṃ vā passasanto 'Rassaṃ passasāmîti' pajānāti. 'Sabba-kāya-paṭisaṃvedī assasissāmîti' sikkhati 'Passambhayaṃ kāya-saṃkhāraṃ assasissāmîti' sikkhati, 'passambhayaṃ kāya-saṃ-khāraṃ passasissāmîti' sikkhati.[4]

Seyyathā pi bhikkhave dakkho bhamakāro vā bhamakārantevāsī vā dighaṃ vā añchanto[5] 'Dīghaṃ añchāmīti' pajānāti, rassaṃ vā añchanto 'Rassaṃ añchamîti' pajānāti, evam eva kho bhikkhave bhikkhu dīhaṃ vā assasanto 'Dīghaṃ assasāmîti' pajānāti, dīghaṃ vā passasanto 'Dīghaṃ passasāmît' pajānāti, rassaṃ vā assasanto 'Rassaṃ assasāmîti' pajānāti, rassaṃ vā passasanto 'Tassaṃ passasāmîti' pajānāti.[6] 'Sabbakāya-paṭisaṃvedī assasissamīti' sikkhati, 'sabbakāya-paṭisaṃvedī passasissāmîti' sikkhati. 'Passambhayaṃ kāya-saṃkhāraṃ assasissāmîti' sikkati, 'passambhayaṃ kāya-saṃkhāraṃ passasissāmîti' sikkhati.

'Iti ajjhattaṃ vā kāye kāyânupassī viharati, bahiddhā vā kāye kāyânupassī viharati, ajjhatta-bahiddhā vā kāye kāyânupassī viharati. Samudaya-dhammânupassī vā kāyasmiṃ viharati, vaya-dhammânupassī vā kāyasmiṃ

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1. *From* nisīdati *down to* rassaṃ passasāmīti pajānāti *quoted* Yog. Man. p. 5.
2. B[m] ābhuñjitvā.
3. S[c] B[m] Vin. iii. 70 *add* va.
4. Vin. iii. 71 *adds thirteen similar clauses.*
5. S[c] B[m] K Col M[t] añch[o] *throughout;* K (*note*) añjanto ti pi acchanto ti pi pāṭho; S[dt] añj[o] (*but comp.* Jāt 1. 192 *last lines*). *The* Sanna, *p.* 12, *explains* dīrgha mahat bhāṇḍayan liyana kala dingu kirīmen dik koṭa adane.
6. M[t] *p.* 56 *has* pe *for therest of this paragraph. So* St *here.* S[cd] B[m] Col. K. *have it in full.*

viharati, samudaya-vaya-dhammânupassî vā kāyasmiṃ viharati. 'Atthi kāyo' ti vā pan' assa sati paccupaṭṭhitā hoti yāvad eva ñāṇa-mattāya patissati-mattāya.[1] Anissito ca viharati na ca kicnci loke upādiyati. Evam pi[2] bhikkhave bhikkhu kāye kāyânupassī viharati.[3]

2. And how, bhikkhus, does a brother so continue to consider the body ?

[4] Herein, O bhikkhus, let a brother, going into the forest, or to the roots of a tree, or to an empty chamber, sit down cross-legged, holding the body erect, and set his mindfulness alert[5].

Mindful let him inhale, mindful let him exhale. Whether he inhale a long breath, let him be conscious thereof; or whether he exhale a long breath, let him be conscious thereof. Whether he inhale a short breath, or exhale a short breath, let him be conscious thereof. Let him practise with the thought 'Conscious of my whole body will I inhale' ; let him practise with the thought 'Conscious of my whole body will I exhale.' Let him practise with the thought 'I will inhale tranquillizing my bodily organism ; let him practise with the thought 'I will exhale tranquillizing my bodily organism.'

Even as a skilful turner, or turner's apprentice, drawing (his string) out at length, or drawing it out short, is conscious that he is doing one or the other, so let a brother practise inhaling and exhaling.

So does he, as to the body, continue to consider the body, either internally or externally, or both internally and exter-

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1. B^{m} K paṭissati-; *and onwards,* §§ 5-12.
2. B^{m} *adds* kho.
3. B^{m} K *add* Ānāpāna-pabbaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ. Col *has* Ānāpāna-sati-kaṇḍaṃ.
4. Quoted Patisambhidā I, 175, and 'Yogāvacara Manual,' p. 1. Each quotation gives a word for word commentary; and so does Sum. I, 210.
5. Parimukham satim upatthapati, literally, 'set up his memory in face of (the object of his thought). The ultimate object is throughout, as the 'Yogāvacara Manual' says, Nirvana. Examples of the subsidiary, changing, objects of thought are given in what follows.

nally. He keeps on considering how the body is something that comes to be, or again he keeps on considering how the body is something that passes away; or again he keeps on considering the coming to be with the passing away; or again, conscious that 'There is the body,' mindfulness hereof becomes thereby established, far enough for the purposes of knowledge and of self-collectedness. And he abides independent, grasping after nothing in the world whatever. Thus, bhikkhus, does a brother continue to regard the body.

3. Puna ca paraṃ bhikkhave bhikkhu gacchanto vā 'Gacchāmîti' pajānāti, thito vā 'Thito 'mhîti' pajānāti, nisinno vā 'Nisinno 'mhîti' pajānāti, sayāno vā 'Sayā-no 'mhîti' pajānāti. Yathā yathā vā pan' assa kāyo paṇihito hoti, tathā tathā naṃ pajānāti.

Iti ajjhattaṃ vā kāye kāyânupassī fiharati, bahiddhā vā kāye kayânupassī viharati, ajjhatta-bahiddhā vā kāye kāyânupassi viharati. Samudaya-dhammânupassī vā kāyasmiṃ viharati, vaya-dhammânupassī vā kāyasmiṃ viharati, samudaya-vaya-dhammânupassī vā kāyasmiṃ viharati. 'Atthi kāyo' ti vā pan' assa sati paccupaṭṭhitā hoti yāvad eva ñāṇa-mattāya patissati-mattāya. Anissito ca viharati na ca kiñci loke upādiyati. Evam pi[1] bhikkhave bhikkhu kāye kāyânupassī viharati.[2]

3. And moreover, bhikkhus, a brother, when he is walking, is aware of it thus :— 'I walk'; or when he is standing, or sitting, or lying down, he is aware of it. However he is disposing the body, he is aware thereof.

So does he, as to the body, continue to consider the body, either internally or externally, or both internally and externally. He keeps on considering how the body is something that comes to be, or again he keeps on considering how the body is something that passes away ; or again he keeps on considering the coming to be with the passing away ; or again, conscious that 'There is the body,' mindfulness hereof becomes thereby estab-

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1. B[m] *adds* kho.
2. B[m] K *add* Iriyāpatha-pabbaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ; Col Iriyā-patha-kaṇḍaṃ.

lished, far enough for the purposes of knowledge and of self-collectedness. And he abides independent, grasping after nothing in the world whatever. Thus, bhikkhus, does a brother continue to regard the body.

4. Puna ca paraṃ bhikkhave bhikkhu abhikkante paṭikkante sampajāna-kārī hoti. Ālokite vilokite sampa-jāna-kārī hoti. Sammiñjite[1] pasārite sampajāna-kārī hoti. Saṅghāṭi-patta-cīvara-dhāraṇe sampajāna-kārī hoti. Asite pīte khāyite sāyite sampjāna-kārī hoti. Uccāra-passāvakamme sampajāna-kārī hoti. Gate ṭhite nisinne sutte jāgarite bhāsite tuṇhī-bhāve sampajāna-kārī hoti.

Iti ajjhattaṃ vā[2] kāye kāyânupasī viharati bahiddhā vā kāye kāyânupassī viharati, ajjhatta-bahiddhā vā kāye kāyânupassī viharati. Samudaya-dhammânupassī vā kāyasmiṃ viharati, vaya-dhammânupassī vā kāyasmiṃ viharati, samudaya-vaya-dhammânupassi vā kāyasmiṃ viharati. 'Atthi kāyo' ti vā pan' assa sati paccupaṭṭhitā hoti yāvad eva ñāṇa-mattāya patissati-mattāya. Anissito ca viharati na ca kiñci loke upādiyati. Evam pi bhikkhave bhikkhu kāye kāyânupassī viharati.[3]

4. And moreover, bhikkhus, a brother—whether he departs or returns, whether he looks at or looks away from, whether he has drawn in or stretched out [his limbs], whether he has donned under-robe, over-robe, or bowl, whether he is eating, drinking, chewing, reposing, or whether he is obeying the calls of nature —is aware of what he is about. In going, standing, sitting, sleeping, watching, talking, or keeping silence, he knows what he is doing.

So does he, as to the body, continue to consider the body, either internally or externally, or both internally and externally. He keeps on considering how the body is something that

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1. B[m] samiñjite
2. B[m] *omits the rest of the repetition and adds* Sampajāna-pabbaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ.
3. K *adds* sampajañña-pabbaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ ; Col Catusampajañña-kaṇḍaṃ.

comes to be, or again he keeps on considering how the body is something that passes away; or again he keeps on considering the coming to be with the passing away; or again, conscious that 'There is the body,' mindfulness hereof becomes thereby established, far enough for the purposes of knowledge and of self-collectedness. And he abides independent, grasping after nothing in the world whatever. Thus, bhikkhus, does a brother continue to consider the body.

5. Puna ca paraṃ bhikkhave bhikkhu imam eva kāyaṃ uddhaṃ pādatalā[1] adho kesa-matthakā taca-pariyantaṃ pūraṃ[2] nānappakārassa asucino paccavekkhati: 'Atthi imasmiṃ kāye kesā lomā nakhā dantā taco maṃsaṃ nahārū aṭṭhī[3] aṭṭhi-miñjā[4] vakkaṃ hadayaṃ yakanaṃ kilomakaṃ pihakaṃ papphāsaṃ antaṃ anta-guṇaṃ udariyaṃ karīsaṃ pittaṃ semhaṃ pubbo lohitaṃ sedo medo assu vasā kheḷo[5] siṅghāṇikā[6] lasikā muttan ti.'[7]

Seyyathā pi bhikkhave ubhato-mukhā mutoli[8] pūrā nārā-vihitassa dhaññassa, seyyathîdaṃ sālīnaṃ vīhīnaṃ muggānaṃ māsānaṃ tilānaṃ taṇḍulānaṃ, tam enaṃ cakkhumā puriso muñcitvā paccavekkheyya: 'Ime sālī, ime vīhī, ime muggā, ime māsā, ime tilā, ime taṇḍulā ti'—evam eva kho bhikkhave bhikkhu imam eva kāyaṃ uddhaṃ pādatalā adho kesa-matthakā taca-pariyantaṃ pūraṃ nānappakārassa asucino asucino paccavekkhati: 'Atthi imasmiṃ kāye kesā lomā[9] nakhā dantā taco maṃsaṃ nahārū aṭṭhī aṭṭhī aṭṭhi-miñjā vakkaṃ hadayaṃ yakanaṃ kilo-makaṃ

1. Col pāpādatalā.
2. K M[t] pūran.
3. B[m] aṭṭhi.
4. B[m] K miñjaṃ, *and below.*
5. Col khelo, *and below.*
6. Col siṅghānikā, *below* Siṅghāṇ°; B[m] siṅghan°.
7. Khuddaka Pāṭha 3 *adds* matthake matthalungaṃ. *This is not in the quotation at* S. iv. 111.
8. B[m] M[t]-oḷi°; Col K -olī° ; K (*note*) pūtolī ti pi pāṭho.
9. B[m] . . . pa . . . muttan ti.

pihakaṃ papphāsaṃ antaṃ anta-guṇaṃ udariyaṃ karīsaṃ pittaṃ semhaṃ pubbo lohitaṃ sedo medo assu vasā kheḷo siṅghāṇikā lasikā muttan ti.'

Iti ajjhattaṃ vā[1] kāye kāyânupassī viharati, bahiddhā vā kāye kāyânupassī viharati, ajjhatta-bahiddhā vā kāye kāyânupassī viharati. Samudaya-dhammânupassī vā kāyasmiṃ viharati, vaya-dhammânupassī vā kāyasmiṃ viharati, samudaya-vaya-dhammânupassī vā kāyasmiṃ viharati. 'Atthi kayo ti' vā pan' assa sati paccupaṭṭhitā hoti yāvad eva ñāṇa-mattāya patissati-mattāya. Anissito ca viharati, na ca kiñci loke upādiyati. Evam pi bhikkhave bhikkhu kāye kāyânupassī viharati.[2]

5. And moreover, bhikkhus, a brother reflects upon tills very body, from the soles of his feet below upward to the crown of his head, as something enclosed in skin and full of divers impurities :— 'Here is in this body hair and down, nails, teeth, skin, flesh, sinews, bones, marrow, kidney, heart, liver, membranes, spleen, lungs, stomach, bowels, intestines ; excrement, bile, phlegm, pus, blood, sweat, fat, tears, serum, saliva, mucus, synovic fluid, urine.'

Just as if there were a double-mouthed sample-bag[3], bhikkhus, full of various sorts of grain, such as rice, paddy, beans, vetches, sesamum or rice husked for boiling ; and a keen-eyed man were to reflect as he poured them out:— 'That's rice, that's paddy, those are beans,' and so forth. Even so, bhikkhus, does a brother reflect upon the body, from the soles of the feet

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1. B[m] *omits from here as before, and adds* Paṭikula-manasikāra-pabbaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ.
2. K *adds* Paṭikūla-manasikāra-pabbaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ ; Col Paṭikkula-manasikāra-kaṇḍaṃ.
3. Mutoli. Buddhaghosa has no explanation. But Daramitipola says mallak pasumbiyak, that is, a small bag, such as is used by grain merchants for keeping samples in. The particular kind meant is kept tied up with string at both ends, and either end can be opened. The word only occurs in this connexion (here, and at M. I, 57 ; III, 90). The spelling of the word is uncertain.

below upward to the crown of the head, as something enclosed in skin and full of divers impurities.

So does he, as to the body, continue to consider the body, either internally or externally, or both internally and externally. He keeps on considering how the body is something that comes to be, or again he keeps on considering how the body is something that passes away; or again he keeps on considering the coming to be with the passing away; or again, conscious that 'There is the body,' mindfulness hereof becomes thereby established, far enough for the purposes of knowledge and of self-collectedness. And he abides independent, grasping after nothing in the world whatever. Thus bhikkhus, does a brother continue to regard the body.

6. Puna ca paraṃ bhikkhave bhikkhu imam eva kāyaṃ yathā-ṭhitaṃ yathā-paṇihitaṃ dhātuso[1] paccavekkhati : 'Atthi imasmiṃ kāye paṭhavī-dhātu āpo-dhātu tejo-dhātu vāyo-dhātûti.'

Seyyathāpi bhikkhave dakkho go-ghātako vā goghātak-antevāsī vā gāviṃ vadhitvā cātummahāpathe bilaso[2] paṭi-vibhajitvā[3] nisinno assa, evam eva kho bhikkhave bhikkhu imam eva kāyaṃ yathā-ṭhitam yathā-paṇihitaṃ dhātuso paccavekkhati: 'Atthi imasmiṃ kāye paṭhavī-dhātu āpodhātu tejo-dhātu vāyo-dhātûti.'

Iti ajjhattaṃ vā[4] kāye kāyânupassī viharati,[5] bahiddhā vā kāye kāyânupassī viharati, ajjhatta-bahiddhā vā kāye kāyânupassī viharati. Samudaya-dhammânupassī vā kāyasmiṃ viharati, vaya-dhammânupassī vā kāyasmiṃ viharati, samudaya-vaya-dhammânupassī vā kāyasmiṃ viharati. 'Atthi kāyo ti' vā pan' assa sati paccuṭṭhitā hoti yāvad eva ñāṇa-mattāya patissati-mattāya. Anissito ca viharati

1. *So* SS.
2. K vil°.
3. S^ct paṭibhajitvā; B^m vibhajjitvā (*sic*).
4. K *here inserts* pe, *down to* viharati, *and then adds* Dhātu, &c. *as in* B^m.
5. B^m *closes the section here,* Dhātu-manasikāra-pabbaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ.

na ca kiñci loke upādiyati. Evam pi phikkhave bhikkhu kāye kāyânupassī viharati.[1]

6. And moreover, bhikkhus, a brother reflects upon this very body, however it be placed or disposed, with respect to its fundamentals :— 'There are in this body the four primary elements of earth, water, heat, and air.' Just as a cattle-butcher, or his apprentice, when he has slain an ox, displays the carcase piecemeal at the crossways as he sits, even so, bhikkhus, does a brother reflect upon this very body . . . with respect to its fundamental constituents . . .

So does he, as to the body, continue to consider the body, either internally or externally, or both internally and externally. He keeps on considering how the body is something that comes to be, or again he keeps on considering how the body is something that passes away ; or again he keeps on considering the coming to be with the passing away ; or again, conscious that 'There is the body,' mindfulness hereof becomes thereby established, far enough for the purposes of knowledge and of self-collectedness. And he abides independent, grasping after nothing in the world whatever. Thus bhikkhus, does a brother continue to regard the body.

7. Puna ca paraṃ bhikkhave bhikkhu seyyathā pi passeyya sarīraṃ sīvathikāya chaḍḍitaṃ ekâbamataṃ vā dvthamataṃ vā tihamataṃ vā uddhumātakaṃ vinilakaṃ vipubbaka-jātaṃ, so imam eva kāyaṃ upasaṃharati: 'Ayam pi kho kāyo evaṃ-dhammo evaṃ-bhāvī etaṃ[2] **anatīto ti.**

Iti ajjhattaṃ vā[3] **kāye kāyânupassī viharati, bahiddhā vā kāye kāyânupassī viharati, ajjhatta-bahiddhā vā kāye kāyânupassī viharati. Samudaya-dhammânupassī vā kāyasmiṃ viharati, vaya-dhammânupassī vā kāyasmiṃ viharati, samudaya-vaya-dhammânupassī vā kāyasmiṃ viharati. 'Atthi kāyo ti' vā pan' assa sati paccupaṭṭhitā hoti yāvad eva ñāṇa-mattāya patissati-mattāya. Anissito ca viharati**

1. Cho Dhātu-manasikāra-kaṇḍaṃ.
2. S[d] (*here only*) ; B[m] M. iii. 91 evam; S[c] evam *corrected to* etam.
3. B[m] K *omit the rest, but adds no title to the section.*

na ca kiñci loke upādiyati. Evam pi bhikkhave bhikkhu kāye kāyânupassī viharati.[1]

7. And moreover, bhikkhus, a brother, just as if he had seen a body abandoned in the charnel-field, dead for one, two, or three days, swollen, turning black and blue, and decomposed, applies that perception to this very body (of his own), reflecting : 'This body, too, is even so constituted, is of even such a nature, has not got beyond that (fate).'

So does he, as to the body, continue to consider the body, either internally or externally, or both internally and externally. He keeps on considering how the body is something that comes to be, or again he keeps on considering how the body is something that passes away ; or again he keeps on considering the coming to be with the passing away ; or again, conscious that 'There is the body,' mindfulness hereof becomes thereby established, far enough for the purposes of knowledge and of self-collectedness. And he abides independent, grasping after nothing in the world whatever. Thus bhikkhus, does a brother continue to regard the body.

8. Puna ca paraṃ bhikkhave bhikkhu seyyathā pi passeyya sarīraṃ sīvathikāya chaḍḍitam kākehi vā khajjamānaṃ kulalehi vā khajjamānaṃ gijjhehi vā khajja-mānaṃ supāṇehi[2] **vā khajjamānaṃ sigālehi vā khajja mānaṃ vividhehi**[3] **vā pāṇaka-jātehi khajjamānaṃ, so imam eva kāyaṃ kāyaṃ upasaṃharati: 'Ayam pi kho kāyo evaṃ-dhammo evaṃ-bhāvī etaṃ anatīto ti.'**

Iti ajjhattaṃ vā[4] **kāye kāyânupassī viharati, bahiddhā vā kāye kāyânupassī viharati, ajjhatta-bahiddhā vā kāye kāyânupassī viharati Samudaya-dhammânupassī vā kāyasmiṃ viharati, vaya-dhammânupassī vā kāyasmiṃ**

1. Col *adds* Paṭhamaṃ sīvathikaṃ.
2. SS Col supānehi ; S^{y} *at* M. iii. 91 supāṇehi; B^{m} kaṅkhehi; K M. iii. 91 suvānehi.
3. B^{m} *adds* Sunakhehi vā khajjamānaṃ, byagghehi vā khajjamānaṃ, dipīhi (*sic*) vā khajjamānaṃ. *Comp.* Yog. Man. 55.
4. B^{m} *omits to close of section.*

viharati, samudaya-vaya-dhammânupassī vā kāyasmiṃ viharati. 'Atthi kāyo ti' vā pan' assa sat ipaccupaṭṭhitā hoti yāvad eva ñāṇa-mattāya patissati-mattāya. Anissito ca viharati, na ca kiñci loke upādiyati. Evaṃ pi bhik-khave bhikkhu kāye kāyânupassī viharati.

8. And moreover, bhikkhus, a brother, just as if he had seen a body abandoned in the charnel-field pecked by crows, ravens, or vultures, gnawn by dogs or jackals or by various small creatures, applies that perception to this very body (of his own), reflecting: 'This body, too, is even so constituted, is of such a nature, has not got beyond that (fate).'

So does he, as to the body, continue to consider the body, either internally or externally, or both internally and externally. He keeps on considering how the body is something that comes to be, or again he keeps on considering how the body is something that passes away; or again he keeps on considering the coming to be with the passing away ; or again, conscious that 'There is the body,' mindfulness hereof becomes thereby established, far enough for the purposes of knowledge and of self-collectedness. And he abides independent, grasping after nothing in the world whatever. Thus, bhikkhus, does a brother continue to regard the body.

9. Puna ca paraṃ bhikkhave bhikkhu seyyathā pi passeyya sarīraṃ sīvathikāya chaḍḍitaṃ aṭṭhi-saṃkhali-kaṃ[1] sa-maṃsa-lohitaṃ nahāru[2]-sambandhaṃ,[3] . . . pe . . . aṭṭhi-saṃkhalikaṃ nimaṃsaṃ nimmaṃsaṃ lohitamakkhiaṃ[4] nahāru-sambandhaṃ,[5] . . . pe . . . aṭṭhi-saṃkhalikaṃ[6] apagata-

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1. S[c] Col K aṭṭhi-; *so* SS *below* ; S[cd] (*here only*) M[t], M. iii. 91, B[m] aṭhika.
2. B[m] nhāru, *and below*.
3. Col *completes* "so imam," &c., *and then has a fresh beginning and close for each succeeding clause.* B[m] *inserts* pa; K pe.
4. *All* MSS. *and edition* nimmaṃsa-; Col lohitamak-khittam. *Comp.* M.i. 364.
5. B[m] *inserts* pa ; K pe.
6. B[m] M[t] aṭṭhika-.

maṃsa-lohitaṃ nahāru-sambandhaṃ[1] . . . pe . . . aṭṭikāni apagata-sambandhāni[2] disā-vidisāsu[3] vikkhittāni aññcna hatthaṭṭhikaṃ aññena pādaṭṭhikaṃ[4] aññena jaṅ-ghaṭṭhikaṃ aññena ūraṭṭhikaṃ[5] aññena kaṭaṭṭhikaṃ[6] aññena piṭṭhi-kaṇṭakaṃ[7] aññena sīsa-kaṭāhaṃ, so imam eva kāyaṃ upasaṃharati : 'Ayam pi kho kāyo evaṃ-dhammo evaṃ-bhāvī etaṃ[8] anatīto ti.'

Iti ajjhattaṃ vā[9] kāye kāyânupassī viharati, bahiddhā vā kāye kāyânupassī viharati, ajjhatta-bahiddhā vā kāye kāyânupassī viharati. Samudaya-dhammânupassī vā kāyas-miṃ viharati, vaya-dhammânupassī vā kāyasmiṃ viharati, samudya - yaya - dhammânupassī kāyasmiṃ viharati. 'Atthi kāyo' ti' vā pan'assa sati paccupaṭṭhitā hoti yāvad eva ñāṇa-mattāya patissati-mattāyo. Anissito ca viharati na ca kiñci loke upādiyati. Evam pi bhikkhave bhikkhu kāye kāyânupassī viharati.

9. And moreover, bhikkhus, a brother, just as if he had seen a body abandoned in the charnel-field [reduced to] a chain of bones hanging together by tendons, with flesh and blood yet

1. B^m *inserts* pa ; K pe.
2. S^t sambandhanāni; K apagatanahārusambandhāni. K (Sī) apagatasambandhāni, imasmin ca pabbe hatthaṭṭhi-kaṃ pādaṭṭhikaṃ jaṅghaṭṭhikaṃ uraṭṭhikaṃ kaṭhaṭṭhi-kaṃ piṭṭhikaṇṭakanti evaṃ pāṭhakkamo dissati.
3. *So* S^dt Col M. iii 92; S^c vidisā *corrected to* vidisāsu; K M^t vidisā.
4. B^m *inserts* aññena goppakaṭṭhikaṃ [? *intendd for* gopphak°].
5. *So* SS M^t Col; B^m K ūruṭṭhikaṃ.
6. M. iii. 92 *and* B^m kaṭiṭṭhikam; B^m *adds* aññena phāsukaṭṭhikaṃ; K kaṭhaṭṭhikaṃ.
7. *So* S^t Col M^t S^cd kaṇṭhakam; B^m piṭṭhiṭṭhikaṃ, *and adds* aññena khandhaṭṭhikaṃ aññena gīvaṭṭhikaṃ aññena hanukaṭṭhikaṃ aññena dantaṭṭhikaṃ; K piṭṭhaṭṭikaṃ, *and adds* aññena kaṇṭakaṭṭhikaṃ aññena phāsukaṭṭhikaṃ aññena uraṭṭhikaṃ aññena aṃsaṭṭhikaṃ aññena bāhuṭṭhikaṃ aññena gīvaṭṭhikaṃ aññena hanukaṭṭhikaṃ aññena dantaṭṭhikaṃ.
8. S^dt Col etaṃ, *so* Tr ; S^c evaṃ *corrected to* etaṃ; B^m evaṃ.
9. B^m *omits the rest.*

about it, or stripped of flesh but yet spotted with blood ; or cleaned of both flesh and blood ; or reduced to bare bones, loosed from tendons, scattered here and there, so that the bones of a hand lie in one direction, in another the bones of a foot, in another those of a leg, in another a thigh bone, in another the pelvis, in another the spinal vertebrae, in another the skull, applies that perception to this very body (of his own) reflecting: 'This body, too, is even so constituted, is of such a nature, has not got beyond that (fate).'

So does he, as to the body, continue to consider the body, either internally or externally, or both internally and externally. He keeps on considering how the body is something that comes to be, or again he keeps on considering how the body is something that passes away; or again he keeps on considering the coming to be with the passing away ; or again, conscious that 'There is the body,' mindfulness hereof becomes thereby established, far enough for the purposes of knowledge and of self-collectedness. And he abides independent, grasping after nothing in the world whatever. Thus, bhikkhus, does a brother continue to regard the body.

10. Puna ca paraṃ bhikkhave bhikkhu seyyathā pi passeyya sarīraṃ sīvathikāya-chaḍḍitaṃ aṭṭhikāni setāni saṇkha-vaṇṇûpanibhāni,[1] . . . pe . . . aṭṭhikāni puñja kitāni[2] terovassikāni,[3] . . . pe . . . aṭṭhikāni pūtīni[4] cuṇṇaka-jātāni, so imam eva kāyaṃ upasaṃharati: 'Ayam pi kho kāyo evaṃ-dhammo evaṃ-bhāvī etaṃ anatīto ti.'

Iti ajjhattaṃ vā kāye kāyânupassī viharati, bahiddhā vā kāye kāyânupassī viharati, ajjhatta-bahiddhā vā kāye

1. Col vaṇṇûpaṇibhāni so imam, etc. ; B^m vaṇṇapaṭi-bhāgāni . . . pa . . . ; K saṅkhavaṇṇasannikāni . . . pe . . . ; K (Sī)- vaṇṇûpanibhani; K (Cy) = B^m.
2. *So* Col M^t B^m K; S^cdt -katāni; M. iii. 92 -puñjaka-jātāni.
3. *So* M^t B^m K S^d, M. iii. 92, S. iv. 185; S^ct Col S. iv. 161 therovassikāni.
4. S^dt pūtikāni.

kāyânupassī viharati. Samudaya-dhammânupassī vā kāyasmiṃ viharati, vaya-dhammânupassī vā kāyasmiṃ viharati, samudaya-yaya-dhammânupassī vā kāyasmiṃ viharati. 'Atthi kāyo ti vā pan'assa sati paccupaṭṭhitā hoti yāvad eva ñāṇa-mattāya patissati-mattāya. Anissito ca viharati na ca kiñci loke upādayati. Evaṃ kho bhikkhave kāye kāyânupassī viharati.[1]

10. And moreover, bhikkhus, a brother, just as if he had seen a body abandoned in the charnel-field, [reduced to] white bones the colour of a sea-shell . . . or to a mere heap of bones a year old . . . or to rotten powder, this perception does he apply to this very body (of his own) reflecting :— 'This body too is even so constituted, is of such a nature, has not got beyond that (fate).'

So does he, as to the body, continue to consider the body, either internally or externally, or both internally and externally. He keeps on considering how the body is something that comes to be, or again he keeps on considering how the body is something that passes away; or again he keeps on considering the coming to be with the passing away ; or again, conscious that 'There is the body,' and mindfulness hereof becomes thereby established, far enough for the purposes of knowledge and of self-collectedness. And he abides independent, grasping after nothing in the world whatever. Thus, bhikkhus, does a brother, as to the body, continue to consider the body.

11. Kathañ ca[2] bhikkhave bhikkhu vedanāsu vedanânupassī viharati ?

Inda bhikkhave bhikkhu sukhaṃ[3] vedanaṃ vediyamāno[4] 'Sukhaṃ vedanaṃ vediyāmîti' pajānāti, dukkhaṃ[5]

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1. B[m] *adds* Nava-sivathika-pabbaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ. Cuddasa kāyânupassanā niṭṭhitā. K *adds* Navasīvathikāpabbaṃ niṭṭitaṃ Kāyânupassanā niṭṭhitā. Col. Navamaṃ sīvathikaṃ. Kāyānupassanā-satipaṭṭhānāṃ.
2. B[m] *adds* pana.
3. B[m] K *add* vā.
4. B[m] K vedayamāno, *and so onwards.*
5. B[m] K *add* vā

vedanaṃ vediyamāno 'Dukkhaṃ vedanaṃ vediyāmîti' pajānāti. Adukkhamasukhaṃ[1] vedanaṃ vediyamāno 'Adukkhamasukhaṃ vedanaṃ vediyāmîti' pajānāti. Sâmisaṃ vā sukhaṃ vedanaṃ vediyamāno 'Sâmisaṃ sukhaṃ vedanaṃ vediyāmîti' pajānāti. Nirāmisaṃ vā sukhaṃ vedanaṃ vediyamāno 'Nirāmisaṃ sukhaṃ vedanaṃ vediyāmîti' pajānāti. Sâmisaṃ vā dukkhaṃ vedanaṃ vediyamāno 'Sâmisaṃ dukkhaṃ vedanaṃ vediyāmîti' pajānāti. Nirāmisaṃ vā dukkhaṃ vedanaṃ vediyamāno 'Nirāmisaṃ dukkhaṃ vedanaṃ vediyāmîti' pajānāti. Sâmisaṃ vā adukkhamasukhaṃ vedanaṃ vediyamāno 'Sâmisaṃ adukkhamasukhaṃ vedanaṃ vediyamîti' pajānāti. Nirāmisaṃ vā adukkham aśukhaṃ vedanaṃ vediyamāno 'Nirāmisaṃ adukkhamasukhaṃ vedanaṃ vediyāmîti' pajānāti.

Iti ajjhattaṃ vā vedanāsu vedanânupassī viharati, bahiddhā vā vedanāsu vedanânupassī viharati, ajjhatta-bahiddhā vā vedanāsu vedanânupassī, viharati. Samudya-dhammânupassī vā vedanāsu viharati, vaya-dhammânupassī vā vedanāsu viharati, samudaya-vaya-dhammânupassī vā vedanāsu viharati. 'Atthi vedanā ti' vā pan' assa sati paccupaṭṭhitā hoti yāvad eva ñaṇa mattāya patissati-mattāya. Anissito va viharati na ca kiñci loke upādiyati. Evaṃ[2] kho bhikkhave bhikkhu vedanāsu vedanânupassī viharati.[3]

11. And how, bhikkhus, does a brother, as to the feelings, continue to consider the feelings ?

Herein, O bhikkhus, is a brother when affected by a feeling of pleasure, aware of it, reflecting : 'I feel a pleasurable feeling.' So, too, is he aware when affected by a painful feeling, or by a neutral feeling, or by a pleasant or painful or neutral feeling concerning material things, or by a pleasant or painful or neutral feeling concerning spiritual things.

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1. Bᵐ K *add* vā.
2. Bᵐ *adds* pi.
3. Bᵐ K *add* Vedanānupassanā niṭṭhitā. Col. *adds* Vedanāṇupassanā-satipaṭṭhānam.

So does he, as to the feelings, continue to consider feeling, both internally and externally, or internally and externally together. He keeps on considering how the feelings are something that comes to be, or again he keeps on considering how the feelings are something that passes away, or he keeps on considering their coming to be with their passing away. Or again, with the consciousness : 'There is feeling,' mindfulness thereof becomes thereby established far enough for the purposes of knowledge and of self-collectedness. And he abides independent, grasping after nothing in the world whatever. Thus, bhikkhus, does a brother, with respect to the feelings, continue to consider feeling.

12. Kathañ ca[1] bhikkhave bhikkhu citte cittânupassī viharati ? Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu[2]

sarāgaṃ vā cittaṃ 'sarāgaṃ cittan ti' pajānāti,
vītarāgaṃ[3] vā cittaṃ 'vītarāgaṃ cittan ti' pajānāti,
sadosaṃ vā cittaṃ 'sadosaṃ cittan ti' pajānāti,
vītadosaṃ vā cittaṃ 'vītadosaṃ cittan ti' pajānāti,
samohaṃ vā cittaṃ 'samohaṃ cittan ti' pajānāti,
vītamohaṃ vā cittaṃ 'vītamohaṃ cittan ti' pajānāti,
saṃkhittaṃ vā cittaṃ 'saṃkhittaṃ cittan ti' pajānāti,
vikkhittaṃ vā cittaṃ 'vikkhittaṃ cittan ti' pajānāti,
mahaggataṃ vā cittaṃ 'mahaggataṃ cittan ti' pajānāti,
amahaggataṃ vā cittaṃ 'amahaggataṃ cittan ti' pajānāti,
sa-uttaraṃ vā cittaṃ 'sa-uttaraṃ cittan ti' pajānāti,
anuttaraṃ vā cittaṃ 'anuttaraṃ cittan ti' pajānāti,
samāhitaṃ vā cittaṃ 'samāhitaṃ cittan ti' pajānāti,
asamāhitaṃ vā cittaṃ 'asamāhitaṃ cittan ti' pajānāti,
vimuttaṃ vā cittaṃ 'vimuttaṃ cittan ti' pajānāti,
avimuttaṃ vā cittaṃ 'avimuttaṃ cittan ti' pajānāti,

Iti ajjhattaṃ vā citte cittânupassī viharati, bahiddhā vā citte cittânupassī viharati, ajjhatta-bahiddhā vā citte

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1. B^m *adds* pana.
2. *See* Vol. i. p. 80.
3. B^m vita^o.

cittânupassī viharati. Samudya-dhammânupassī vā cittasmiṃ viharati, vaya-dhammânupassī vā cittasmiṃ viharati, samudaya-vaya-dhammânupassī vā cittasmiṃ viharati. 'Atthi cittan ti' vā pan'assa sati paccupaṭṭhitā hoti yāvad eva ñāṇa-mattāya patissati-mattāya. Anissito ca viharati na ca kiñci loke upādiyati. Evaṃ[1] kho bhikkhave bhikkhu citte cittânupassī viharati.[2]

12. And how, bhikkhus, does a brother, as to thought, continue to consider thought[3] ?

Herein, O bhikkhus, a brother, if his thought be lustful, is aware that it is so, or if his thought be free from lust, is aware that it is so ; or if his thought be full of hate, or free from hate, or dull, or intelligent, or attentive, or distrait, or exalted, or not exalted, or mediocre, or ideal, or composed, or discomposed, or liberated, or bound, he is aware in each case that his thought is so, reflecting : 'My thought is lustful,' and so on.

So does he, as to thought, continue to consider thought, internally or externally, or internally and externally together. He keeps on considering how thought is something that comes to be, or again he keeps on considering how a thought is something that passes away, or again he ever considers its coming to be and passing away together. Or again, with the consciousness: 'There is a thought,' mindfulness thereof becomes thereby established, far enough for the purposes of knowledge and of self-possession. And he abides independent, grasping after nothing in the world whatever. Thus, bhikkhus, does a brother, with respect to thought, continue to consider thought.

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1. B[m] *adds* pi.
2. B[m] K *add* Cittânupassanā niṭṭhitā. Col *adds* Cittānupassanā satipaṭṭhānaṃ.
3. Citta. The reader is reminded that 'thought' is used here for citta in the widest sense possible to that term, such as is intended when, in the Christian tradition, it is made to complement the 'word and deed' of the Epistles. And as such it is 'thinking' rather than 'what is thought,' that should be understood.

13. Kathañ ca[1] bhikkhave bhikkhu dhammesu dhammânupassī viharati ?

Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu dhammesu dhammânupassī viharati pañcasu nīvaraṇesu.

Kathañ ca[2] bhikkhave bhikkhu dhammesu dhammânupassī vihaati pañcasu nīvaraṇesu ?

Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu santaṃ vā ajjhattaṃ kāmacchandaṃ 'Atthi me ajjhattaṃ kāmacchando ti' pajānāti, asantaṃ vā ajjhattaṃ kāmacchandaṃ 'N'atthi me ajjhattaṃ kāmacchando ti' pajānāti. Yathā ca anuppannassa kāmacchandassa uppādo hoti tañ ca pajānāti, yathā ca uppannassa kāmacchandassa pahānaṃ hoti tañ ca pajānāti, yathā ca pahīnassa kāmacchandassa āyatiṃ anuppādo hoti tañ ca pajānati.

Santaṃ vā ajjhattaṃ vyāpādaṃ[3] 'Atthi me ajjhattaṃ vyāpādo ti' pajānāti, asantaṃ vā ajjhattaṃ vyāpādaṃ 'N'atthi me ajjhattaṃ vyāpādo ti' pajānāti. Yathā ca anupannassa vyāpādassa uppādo hoti tañ ca pajānāti, yathā ca uppannassa vyāpādassa pahānaṃ hoti tañ ca pajānāti, yathā ca pahīnassa vyāpādassa āyatiṃ anuppādo hoti tañ ca pajānāti.

Santaṃ vā ajjhataṃ thīna-middhaṃ 'Atthi me ajjhattaṃ thīna-middhan ti' pajānāti, asantaṃ vā ajjhattaṃ thīna-middham 'N'atthi me ajjhattaṃ thīnamiddhan ti' pajānāti. Yathā ca anuppannassa thīnamiddhassa uppādo hoti tañ ca pajanāti, yathā ca uppannassa thīna-middhassa pahānaṃ hoti tañ ca pajānāti, yathā ca pahīnassa thīna-middhassa āyatiṃ anuppādo hoti tañ ca pajānāti.

Santaṃ vā ajjhattaṃ uddhacca-kukkuccaṃ 'Atthi me ajjhattaṃ uddhacca-kukkuccan ti' pajānāti, asantaṃ vā ajjhattaṃ uddhacca-kukkuccaṃ 'N'atthi me ajjhattaṃ uddhacca-kukkuccan ti' pajānāti. Yathā ca anuppannassa uddhacca-kukkuccassa uppādo hoti tañ ca pajānāti, yathā ca uppannassa uddhacca-kukkuccassa pahānaṃ hoti tañ ca

1. B^m *adds* pana.
2. B^m *adds* pana.
3. B^m K M^t byāpādaṃ.

pajānāti, yathā ca pahīnassa uddhacca-kukkuccassa āyatiṃ anuppādo hoti tañ ca pajānāti.

Santaṃ vā ajjhattaṃ vicikicchaṃ 'Atthi me ajjhattaṃ vicikicchā ti' pajānāti, asantaṃ vā ajjhattaṃ vicikicchaṃ 'N'atthi me ajjhattaṃ vicikicchā ti' pajānāti. Yathā ca anuppannāya vicikicchāya uppādo hoti tañ ca pajānāti, yatha ca uppannāya vicikicchāya pahānaṃ hoti tañ ca pajānāti, yathā ca pahīnāya vicikicchāya āyatiṃ anuppādo hoti tañ ca pajānāti.

Iti ajjhattaṃ vā dhammesu dhammânupassī viharati, bahiddhā vā dhammesu dhammânupassī viharati, ajjhatta-bahiddhā vā dhammesu dhammânupassī viharati. Samudaya-dhammânupassī vā dhammesu vihaati, vaya-dham-mânupassī vā dhammesu viharati, samudaya-vaya-dham-mânupassī vā dhammesu viharati. ' Atthi[1] dhammā ti' vā pan'assa sati paccupaṭṭhitā hoti yāvad eva ñāṇa-mattāya patissati-mattāya. Anissito ca viharati na ca kiñci loke upādiyati. Evaṃ[2] kho bhikkhave bhikkhu dhammesu dhammânupassī viharati pañcasu nīvaraṇesu.[3]

13. And how, bhikkhus, does a brother, as to ideas[4], continue to consider ideas ?

Herein, O bhikkhus, a brother, as to ideas, continues to consider ideas from the point of view of the Five Hindrances[5].

And how, bhikkhus, does a brother, as to ideas, continue to consider ideas relating to the Five Hindrances[5] ?

Herein, O bhikkhus, a brother, when within him is sensuous desire, is aware of it, reflecting: 'I have within me sensuous desire.' Or again, when within him is no sensuous desire, he is aware of this. And he knows of the uprising of such desire unfelt before, knows too of his putting aside that uprisen sensuous

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1. S[t] ati.
2. B[m] K *add* pi.
3. B[m] *adds* Nivaraṇa-pabbaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ. K *adds* Nīv°pabbaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ. Col *adds* Nīvaraṇa-niddesaṃ.
4. Dhammā. See Introduction.
5. Literally, 'in the Five Hindrances.'

desire, knows too of the non-arising in future of that banished sensuous desire.

[The paragraph is repeated of ill-will, sloth and torpor, flurry and worry, and doubt.]

So does he, as to ideas, continue to consider them, both internally or externally, or internally and externally together. He ever considers how an idea is a thing that comes to be, again he ever considers how an idea is a thing that passes away, or he ever considers their coming to be with their passing away ; or again, with the consciousness : 'There is such and such an idea,' mindfulness thereof is thereby established, far enough for purposes of knowledge and of self-possession. And he abides independent, grasping after nothing in the world whatever. Thus, bhikkhus, does a brother, with respect to dispositions, continue to consider dispositions in the case of the Five Hindrances.

14. Puna ca paraṃ bhikkhave bhikkhu dhammesu dhammânupassī viharati pañcas'[1] upādānakkhandhesu.

Kathañ ca bhikkhave bhikkhu dhammesu dhammânupassī viharati pañcas' upādānakkhandhesu ?

Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu 'Iti rūpaṃ, iti rūpassa samudayo, iti rūpassa atthagamo[2]—iti vedanā, iti vedanāya samudayo iti vedanāya atthagamo—iti saññā, iti saññāya samudayo, iti saññāya atthagamo—iti saṃkhārā, iti saṃkhārāṇaṃ samudayo, iti saṃkhārāṇaṃ atthagamo—iti viññāṇaṃ, iti viññāṇassa samudayo, iti viññāṇassa atthagamo ti,'[3] Iti ajjhattaṃ vā dhammesu dham-mânupassī viharati, bahiddhā vā dhammesu dhammânu-passī viharati, ajjhatta-bahiddhā vā dhammesu dham-mânupassī viharati. Samudaya-dhammânupassī vā dhammesu viharati, vaya-dhammânupassī vā dhammesu viharati, samudaya-vaya-dhammânupassī vā dhammesu viharati. 'Atthi dhammā ti' vā pan' assa sati paccupaṭṭhitā hoti yāvad eva ñāṇa-mattāya patissati-mattāya. Anissito ca viharati na ca kiñci loke upādiyati.

1. *So* SS M[t] Col *throughout* ; B[m] K pañcasu *throughout.*
2. B[m] K atthaṅgamo *throughout.*
3. S[ct] B[m] *omit* ti.

Evaṃ[1] kho bhikkhave bhikkhu dhammesu dhammânupassī viharati pañcas' upādānakkhandhesu.[2]

14. And moreover, bhikkhus, a brother, as to ideas, continues to consider these from the point of view of the Five Skandhas of Grasping. And how, bhikkhus, does he so consider them ?

Herein, O bhikkhus, a brother reflects : 'Such is material form, such is its genesis, such its passing away; such is feeling—perception—the menta! activities— such is cognition, its genesis, its passing away.

So does he, as to dispositions, continue to consider them,

. . . . . .

15. Puna ca paraṃ bhikkhave bhikkhu dhammesu dhammânupassī viharati hasu ajjhattika - bāhiresu āyatanesu.

Kathañ ca[3] bhikkhave bhikkhu dhamesu dhammânupassī viharati chasu ajjhattika-bāhiresu āyatanesu?

Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu cakkhuñ ca pajānāti, rūpe ca pajānāti, yañ ca ted ubhayaṃ paṭicca uppajjati saṃyoja-naṃ[4] tañ ca pajānāti, yathā ca anuppannassa saṃyo-janassa uppādo hoti tañ ca pajānāti, yathā a uppannassa saṃyojanassa pahānaṃ hoti tañ ca pajānāti, yathā ca pahīnassa saṃyojanassa āyatiṃ anuppādo hoti tañ ca pajā nāti . . . sotañ ca pajānāti, sadde ca pajānāti . . . pe[5] . . . ghānañ[6] ca pajānāti, gandhe ca pajānāti . . . pe . . . jivhañ ca pajānāti, rase ca pajānāti . . . pe . . . kāyañ ca pajānāti, phoṭṭhabbe ca pajānāti . . . pe . . . manañ ca pajānāti, dhamme ca pajānāti, yañ ca tad ubhayaṃ paticca uppajjati saṃyojanaṃ tañ ca pajānāti, yathā ca anuppannassa saṃyojanassa uppādo hoti tañ ca pajānāti, yathā ca uppannassa saṃyojanassa pahānaṃ hoti tañ ca pajānāti, yathā ca pahinassa saṃyojanassa āyatim anuppādo hoti tañ ca pajānātī.

1. S[dt] evam eva; S[c] *has the* eva *corrected to* pi.
2. B[m] K *add* khandha-pabbaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ. Col khandha-niddesaṃ.
3. B[rh] *adds* pana.
4. K saññoj°, *and onwards.*
5. S[cd] Col B[m] *repeat* yañ ca tad ubhayaṃ, etc.; *and so on in succession.* Pe *not in* SS.
6. Col ghāṇañ.

Iti ajjhattaṃ vā dhammesu dhammânupassī viharati, bahiddhā vā dhammesu dhammânupassī viharati, ajjhatta-bahiddhā vā dhammesu dhammânupassī viharati. Samu-daya-dhammânupassī vā dhammesu viharati, vaya-dhammânupassī vā dhammesu viharati, samudaya-vaya-dhammânupassī vā dhammesu viharati. 'Atthi dhammā ti' vā pan'assa sati paccuppaṭṭhitā hoti yāvad eva ñāṇa-mattāya patissati-mattāya. Anissito ca viharati na ca kiñci loke upādiyati. Evaṃ kho bhikkhave bhikkhu dhammesu dhammânupassī viharati ajjhattika-bāhiresu āyatanesu.[1]

15. And moreover, bhikkhus, a brother, as to ideas, continues to consider ideas from the point of view of the Six Internal and External Spheres of Sense. And how does he do this ?

Herein, O bhikkhus, a brother is aware of the organ of sight, is aware of the objects of sight, and any Fetter which arises on account of them both—of that, too, is he aware ; and how there comes an uprising of a Fetter not arisen before—of that, too, is he aware ; and how there comes a putting-aside of a Fetter that has arisen —of that, too, is he aware ; and how in the future there shall arise no Fetter that has been put aside—of that, too, is he aware.

And so, too, with respect to the organ of hearing and sounds, to the organ of smell and odours, to the organ of taste and tastes, to the organ of touch and tangibles, to the sensorium and images, he is aware of the sense and of the object, of any Fetter which arises on account of both, of how there comes an uprising of a Fetter not arisen before, of how there comes a putting-aside of a Fetter that has arisen, and of how in the future there shall arise no Fetter that has been put aside.

So does he, as to ideas, continue to consider ideas, from the point of view of the Six Internal and External Spheres of Sense.

16. Puna ca paraṃ bhikkhave bhikkhu dhammesu dhammânupassī viharati sattasu bojjhaṅgesu.

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1. B^{m} K *add* Āyatana pabbaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ. Col *adds* Āyatana niddesaṃ.

Kathañ ca[1] bhikkhave bikkhu dhammesu dhammânupassī viharati sattasu bojjhaṅgesu ?

Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu santaṃ vā ajjhattaṃ satisambojjhaṅgaṃ 'Atthi me ajjhattaṃ sati-sambojjhaṅgo ti' pajānāti. Asantaṃ vā ajjhattaṃ sati-sambojjhaṅgaṃ 'N'atthi me ajjhattaṃ sati-sambojjhaṅgo ti' pajānāti. Yathā ca anuppannassa sati-sambojjhaṅgassa uppādo hoti tañ ca pajānāti; yathā ca uppannassa sati-sambojjhaṅgassa bhāvanāya[2] pāripūri hoti tañ ca pajānāti.

. . . santaṃ vā ajjhattaṃ dhamma-vicaya-sambojjhaṅgaṃ . . . pe[3] . . .

. . . santaṃ vā ajjhattaṃ viriya-sambojjhaṅgaṃ . . . pe . . .

. . . santaṃ vā ajjhattaṃ pīti-sambojjhaṅgaṃ . . . pe . . .

. . . santaṃ vā ajjhattaṃ passaddhi-sambojjhaṅgaṃ . . . pe . . .

. . . santaṃ vā ajjhattaṃ samādhi-sambojjhaṅgaṃ . . . pe . . .

. . . sataṃ vā ajjhattaṃ upekhā[4] -sambojjhaṅgaṃ 'Atthi me ajjhattaṃ upekhā-sambojjhaṅgo ti' pajānāti. Asantaṃ vā ajjhattaṃ upekhā-sambojjhaṅgaṃ 'N'atthi me ajjhattaṃ upekhā-sambojjhaṅgo ti' pajānāti. Yathā ca anuppannassa upekhā-sambojjhaṅgassa uppādo hoti tañ ca pajānāti, yathā ca uppannassa upekhā-sambojjhaṅ-gassa bhāvanāya pāripūrī hoti tañ ca pajānāti.

Iti ajjhattaṃ vā dhammesu dhammânupassī viharati, bahiddhā vā dhammesu dhammânupassī viharati, ajjhatta-bahiddhāvā dhammesu dhammânupasī vihaati. Samudaya-dhammânupassī vā dhammesu viharati, vaya-dhammânupassī vā dhammesu viharati, samudaya-vaya-dhammânupassī vā dhammesu viharati, samudaya-vaya-dhammânupassī vā

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1. B[m] *adds* pana.
2. K M[t] bhāvanāpāripūri, *and below.*
3. B[m] Col *repeat the whole clause.*
4. B[m] K upekkhā.

dhammesu viharati. 'Atthi dhammā ti' vā pan'assa sati paccuppaṭṭhitā hoti yāvad eva ñāṇa-mattāya patissati-mattāya. Anissito ca viharati na ca kiñci loke upādiyati. Evaṃ[1] kho bhikhave bhikkhu dhammesu dhammânupassī viharati sattasu sambojjhaṅgesu.[2]

16. And moreover, bhikkhus, a brother, as to ideas, continues to consider ideas, with respect to the Seven Factors of Enlightenment. And how does he do this ?

Herein, O bhikkhus, a brother, if there be present to him subjectively mindfulness as a factor of enlightenment, is aware that it is present. Or if it be absent, he is subjectively aware of its absence. And how there comes an uprising of such mindfulness not hitherto uprisen—of that, too, is he aware ; and how there comes a full development of such mindfulness when it has arisen—of that too is he aware. And so too with respect to the other subjective factors of enlightenment:—search the truth, energy, joy, serenity, rapture, equanimity—he is aware if they are subjectively present, or absent, and he is aware of how there comes an uprising of any factor not hitherto uprisen, and of how there comes a full development of such factors when it has arisen.

So does he, as to ideas, continue to consider ideas from the point of view of the Seven Factors of Enlightenment.

17. Puna ca paraṃ bhikkhave bhikkhu dhammesu dhammânupassī viharati catusu[3] ariya-saccesu.

Kathañ ca[4] bhikkhave bhikkhu dhammesu dhammânupassī viharati catusu[5] ariya-saccesu ?

Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu 'Idaṃ dukkhan ti' yathābhūtaṃ pajānāti, 'Ayaṃ dukkha-samudayo ti' yathābhūtaṃ pajānāti, 'Ayaṃ dukkha-nirodho ti' yathābhūtaṃ pajānāti,

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1. Bm K evampi.
2. Bm K add Bojjhaṅga-pabbaṃ niṭṭhitam. K *further adds* Paṭhama-bhāṇavāro. Col *adds* Bojjhaṅga-niddesaṃ. Paṭhamaka-bhānavāraṃ (*sic*).
3. Bm catūsu.
4. Bm *adds* pana.
5. Bm catūsu.

'Ayaṃ dukkha-nirodha-gāmini[1] paṭipadā ti' yathābhūtaṃ pajānāti.[2]

17. And moreover, bhikkhus, a brother, as to ideas, continues to consider ideas from the point of view of the Four Aryan Truths. And how does he do this ?

Herein, O bhikkhus, a brother at the thought : 'This is Ill!' is aware of it as it really is;—at the thought: 'This is the coming to be of Ill!' is aware of it as it really is ;—at the thought : 'This is the cessation of Ill!' is aware of it as it really is;—at the thought: ' This is the way leading to the cessation of Ill!' is aware of it as it really is.

18. [3] Katamañ ca bhikkhave dukkhaṃ ariya-saccaṃ ?

Jāti pi dukkhā, jarā pi dukkhā [vyādhi pi dukkhā],[4] maraṇam pi dukkhaṃ, soka-parideva-dukkha-domanass-upāyāsā pi dukkhā,[5] yam p' icchaṃ na labhati tam pi dukkhaṃ, saṃkhittena pañcupādānakkhandhā dukkhā.[6]

Katamā ca bhikkhave jāti ? Yā tesaṃ tesaṃ sattānaṃ tamhi tamhi satta-nikāye jāti sañjāti okkanti[7] abhinibbatti khandhānaṃ pātu-bhāvo āyatanānaṃ paṭilābho, ayaṃ vuccati bhikkhave jāti.

Katamā ca bhikkhave jara ? Yā tesaṃ sattā-nam tamhi tamhi satta-nikāye jarā jīranatā[8] khaṇḍiccaṃ pāliccaṃ valittacatā[9] ayuno saṃhami[10] indriyānaṃ paripāko, ayaṃ vuccati bhikkhav jarā.

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1. SS *often* gāmini; B[m] gāmiṇi.
2. B[m] *adds* Paṭhama-Bhānavāraṃ niṭṭhitaṃ.
3. *The following sections are not in the* Majjhima.
4. B[m] K *omit. It is also omitted in the questions below, and in* M. iii. 249. *Perhaps inserted here, by mistake, from the* Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta (S.v. 421).
5. B[m] *adds* apiyehi sampayogo dukkho, piyehi vippayogo dukkho (=S. v. 421). K *adds* appiyahi (*sic*) sampayogo pi dukkho, piyehi vippayogo pi dukkho.
6. D[d] B[m] pi dukkhā ; S[ct] Col K *omit* pi.
7. K *adds* nibbatti. *So* M. iii. 249.
8. B[m] jir°.
9. K valitacatā. K (*note*) valittacatātipi pāṭho.
10. S[d] saṃhānī. *Sc* M. iii. 249; S[ct] Col K -ni. *So* M. i. 49; S. ii. 2, 42; Dh. S. 644.

Katamañ ca bhikkhave maraṇaṃ ? Yam[1] tesaṃ tesaṃ sattānaṃ tamhā tamhā satta-nikāyā cuti cavanatā bhedo antaradhānaṃ maccu maraṇaṃ kāla-kiriyā khandhānaṃ bhedo kaḷebarassa[2] nikkhepo,[3] idaṃ vuccati bhikkhave maraṇaṃ.

Katamo ca bhikkhave soko ? Yo kho bhikkhave aññatarañnatarena vyasanena[4] samannāgatassa aññatar-aññatarena dukkha-dhammena phuṭṭhassa soko socanā socitattaṃ anto-soko anto-parisoko, ayaṃ vuccati bhikkhave soko.

Katamo ca bhikkhae paridevo ? Yo kho bhikkhave aññatarañnatarena vyasanena samannāgatassa aññatar-aññatarena dukkha-dhammena phuṭṭhassa ādevo paridevo[5] ādevanā paridevanā[5] ādevitattaṃ paridevitattaṃ, ayaṃ vucati bhikkhave paridevo.

Matamañ ca bhikkhave dukkhaṃ ? Yaṃ kho bhikkhave kāyikaṃ dukkhaṃ kāyikaṃ asātaṃ kāya-sam-phassajaṃ dukkhaṃ asātaṃ vedayitaṃ, idaṃ vuccati bhikkhave dukkhaṃ.

Katamañ ca bhikkhave domanassaṃ ? Yaṃ kho bhikkhave cetasikaṃ dukkhaṃ cetasikaṃ asātaṃ mano-samphassajaṃ[6] dukkhaṃ vedayitaṃ, idaṃ vuccati bhikkhave domanassaṃ.

Katamo ca bhikkhave upāyāso ? Yo kho bhikkhave aññatarañnatarena vyasanena samannāgatassa aññatar-aññatarena dukkha-dhammena phuṭṭhassa āyāso upāyāso

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1. K yā.
2. S[cd] kalebarassa; B[m] kaḷevarassa. *See* M. i. 49, iii. 1, 249; A. ii. 48 = S. i. 62; Jāt. ii. 437
3. B[m] *adds* jīvitindriyass' upacchedo.
4. B[m] K M iii. 149 byas[o] *and below* S.

5-5. B[m] *omits, and so* S[ky] *at* M. iii. 250.

6. K (*note*) cetosamphassajanti vā pāṭho. M. (iii. 250) *omits these two words.*

āyāsitattaṃ upāyāsitattaṃ, ayaṃ vuccati bhikkhave upāyāso.[1]

Katamañ ca bhikkhae yam p'icchaṃ na labhati tam pi dukkhaṃ ? Jāti-dhammānaṃ bhikkhave sattanaṃ evaṃ icchā uppajjati : 'Aho vata mayaṃ na jāti [2]-dhammā assāma, na ca vata no jāti āgaccheyyâti.' Na kho pan' etaṃ icchāya pattabbaṃ. Idam pi yam p'icchaṃ na labhati tam pi dukkhaṃ. Jarā-dhammānaṃ bhikkhave sattānaṃ . . . pe[3] . . . vyādhai[4]-dhammānaṃ bhikkhave sattānaṃ . . . pe . . . maraṇa-dhammānaṃ bhikkhave sattānaṃ . . . pe . . . soka-parideva-dukkha-domanass-upāyāsa-dhammānaṃ[5] bhikkhave sattānaṃ evaṃ icchā uppajjati : 'Aho vata mayaṃ na soka-parideva-parideva-dukkha-domanassa-upāyāsa-dhammā[6] assāma, na ca vata no soka-parideva-dukkha-domanassa-upāyāsā āgaccheyyun ti.' Na kho

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1. B^m K *Add* katamo ca bhikkhave apiyehi[1] sampayogo dukkho ? Idha yassa te honti aniṭṭhā akantā amanāpā rūpā saddā gandhā rasā phoṭṭhabbā dhammā,[2] ye vā pan' assa te[3] honti anattha-kāmā ahita-kāmā aphāsuka-kāmā ayogakkhema-kāmā, yā tehi saddhiṃ saṅgati[4] samāgamo samodhānaṃ missī-bhāvo, ayaṃ vuccati bhikkhave apiyehi sampayogo dukkho. Katamo ca bhikkhave piyehi vippayogo dukkho ? Idha yassa te honti iṭṭhā kantā manāpā rūpā saddā gandhā rasā phoṭṭhabbā dhammā, [4]ye vā pan' assa te[4] honti attha-kāmā hita-kāmā phāsuka-kāmā yogakkhema-kāmā, mātā vā pitā vā bhātā vā bhaginī vā [5] kaniṭṭhā vā[5] mittā vā amaccā vā ñāti-sālohitā vā, [6]yā tehi saddhiṃ[6] asaṅgati asaṅgati asamāgamo asamodhānaṃ amissī-bhāvo, ayaṃ vuccati bhikkhave piyehi vippayogo dukkho.
2. S^cd jānāti.
3. *Not in SS or* K; Col B^m *repeat the whole; so below.*
4. B^m K M. iii. 250 byādhi.
5. Col *repeats the whole for each term,* sokadhammānaṃ, parideva-dhammānaṃ, etc.
6. K M. iii. 250 *read* -domanassupāyāsa-; B^m *and* Col *repeat separately.*

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1. K appiy°, *and below.* 2. K *omits.* 3. K *omits.*
4. K -kāmā tesaṃ saṅgati. 4-4. K *omits.* 5-5. K *omits.*
6-6. K *omits.*

pan' etaṃ icchāya pattabbaṃ. Idam pi yam p'icchaṃ na labhati tam pi dukkhaṃ.

Katame[1] ca bhikkhave saṃkhittena pañcupādānak-khandhā[2] dukkhā ? Seyyathîdaṃ rūpûpādānakkhandho[3] vedanûpādānakkhandho saññûpādānakkhandho saṃkhārû-pādānakkhandho viññāṇûpapādānakkhandho, ime vuccanti bhikkhave saṃkhittena pañcupādānakkhandhā[4] dukkhā Idaṃ vuccati bhikkhave dukkhaṃ ariya-saccaṃ.

18[5]. And what, bhikkhus, is the Aryan truth [regarding] Ill?

Birth is painful, old age is pninful[6], death is painful, grief, lamentation, suffering, misery and despair are painful, paiṇful is it not to get what is wished for, in a word, the Five Groups that arise from Grasping are connected with pain[7].

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1. SS katamo; B^m K Col M. iii. 250 katame.
2. B^m *adds* pi.
3. S^t pañcūp-; $S^{cd}B^m$ K rūpūp°.
4. B^m *adds* pi.
5. What follows (down to the line and space on p. 345) is not found in the Majjhima recension of the Satipatthāna (M. I, 55 ff.). Except for this the two recensions agree, and ours here is doubtless called the Mahā-satipatthāna, precisely because, to that extent, it is longer. That would show that when that title was first used the Majjhima recension was already known. It would not follow that the Dīgha is younger than the Majjhima; they may have been edited at the same time from older material.

   The Dīgha addition is interesting as containing a fragment of Old Commentary (as old as the texts) of which other fragments are found in the Nikāyas, and also in the Vinaya.

   The Vibhanea (99-106) quotes this Dīgha addition verbatim.
6. Many MSS. and the Colombo edition of 1876 add 'disease is painful.' But this is not mentioned in the word-for-word commentary that follows. It is probably transferred as a gloss from the Samyutta recension of the Four Truths (S. V, 421) which differs slightly from that of the repeaters of the Dīgha (the Dīgha-bhānakā).
7. Pañc' upādānakkhandhā. The Groups are the five groups of material and mental qualities that form, in combination brought about by grasping, an individual. One might, therefore, express this

And what, bhikkhus, is birth ? Birth is the production, the outcome[1], the rising up in a new form, the appearance of the Groups, the acquisition of sense-spheres, by this or that being in this or that class of beings. This is what is called birth.

And what, bhikkhus, is growing old[2] ? Growing old is the decay, the decrepitude, the breaking-up, the hoariness, the wrinkled state, the shrinkage of life's span, the collapse[3] of the sense-faculties of this or that being in this or that class of beings. This is what is called growing old.

And what, bhikkhus, is dying ?

Dying is the fall (out of any state), the dropping out of it, the dissolution, the disappearance, the death, the dying, the accomplishment of the life-term, the breaking up of the Groups, the laying down of the body of this or that being in this or that class of beings. This is called dying.

And what, bhikkhus, is grief?

Grieving is the state of woe, heart ache, and affliction. The inward grief, the hidden wretchedness, of one who is visited by some calamity or other, of one who is smitten by some kind of ill. [306] This is what is called grief.

And what, bhikkhus, is lamenting ?

Lamenting is the act and the state of mourning, lamentation, deploring, of one who is visited by some calamity or other, of one who is smitten by some kind of ill. This is what is called lamenting.

And what, bhikkhus, is suffering ?

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central thought of the first Aryan truth in modern Western language by saying that pain is involved in individuality—a most pregnant and far reaching suggestion. The rest of the Truth is merely a statement of facts universally admitted.

1. Sañjāti only found elsewhere as yet Dīgha I, 227, where it means the produce arising out of an estate and accruing to the landlord.
2. Cf. Dh. S. and Bud. Psy. on rupassa jarati (§ 644).
3. Paripāka, which in all other passages means maturity, must here mean over-ripeness, loss of power through having reached their full vigour and begun to give out.

Suffering is bodily ill, bodily pain, ill that is born of bodily contact, the being bodily affected by what is painful. This is what is called suffering.

And what, bhikkhus, is misery ?

Misery is mental ill, mental pain, ill that is born of mental contact, the being mentally affected by what is painful. This is what is called misery.

And what, bhikkhus, is despair?

Despair is the act and state of dejection, of despondency, of one who is visited by some calamity or other, of one who is smitten by some kind of ill. This is what is called despair.

And what, bhikkhus, is the ill of not getting what is wished for ?

In beings subject to birth the wish arises:— 'Ah! if only we were not subject to birth, if only we could avoid being-born!' But this is not to be got by wishing. This is the ill of not getting what is wished for. So too in the case of growing old, falling ill, dying, grieving, lamenting, suffering, being in misery and in despair, in being subject to these the wish arises :—'Ah ! if only we were not subject to this one or that one of those things ! If only we could avoid them !' But this cannot be had for the wishing. This again is the ill of not getting what is wished for.

And what, bhikkhus, is 'in a word the Five Groups that arise from Grasping' ? These are the Groups of material form, of feeling, of perception, of dispositions, and of cognition that arise from grasping. This is what is called 'in a word the Five Groups that arise from Grasping are associated with Ill.'

This, bhikkhus, is the Aryan Truth regarding Ill.

19. Katamañ ca bhikkhave dukkha-samudayaṃ[1] ariya-saccaṃ ?

Yāyaṃ taṇhā ponobhavikā[2] nandi-rāga-sahagatā tatra tatrâbhinandinī, seyyathîdaṃ kāma-taṇhā bhava-taṇhā vibhava-taṇhā.

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1. K -ayo, *both here and at* M. iii. 250.
2. B^{m} K; S. iv. 421; ponobbhavikā.

Sā kho pan' esā bhikkhave taṇhā kattha uppajjamāna uppajjati, kattha nivisamānā[1] nivisati[1] ? Yaṃ[2] loke piya-rūpaṃ sāta-rūpaṃ, etth' esā taṇhā uppajjamānā uppajjati, ettha nivisamānā nivisati.

Kiñci[3] loke piya-rūpaṃ sāta-rūpaṃ? Cakkhuṃ[4] loke piya-rūpaṃ sāta-rūpaṃ, etth' esā taṇhā uppajjamānā uppajjati, ettha nivisamānā nivisati. Sotaṃ loke . . . pe . . . Ghānaṃ[5] loke . . . pe . . . Jivhā loke . . . pe . . . Kāyo loke . . . Kāyo loke . . . pe . . . Mano loke piya-rūpaṃ sāta-rūpaṃ, etth' esā taṇhā uppajjamānā uppajjati, ettha nivisamānā nivisati.

Rūpā[6] loke . . . pe[7] . . . Saddā loke . . . pe . . . Gandhā loke . . . pe . . . Rasā loke . . . pe . . . Phoṭṭhabbā loke . . . pe . . . Dhammā loke piya-rūpaṃ sāta-rūpaṃ, etth' esā taṇhā uppajjati, ettha nivisamānā nivisati.

Cakkhu-niññāṇaṃ loke . . . pe . . . Sota-viññāṇaṃ loke . . . pe . . . Ghāna-viññāṇaṃ loke . . . pe . . . Jivhā-viññāṇaṃ loke . . . pe . . . Kāya-viññāṇaṃ loke . . . pe . . . Mano-viññāṇaṃ loke piya-rūpaṃ sāta-rūpaṃ, etth' esā tanhā uppajjamānā uppajjati, ettha nivisamānā nivisati.

Cakkhu-samphasso loke . . . pe . . . Sota-samphasso loke . . . pe . . . Ghāna-samphasso loke . . . pe . . . Jivhā-samphasso loke . . . pe . . . Kāya-samphasso loke . . . pe. . . Mano-samphasso loke piya-rūpaṃ sāta-rūpaṃ, etth' esā taṇhā uppajjamānā uppajjati, ettha nivisamānā nivisati.

Cakkhu-samphassajā vedanā loke . . . pe . . . Sota-samphassajā vedanā loke . . . pe . . . Ghāna-samphas-sajā vedanā loke . . . pe . . . Jivhā-samphassajā vedanā loke . . .

1. S^cd^ nivīs°, *and below.*
2. Col *omits; but reads* yaṃ *in* § 20.
3. K kiñca.
4. B^m^ cakkhu.
5. *So* S^cd^ B^m^ K; S^t^ (*here only*) Col *throughut* ghāṇaṃ.
6. SS Col rūpam.
7. Col *adds* piya-rūpaṃ . . . nivisati, *and so after each successive term, in this sentence and onwards.*

pe . . . Mano-samphassajā[1] vedanā loke piya-rūpaṃ sāta-rūpaṃ, etth' esā taṇhā uppajjamānā uppajjati, ettha nivisamānā nivisati.

Rūpa-saññā loke, . . . pe . . . Sadda-saññā loke . . . pe . . . Gandha-saññā loke, . . . pe . . . Rasa-saññā loke . . . pe . . . Phoṭṭhabba-saññā loke . . . pe . . . Dhamma-saññā loke piya-rūpaṃ sāta-rūpaṃ, etth' esā taṇhā uppajjamānā uppajjati, ettha nivisamānā nivisati.

Rūpa-sañcetanā loke . . . pe . . . Sadda-sañcetanā loke . . . pe . . . Gandha-sañcetanā loke . . . pe . . . Rasa-sañcetanā loke . . . pe . . . Phoṭṭhabba-sañcetanā loke . . . pe . . . Dhamma-sañcetanā loke piya-rūpaṃ sāta-rūpaṃ, etth' esā taṇhā uppajjamānā uppajjati, ettha nivisamānā nivisati.

Rūpa-taṇhā loke . . . pe . . . Sadda-taṇhā loke . . . pe . . . Gandha-taṇhā loke . . . pe . . . Rasa-taṇhā loke . . . pe . . . Phoṭṭhabba-taṇhā loke . . . pe . . . Dhamma-taṇhā loke piya-rūpaṃ sāta-rūpaṃ, etth' esā taṇhā uppajjamānā uppajjati, ettha nivisamāna nivisati.

Rūpa-vitakko loke . . . pe . . . Sadda-vitakko loke . . . pe . . . Gandha-vitakko loke . . . pe . . . Rasa-vitakko loke . . . pe . . . Phoṭṭhabba-vitakko loke . . . pe . . . Dhamma-vitakko loke piya-rūpaṃ sāta-rūpaṃ etth' esā taṇhā uppajjamānā uppajjati, ettha nivisamānā nivisati.

Rūpa-vicāro loke . . . pe . . . adda-vicāro loke . . . pe . . . Gandha-vicāro loke . . . pe . . . Rasa-vicāro loke . . . pe . . . Phoṭṭhabba-vicāro loke . . . pe . . . Dhamma-vicāro loke piya-rūpaṃ sāta-rupāṃ, etth' esā taṇhā uppajjamānā uppajjati, ettha nivisamānā nivisati. Idaṃ vuccati bhikkhave dukkha-samudayaṃ[2] ariyasaccaṃ.

19. And what, bhikkhus, is the Aryan Truth concerning the coming to be of Ill ?

Even this Craving, potent for rebirth, that is accompanied by lust and self-indulgence, seeking satisfaction now here now there, to wit, the craving for the life of sense, the craving for

1. S[c] viññāṇa.
2. K -ayo.

becoming (renewed life), and the craving for not becoming (for no rebirth)[1].

Now this Craving, bhikkhus, where does it take its rise, where does it have its dwelling? In those material things of this world which are dear to us, which are pleasant. There does Craving take its rise, there does it dwell.

What things in this world are dear, what things are pleasant? The sense of sight, the sense of hearing, the senses of smell, taste, touch and imagination—these are the things in this world that are dear, that are pleasant. There does Craving take its rise, there does it dwell.

Things seen, things .heard, things smelt, tasted, tangible, things in memory recalled—these are the things in this world that are dear, that are pleasant. There does Craving take its rise, there does it dwell.

The thoughts that arise through sight, the thoughts that arise through hearing, the thoughts that arise through smell, taste, touch and imagination—these are the things in this world that are dear, that are pleasant. There does Craving take its rise, there does it dwell.

The stimulus of visual sense, the stimulus of auditory sense, the stimulus of the senses of smell, taste, touch and imagination—these are the things in this world that are dear, that are pleasant. There does Craving take its rise, there does it dwell.

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1. Vibhava. This word usually means power, prosperity, success— the prefix vi being used as an intensive particle. In this particular connexion the traditional interpretation takes the prefix in a negative sense, and paraphrases the word by 'the absence of becoming (bhava).' This view is apparently supported by some Nikāya passages (S. Ill, 57; It. no. 49), and by the Dhamma Samganī 1314. But it may be derived from them; and it is odd that the word should have been found nowhere else in that sense. It is quite possible that the original sense was the usual one. At Dhp. 282 it seems to mean decline in wisdom.

Feeling that is born of the stimulus of the visual sense, feeling that is born of the stimulus of the auditory sense, feeling that is born of the stimulus of the senses of smell, taste, touch and feeling born of imagination—these are the things in this world that are dear, that are pleasant. There does Craving take its rise, there does it dwell.

The perceiving of things visible, the perceiving of things audible, the perceiving of things odorous, sapid, tangible, of things in memory recalled —these are the things in this world that are dear, that are pleasant. There does Craving take its rise, there does it dwell.

Intentions concerned with things visible, intentions concerned with things audible, intentions concerned with things odorous, sapid, that may be smelt, tasted, touched, tangible, with things in memory recalled—these are the things in this world that are dear, that are pleasant. There does Craving take its rise, there does it dwell.

Craving for things visible, craving for things audible, craving for things that may be smelt, tasted, touched, for things in memory recalled—these are the things in this world that are dear, that are pleasant. There does Craving take its rise, there does it dwell.

Pre-occupation about things seen, pre-occupation about things heard, pre-occupation about things smelt, tasted, tangible, about things in memory recalled— these are the things in this world that are dear, that are pleasant. There does Craving take its rise, there does it dwell.

Deliberating about things seen, deliberating about things heard, deliberating about things smelt, tasted, tangible, about things in memory recalled—these are the things in this world that are dear, that are pleasant. And there does Craving take its rise, there does it dwell.

This, bhikkhus, is what is called the Aryan Truth concerning the coming to be of Ill.

20. Katamañ ca bhikkhave[1] dukkha-nirodhaṃ[2] ariya-saccaṃ ?

Yo tassā yeva taṇhāya asesa-virāga-nirodho cāgo paṭinissaggo mutti anālayo.

Sā kho pan' esā bhikkhave taṇhā kattha pahīyamānā pahīyati, kattha nirujjhamānā nirujjhati ? Yaṃ[3] loke piya-rūpaṃ sāta-rūpaṃ, etth' esā taṇhā pahīyamānā pahīyati, ettha nirujjhamānā nirujjhati.

Kiñci[4] loke piya-rūpaṇi sāta-rūpaṃ[5] ? Cakkhuṃ[6] loke piya-rūpaṃ sāta-rūpaṃ, etth' taṇhā pahīyamānā pahīyati, ettha nirujjhamānā nirujjhati. Sotaṃ loke . . . pe . . . Ghānaṃ loke . . . pe . . . Jivhā loke . . . pe . . . Kāyo loke . . . pe . . . Mano loke piya-rūpaṃ sāta-rūpaṃ, etth' esā taṇhā pahīyamānā pahīyati, ettha nirujjhamānā nirujjhati.

Rūpā[7] loke . . . pe . . . Saddā loke . . . pe . . . Gandhā loke . . . pe . . . Rasā loke . . . pe . . . Phoṭṭhabbā loke . . . pe . . . Dhammā loke piya-rūpaṃ sāta-rūpaṃ, etth' esā taṇhā pahīyamānā pahīyati, ettha nirujjhamānā nirujjhati.

Cakkhu-viññāṇaṃ loke . . . pe . . . Sota-viññāṇaṃ loke . . . pe . . . Ghāna-viññānạaṃ loke . . . pe . . . Jivhā-viññāṇaṃ loke . . . pe . . . Kāya-viññāṇaṃ loke . . . pe . . . Mano-viññāṇaṃ loke piya-rūpaṃ sāta-rūpaṃ, etth' esā taṇhā pahīyamāmā pahīyati, ettha nirujjhamānā nirujjhati.

Cakkhu-samphasso loke . . . pe . . . [8] Mano-sam-phasso loke piya-rūpaṃ sāta-rūpaṃ, etth' esā taṇhā pahīyamānā pahīyati, ettha nirujjhamānā nirujjhati.

Cakkhu-samphassajā vedanā loke . . . pe . . . Mano-

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1. B[m] *adds* bhikkhu.
2. K nirodho. *See* S.v. 421.
3. *So* Col *here. See ante* § 19.
4. K kiñca.
5. Col *supplies in full;* etth' esā . . . nirujjhati.
6. B[m] cakkhu.
7. SS Col rūpaṃ.
8. *So* SS. Col *prints each clause in full, as before, and below also;* B[m] K *repeat the succession* sota-samphasso loke, *etc. and below.*

samphassajā vedanā loke piya-rūpaṃ sāta-rūpaṃ, etth' esā taṇhā pahīyamānā pahīyati, ettha nirujjhamānā nirujjhati.

Rūpa-saññā loke . . . pe[1] . . . Dhamma-saññā loke piya-rūpaṃ sāta-rūpaṃ, etth' esā taṇhā pahīyamānā pahīyati, ettha nirujjhamānā nirujjhati.

Rūpa-sañcetanā loke . . . pe . . . Dhamma-sañcetanā loke piya-rūpaṃ sāta-rūpaṃ, etth' esā taṇhā pahīyamānā pahīyati, ettha nirujjhamānā nirujjhati.

Rūpa-taṇhā loke . . . pe . . . Dhamma-taṇhā loke . . . piya-rūpaṃ sāta-rūpaṃ, etth' esā taṇhā pahīyamānā pahīyati, ettha nirujjhamānā nirujjhati.

Rūpa-vitakko loke . . . pe . . . Sadda-vitakko loke . . . pe . . . Gandha-vitakko loke . . . pe . . . Rasa-vitakko loke . . . pe . . . Phoṭṭhabba-vitakko loke . . . pe . . . Dhamma-vitakko loke piya-rūpaṃ sāta-rūpaṃ, etth' esā taṇhā pahīyamānā pahīyati, ettha nirujjhamānā nirujjhati.

Rūpa-vicāro loke . . . pe . . . Sadda-vicāro loke . . . pe . . . Gandha-vicāro loke . . . pe . . . Rasa-vicāro loke . . . pe . . . Phoṭṭhabba-vicāro loke . . . pe . . . Dhamma-vicāro loke piya-rūpaṃ sāta-rūpaṃ, etth' esā taṇhā pahīyamānā pahīyati, ettha nirujjhamānā nirujjhati. Idaṃ vuccati bhikkhave dukkha-nirodhaṃ[2] ariya-sacaṃ.

20. And what, bhikkhus, is the Aryan Truth concerning the cessation of Ill ?

The utter cessation of and disenchantment about that very Craving, giving it up, renouncing it, emancipation from it, detachment from it.

But now this Craving, bhikkhus, where, in being put away, is it put away ; where, in ceasing, does it cease ? In those material things of this world which are dear to us, which are pleasant—there may this Craving be put away, there does it cease.

What things in this world are dear, what things are pleasant ? The sense of sight, the sense of hearing, the senses of smell, taste, touch and imagination—these are the things in this

1. Bm sadda-saññā loke, *etc.*
2. K -dho.

world that are dear, that are pleasant. Here may this Craving be put away, here does it cease.

Things seen, things heard, things smelt, tasted, tangible, things in memory recalled—these are the things in this world that are dear, that are pleasant. Here may this Craving be put away, here does it cease.

The thoughts that arise through sight, the thoughts that arise through hearing, the thoughts that arise through smell, taste, touch and imagination—these are the things in this world that are dear, that are pleasant. Here may this Craving be put away, here does it cease.

The stimulus of visual sense, the stimulus of auditory sense, the stimulus of the senses of smell, taste, touch and imagination—these are the things in this world that are dear, that are pleasant, Here may this Craving be put away, here does it cease.

Feeling that is born of the stimulus of the visual sense, feeling that is born of the stimulus of the auditory sense, feeling that is born of the stimulus of the senses of smell, taste, touch and feeling born of imagination—these are the things in this world that are dear, that are pleasant. Here may this Craving be put away, here does it cease.

The perceiving of things visible, the perceiving of things audible, the perceiving of things odorous, sapid, tangible, of things in memory recalled—these are the things in this world that are dear, that are pleasant. Here may this Craving be put away, here does it cease.

Intentions concerned with things visible, intentions concerned with things audible, intentions concerned with things odorous, sapid, that may be smelt, tasted, touched, tangible, with things in memory recalled—these are the things in this world that are dear, that are pleasant. Here may this Craving be put away, here does it cease.

Craving for things visible, craving for things audible, craving for things that may be smelt, tasted, touched, for things in memory recalled—these are the things in this world that are

dear, that are pleasant. Here may this Craving be put away, here does it cease.

Pre-occupation about things seen, pre-occupation about things heard, pre-occupation about things smelt, tasted, tangible, about things in memory recalled— these are the things in this world that are dear, that are pleasant. Here may this Craving be put away, here does it cease.

Deliberating about things seen, deliberating about things heard, deliberating about things smelt, tasted, tangible, about things in memory recalled—these are the things in this world that are dear, that are pleasant. Here may Craving be put away, here does it cease.

This, bhikkhus, is what is called the Aryan Truth concerning the cessation of Ill.

21. Katamañ[1] ca bhikkhave dukkha-nirodha-gāminī paṭipadā ariya-saccaṃ ?

Ayam eva Ariyo Aṭṭhañgiko Maggo, seyyathîdaṃ sammā-diṭṭhi sammā-ājīvo sammā-vācā sammā-kammanto sammā-ājīvo sammā-vāyāmo sammā - sati sammā-samādhi.

[2] Katamā ca bhikkhave sammā-diṭṭhi ?

Yaṃ kho bhikkhave dukkhe ñāṇaṃ dukkha-samudaye ñāṇaṃ dukkha-nirodhe ñāṇaṃ dukkha-nirodha-gāminiyā[3] paṭipadāya ñāṇaṃ, ayaṃ vaccati bhilkkhave sammā-diṭṭhi. Katamo ca bhikkhave sammā-saṃkappo?

Nekkhamma-saṃkappo avayāpāda[4]-saṃkappo avihiṃsā-saṃkappo, ayaṃ vuccati bhikkhave sammā-saṃkappo.

Katamāca bhikkhave sammā-vācā ?

Musā-vadā veramaṇī, pisuṇāya vācāya[5] veramaṇī,

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1. S[c] -mo *corrected to* mā ; S[d] -mañ; S[t] -ma; Col B[m] K M. iii. 251 -mañ.
2. *See* M. iii. 251; S. v. 8.
3. *So* S[c] K Col M. *and* S.; S[d]-gaminī-; S[t] B[m] gamini-.
4. K M. abyāpāda.
5. K M. *and* S. pisunāya vācāya; Col pisunā-vācā ; S[c] pisunāya vācāya *corrected to* pisunnā vācā; S[dt] pisuṇāya vācāya; B[m] pisuṇā-vācā ;

pharusāya vācāya[1] veramaṇī, pisuṇī, amphappalāpā veramaṇī, ayaṃ vuccati bhikkhave sammā-vācā.

Katamo ca bhikkhave sammā-kammanto ?

Pāṇâtipātā veramaṇī, adinnâdānā veramaṇī, kāmesu micchâcārā veramaṇī, ayaṃ vuccati bhikkhave sammā-kammanto.

Katamo ca bhikkhave sammā-ānīvo ?

Idha bhikkhave ariya-sāvako micchā-ājīvaṃ pahāya sammā-ājīvena jīvikaṃ kappeti, ayaṃ vuccati bhikkhave sammā-ājīvo.

Katamo ca bhikkhave sammā-vāyāmo?

Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu anuppannānaṃ pāpakānaṃ akusalānaṃ dhammānaṃ anuppādāya chandaṃ janeti vāyamati, viriyaṃ ārabhati, cittaṃ pagganhāti padahati.[2] Uppannānaṃ pāpakānaṃ akusalānaṃ dhammānaṃ pahānāya chandaṃ janeti vāyamati, viriyaṃ ārabhati, cittaṃ pagganhāti padahati. Anuppannānaṃ kusalānaṃ dhammānaṃ uppādāya chandaṃ janeti vāyamati, viriyaṃ ārabhati, cittaṃ pagganhāti padahati, Uppannānaṃ kusalanaṃ dhammānaṃ ṭhitiyā asammosāya bhiyyo-bhāvāya[3] vepullāya bhāvanāya pāripūriyā chandaṃ janeti vāyamati, viriyaṃ ārabhati, cittaṃ pagganhāti padahati. Ayaṃ vuccati bhikkhave sammā-vāyāmo.

Katamā ca bhikkhave sammā-sati ?

Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu kāye kāyânupassī viharati ātāpī[4] sampajāno satimā vineyya loke abhijjhā-domanas-saṃ, vedanāsu . . . pe[5] . . . citte . . . pe . . . dhammosu dhammânupassī viharati ātāpī sampajāno satimā vineyya loke abhijjhā-domanassaṃ. Ayaṃ vuccati bhikkhave sammā-sati.

Sᵗ Bᵐ *have* ṇ. *See* D. i. 4, 63; M. i. 179; K.V. 619; K.V. 619, *and below pp.* 320, 323, 325.

1. *So* K M. *and* S.; SS Bᵐ Col pharusā-vācā.
2. Sᶜ *here* pajᵒ, *corrected to* pad,ᵒ *afterwards* padᵒ; Sᵈᵗ paj (*thrice*). *See* S. v. 8.
3. *So* Bᵐ K M. *and* S. Sᵗ Col bhīyyo-; Sᵗ bhiyo-.
4. SS -pi.
5. Bᵐ Col *in full.*

Katamo ca bhikkhave sammā-samādhi ?

Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu vivicc' eva kāmehi vivicca akusalehi dhammehi savitakkaṃ savicāraṃ vivekajaṃ pīti-sukhaṃ paṭhamajjhānaṃ[1] upasampajja viharati. Vitakka-viārānaṃ vūpasamā ajjhattaṃ sampasādanaṃ cetaso ekodi-dhāvaṃ avitakkaṃ avicāraṃ samādhijaṃ pīti-sukhaṃ dutiyajjhānaṃ[2] upasampajja viharati. Pītiyā ca virāgā[3] upekhako[4] viharati sato ca sampajāno, sukhañ ca kāyena patisaṃvedeti yan taṃ ariyā ācikkhanti: 'upekhako satimā sukha-vihārī ti' tatiya[5]-jjhānaṃ upasampajja viharati. Sukhassa ca pahānā[6] dukkhassa ca pahānā pubb' eva somanassa-domanassānaṃ attha-gamā[7] adukkhaṃ asukhaṃ upekhā-sati-pārisuddhiṃ catutthajjhānaṃ[8] upasampajja viharati. Ayuṃ vuccati bhikkhave sammā-samādhi.

Idaṃ vuccati bhikkhave dukkha-nirodha-gāminī-paṭipadā ariya-saccaṃ.[9]

Iti ajjhattaṃ vā dhammesu dhammânupassī viharati, bahiddhā va dhammesu dhammânupassī viharati, ajjhatta-bahiddhā va dhammesu dhammânupassī viharati. Samudaya - dhammânupassī vā dhammesu viharati, vaya-dhammânupassī vā dhammesu viharati, samudaya-vaya-dhammânupassī vā dhammesu viharati. "Atthi dhammā ti" vā pan' assa sati pacuppaṭṭhitā hoti yāvad eva ñāṇa-mattāya patissati-mattāya. Anissito ca viharati na ca kiñci loke upādiyati. Evaṃ kho bhikkhave bhikkhu dhammesu dhammânupassī viharati catusu[10] ariya-saccesu[11].

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1. B[m] K paṭhamaṃ jhānaṃ.
2. B[m] K dutiyaṃ jhānaṃ; K *adds* pa, *and continues* tatiyaṃ jhāṇaṃ.
3. SS *omit* ca ; B[m] ca *erased.*
4. B[m] K upekkhako ca.
5. B[m] -yaṃ.
6. S[cd] Cal pahāṇā (*twice*).
7. B[m] K atthaṅgamā.
8. B[m] K -aṃ jhānaṃ.
9. Col *adds* Magga-sacca-niddesaṃ.
10. B[m] K catūsu.
11. K *adds* Saccapabbaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ. Dhammānupassanā niṭṭhitā. Col *adds* Dhammānupassanā-satipaṭṭhānaṃ.

21. And what, bhikkhus, is the Aryan Truth concerning the Way that leads to the Cessation of Ill ?

This is that Aryan Eightfold Path, to wit, right view, right aspiration, right speech, right doing, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, right rapture.

And what, bhikkhus, is right view ?

Knowledge, bhikkhus, about Ill, knowledge about the coming to be of Ill, knowledge about the cessation of Ill, knowledge about the Way that leads to the cessation of Ill. This is what is called right view.

And what, bhikkhus, is right aspiration ?

The aspiration towards renunciation[1], the aspiration towards benevolence, the aspiration towards kindness. This is what is called right aspiration.

And what, bhikkhus, is right speech ?

Abstaining from lying, slander, abuse and idle talk. This is what is called right speech.

And what, bhikkhus, is right doing ?

Abstaining from taking life, from taking what is not given, from carnal indulgence. This is what is called right doing.

And what, bhikkhus, is right livelihood ?

Herein, O bhikkhus, the Aryan disciple having put away

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1. Nekkhamma. Burnouf ('Lotus,' 334) derives this word from nis + karma; Oldenberg ('Vinaya Texts,' I, 104) from nis + kāma, and Childers *(sub voce)* from nis + kramya. These three derivations would give the meaning respectively as having no Karma, being devoid of lust, and going forth from home. Daramitipola explains it here as meaning either the second or the third. No doubt Oldenberg is right as to the derivation. But Daramitipola is also right if we take his note as exegetical, not philological. The fact is that the derivation had been, from very early times, forgotten or confused; and the connotation of the word was renunciation generally, with special reference to these two kinds. It never had anything to do with Karma.

   The three aspirations of our paragraph here recur at Samyutta II, 153, and on p. 151 nekkhamma is replaced by kāma. See also It. no. 72, and M. I, 114.

wrong livelihood, supports himself by right livelihood.

And what, bhikkhus, is right effort ?

Herein, O bhikkhus, a brother makes effort in bringing forth will that evil and bad states that have not arisen within him may not arise, to that end he stirs up energy, he grips and forces his mind. That he may put away evil and bad states that have arisen within him he puts forth will, he makes effort, he stirs up energy, he grips and forces his mind. That good states which have not arisen may arise he puts forth will, he makes effort, he stirs up energy, he grips and forces his mind. That good states which have arisen may persist, may not grow blurred, may multiply, grow abundant, develop and come to perfection, he puts forth will, he makes effort, he stirs up energy, he grips and forces his mind. This is what is called right effort.

And what, bhikkhus, is right mindfulness ?

Herein, O bhikkhus, a brother, as to the body, continues so to look upon the body, that he remains ardent, self-possessed and mindful, having overcome both the hankering and the dejection common in the world. And in the same way as to feelings, thoughts and ideas, he so looks upon each, that he remains ardent, self-possessed and mindful, having overcome the hankering and the dejection that is common in the world. This is what is called right mindfulness.

And what, bhikkhus, is right rapture ?

Herein, O bhikkhus, a brother, aloof from sensuous appetites, aloof from evil ideas, enters into and abides in the First Jhāna, wherein there is cogitation and deliberation, which is born of solitude and is full of joy and ease. Suppressing cogitation and deliberation, he enters into and abides in the Second Jhāna, which is self-evoked, born of concentration, full of joy and ease, in that, set free from cogitation and deliberation, the mind grows calm and sure, dwelling on high. And further, disenchanted with joy, he abides calmly contemplative while, mindful and self-possessed, he feels in his body that ease whereof Aryans declare 'He that is calmly contemplative and aware, he dwelleth at ease.' So does he enter into and abide in the Third Jhāna. And further, by put-

ting aside ease and by putting aside mal-aise, by the passing away of the happiness and of the melancholy he used to feel, he enters into and abides in the Fourth Jhāna, rapture of utter purity of mindfulness and equanimity, wherein neither ease is felt nor any ill. This is what is called right rapture.

This, bhikkhus, is the Aryan Truth concerning the Way leading to the cessation of Ill.

So does he, with respect to ideas continue to consider ideas, both internally, or externally,' or internally and externally together. He ever considers how ideas are something that comes to be, again he ever considers how they are something that passes away, or again he ever considers their coming to be with their passing away ; or again with the consciousness 'There are ideas,' mindfulness thereof is thereby established, far enough for purposes of knowledge and of, self-possession. And he abides independent, grasping after nothing in the world whatever. Thus, bhikkhus, does a brother, with respect to ideas, continue to consider ideas with respect to the Four Aryan Truths.

22. [1]Yo hi koci bhikkhave ime cattāro satipaṭṭhāne evaṃ bhāveyya satta-vassāni, tassa dvinnaṃ phalānaṃ aññataraṃ phalaṃ pāṭikaṅkhaṃ, diṭṭhe va dhamme aññā sati vā upādisese anāgāmitā. Tiṭṭhantu bhikkhave satta-vassāni, yo hi koci bhikkhave ime cattāro satipaṭṭhāne evaṃ bhāveyya cha vassāni . . . pe[2] . . . pañca-vassāni . . . cattāri vassāni . . . tīṇi vassāni . . . dve vassāni . . . ekaṃ[3] vassaṃ,[4] tassa[5] dvinnaṃ phalānaṃ aññataraṃ phalaṃ pāṭikaṅkhaṃ, diṭṭhe va dhamme aññā sati vā upādisese anāgāmitā[6]. Tiṭṭhatu bhikkhave ekaṃ vassaṃ, yo hi koci bhikkhave ime cattāro satipaṭṭhāne evaṃ bhāveyya satta-māsāni, tassa dvinnaṃ phalānaṃ aññataraṃ phalaṃ pāṭikhaṅkhaṃ diṭṭhe

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1. § 22 = M. 1. 62.
2. Col *repeats the whole clause with each number.*
3. B[m] eka.
4. B[m] *omits down to* anāgāmitā.
5. K pa *down to* tiṭṭhatu.
6. M[t] *omits from* tassa dvihaṃ . . . anāgāmitā.

vadhamme aññā sati vā upādisese anāgāmitā. Tiṭṭhantu bhikkhave satta-māsāni, yo hi koci bhikkhu ime cattāro satipaṭṭhāne evaṃ bhāveyya cha-māsā ni . . . pe[1] . . . pañca-māsāni . . . cattāri māsāni . . . tīṇi māsāni . . . dve māsāni . . . ekaṃ māsaṃ . . . aḍḍha-māsaṃ.[2] tassa[3] dvinnaṃ phalānaṃ aññataraṃ phalaṃ pāṭikaṅkhaṃ, diṭṭhe va dhamme aññā sati vā upādisese anāgāmitā. Tiṭṭhatu bhikkhae aḍḍha-māso, yo hi koci bhikkhave ime cattāro satipaṭṭhāne evaṃ bhāveyya sattâhaṃ, tassa dvinnaṃ phalānaṃ aññataraṃ phalaṃ pāṭikaṅkhaṃ, diṭṭhe va dhamme aññā sati vā upādisese anāgāmitā[4]. 'Ekāyano ayaṃ bhikkhave maggo sattānaṃ visuddhiyā soka-pariddavānaṃ[5] samatikkamāya dukkha-domanassānaṃ atthagamāya ñāyassa adhigamāya[6] nibbānassa sacchi-kiriyāya yad idaṃ cattāro satipaṭṭhānā ti'[7] iti yan taṃ yuttaṃ,[8] idam etaṃ paṭicca vuttan ti.

Idam avoca Bhagavā. Attamanā te bhikkhū Bhagavato bhāsitaṃ abhinandun ti.

22. Bhikkhus! whoso shall thus practise these Four Applications of Mindfulness for seven years, in him one or two kinds of fruition may be looked for:— either in this present life The Knowledge[9], or, if there be yet residuum for rebirth, the state of him who returns no more. Or, not to speak of seven years, bhikkhus, whoso shall thus practise these Four for six years, for five only, for four only, for three only, for two only, for one year only, in him one or two kinds of fruition may be looked for :

1. Cal. *repeats the whole clause with each number.*
2. K pa, *down to* tiṭṭhatu.
3. B[m] *omits as before.*
4. B[m] *adds* ti.
5. B[m] K paridevānaṃ.
6. B[m] ñayassâdhig°.
7. Col *omits* ti.
8. *Avove* § 2.
9. Aññā; one of the many epithets of Arahantship.

either in this present life The Knowledge, or, if there be yet residuum for rebirth, the state of him who returns no more. Or not to speak of one year, bhikkhus, whoso shall thus practise these Four for six months, or for five months, for four only, or three, or two, or one month only, [sis] or half a month only, in him one or two kinds of fruition may be looked for : either in this present life The Knowledge, or, if there be yet residuum for rebirth, the state of him who returns no more. Or not to speak of half a month, bhikkhus, whoso shall thus practise these Four for seven days, in him one of two kinds of fruition may be looked for : either in this present life The Knowledge, or if there be yet residuum for rebirth, the state of him who returns no more. It was on account of this that that was said which was said (at the beginning) 'The one and only path, bhikkhus, leading to the purification of beings, to passing far beyond grief and lamentation, to the dying out of ill and misery, to the attainment of right method, to the realization of Nirvana, is that of the Four-fold Setting-up of Starting.

Thus spake the Exalted One. Pleased were the brethren, delighting in that which was spoken by the Exalted One.

Mahā-satipaṭṭhāna-Suttaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ.[1]

Here the end of the Mahāpaṭṭhāna Sutta.

1. K -suttaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ navamaṃ.

INTRODUCTION
TO THE
Pāyāsi Sutta

The Pāyāsi Sutta is twenty third Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya. Pāyāsi was a chieftain of setavya, a city of the kosalans. He entertained doubt as to the existence of another world, of beings reborn otherwise than from parents, and of results of good and bad deeds. Touching these questions, Pāyāsi had a long discussion with kumāra kassapa had recourse to similies and advanced childish arguments to establish his doubt depending on analogy, the most dangerous of all snares, put forward counter arguments to prove the futility of Pāyāsi's arguments and at length succeeded in dispelling his doubt altogether. Pāyāsi become kassapa's disciple. The second part of the dialogue which is a sequel to the first is similarly a dialogue between Pāyāsi and his disciple, Uttara, in which the latter succeeds in persuading the former to set up gift in faith. The dialogue closes with a reference to the heaven where the teacher and the Pupil were reborn after death. The third part which is a sequal to the second is also a dialogue between the venerable Gavampati and the god Pāyāsi's in the Serissaka Mansion. "The story of Pāyāsi's conversion and pious gifts with their heavenly reward, seems to have been invented in order just to allay the fear caused in theological circles by atheistical propaganda of the powerful chieftain and philosopher, Pāyāsi" (Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective, Appendix. P XVI). It is interesting to note that Pāyāsi who thought on the line of Ajita kesakambali stated his predecessor's thesis in clear and unequivocal terms. In the language of the sthānaṅga such a doc-

trine is aptly designated "na Santi poralokavāda." Mahāvīra and Buddha were right to suppose Ajita's doctrine of non-action because Ajita destroyed the ultimate ground of moral distinctions by denying the possibility of personal continuity and thus derived life of its zest. The Pāyāsi Sutta deals with moon god and Sun god, message from the dead, escape of the Soul, search for the soul, and right and wrong sacrifices.

This Sutta has a Jaina counterpart in the Rāya Paseni which is but a somewhat later and magnified legend of the chieftain Pāyāsi. Comparing the two versions of the legend it appears that kumāra kassapa of the Buddhist tradition was the same personality as kesī, the Jaina and that Paesi (Pradeshi), and not Pāyāsi, was the designation of the chieftain.

xxiii. Pāyāsi Sutta

Rebirth and Karma

1. Evam me sutaṃ ekaṃ samayaṃ[1] ayasmā Kumāra-kassapo Kosalesu cārikaṃ caramāno mahatā bhikkhu-saṃghena saddhiṃ panca-mattehi bhikkhu-satehi yena Setavyā[2] nāma Kosa-lānaṃ nagaraṃ tad avasari. Tatra sudaṃ āyasmā Kumāra-kassapo Setavyāyaṃ [3]viharati uttarena Setavyā[4] Siṃsapā-[5]vane. Tena kho pana samayena Pāyāsi rājañño Setavyaṃ ajjhāvasati sattussadaṃ satiṇakaṭṭhod-akaṃ sadhaññaṃ[6] rāja-bhoggaṃ raññā Pasenadi-Kosalena[7] dinnaṃ rāja-dāyaṃ brahma-deyyaṃ deyyaṃ.

1. Thus have I heard. The venerable Kumara Kassapa[8] was once walking on tour in Kosala together with a great company of bhikkhus, to the number of about five hundred, and

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1. According to Dhammapā la (V.V.A. 297) *this was just after the Buddha's death.*
2. S[t] -yaṃ ; B[m] K Setabyā, *and below.*
3. S[ct] -vyayaṃ.
4. S[c] -vya, *corrected to* -vyayaṃ ; S[d] -vyā ; S[t] - vyā, *corrected to* -vya, *and below* ; B[m] K -byaṃ.
5. B[m] Sisapā ; K sīs°. *See* A. i. 136 ; V. V. A. 279.
6. K *adds* vā.
7. B[m] K *here* Passenadinā, *but at* D. i. 87, Pasenadi- (*see below,* p. 342; *and compare* Divy. p. 620).
8. The touching story of his birth is told in the Introductory Story to the twelfth Jātaka, translated in Rhys Davids's 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' pp. 199 ff. He was declared by the Buddha to be the best of the preachers in the Order (A. I, 24). Kumāra was a nickname, 'The Boy' (because he was ordained so young), which distinguished

coming to the Kosalese city named Setavyā, he there abode. And there the venerable Kumāra Kassapa dwelt to the north of Setavyā, in the Simsapā-tree Grove. Now at that time the chieftain Pāyāsi was residing at Setavyā, a spot teeming with life, with much grass-land and wood-land, with water and corn, on a royal domain granted him by King Pasenadi of Kosala, as a royal gift, with power over it as if he were the king[1].

2. Tena kho pana samayena Pāyāsi-rājaññassa[2] evarūpaṃ[3] papakaṃ diṭṭhi-gataṃ uppannaṃ hoti : Iti pi n'atthi paraloko[4], n'atthi sattā opapā opapātikā, n'atthi sukaṭadukkaṭānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti. Assosuṃ kho Setavyakā brāhmaṇa-gahapatikā: 'Samaṇo khalu bho Kumāra-kassapo samaṇassa Goatmassa Sāvako Kosalesu cārikaṃ mahatābhikkhu-saṃghena saddhiṃ pañca-mattehi bhikkhu-satehi Setavyaṃ anuppatto Setavyāyaṃ[5] viharati uttarena Setavyā[6] Siṃsapā-vane. Taṃ kho pana bhavantaṃ[7] Kumāa-kassapaṃ evaṃ kalyāṇo kittisaddo abbhuggato : "Paṇdito vyatto[8] Medhāvībahussuto citta-kalyāṇa-paṭibhāno vuḍḍho[9] c'eva arahā ca. Sādhu kho pana tathārūpānaṃ arahataṃ dassaṇaṃ hotîti." ' Atha kho Setavyakā brahmaṇa-gaha-patikā Setavyāya[10] nikkhamitvā saṃghā[11] saṃghī gaṇī-

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him from the other Kassapas in the Order, and clung to him even in advanced years. It was the more appropriate, as kumāra means a boy of good family, a young gentleman, a master; and Kassapa, the son of a clansman, had been brought up at Pasenadi's court.

1. See Vol. I, p. 108, note 1.
2. K Pāyāsissa rājaññassa (*so* SS *in* § 3, *and* B^m *in* § 23).
3. S^c rūpakaṃ.
4. *So* SS. B^m K paro loko, *and below. See above* vol. i. pp. 27, 58 *and* M. i. 402, iii 71.
5. *So* S^t, S^c -vyayaṃ ; S^d -vyaṃ ; B^m K -byāyaṃ.
6. S^c -yaṃ ; S^d - yaṃ, *corrected to* -ya ; S^t -vyā.
7. S^cd bhagav^o ; S^t vabhantaṃ ; B^m K -byaṃ.
8. B^m K byatto, *and below.*
9. B^m buddho (*sic*) *and so in* § 3.
10. S^c - vyā ; S^d -vya.
11. B^m K saṃgha- ; K (Sī) saṃghā^o. (*See vol.* i. *pp.* 112, 128.)

bhūtā uttarena-mukhā gacchanti yena Siṃsapā-vanaṃ ten' upasaṃkamanti.[1]

2. Now at that time there came over Pāyāsi an evil view of things to this effect :— 'Neither is there any-other world, nor are there beings reborn otherwise than from parents, nor is there fruit or result of deeds well done or ill done.'

Now the brahmins and householders of Setavyā heard the news :— 'They say that the wanderer Master Kassapa, disciple of the wanderer Gotama, walking on tour with a great company of bhikkhus, to the number of about five hundred, has arrived at Setavyā and is staying there to the north of the town, in the Simsapā-tree Grove. Now regarding that Master Kassapa, such is the excellent reputation that has Keen raised abroad :— 'Wise and expert is he, abounding in knowledge and learning, eloquent and excellent in discourse, venerable too and an Arahant. And good is it to interview Arahants like him.' Then the brahmins and householders of Setavyā, coming out from the town in companies and bands from each district so that they could be counted[2], went by the north gate, to the Simsapā-tree Grove.

3. Tena kho pana samayena Pāyāsi rājañño[3] upari-pāsāde divā[4]-seyyaṃ upagato hoti. Addasā kho Pāyāsi rājañño Setavyake brāhmaṇa-gahapatike Setavyāya[5] nikkhamitvā saṃghe saṃghī-bhūte uttarena-mukhe[6] gacchante[7] yena Siṃsapā-vanaṃ ten' upasaṃkamante.[7] Disvā khattaṃ āmantesi:

'Kim nu kho bho khatte Setavyakā[8] brāhmaṇa-gahapa-tikā Setavyāya nikkhamitvā saṃghā saṃghī gaṇī-bhūtā uttarena-mukhā gacchanti yena Siṃsapā-vanan ti' ?

1. B[m] K *omit* tenupasaṃkamanti ; K (*note*) ito paraṃ Sīhaḷa-poṭṭhake 'tenupasaṃkamantîti' dissati.
2. The expression is somewhat ambiguous. See the note on I, 145.
3. SS rañño.
4. S[cd] divya-. *See* D. i. 112, 128.
5. S[c] - vyayaṃ; S[d] -vyāyaṃ; -vyāyā.
6. SS mukho.
7. K *omits;* K (*note*) ito paraṃ Sīhaḷa-poṭṭake 'tenu-pasaṃkamanteti' dissati.
8. K Setabyā.

'Atthi kho bho samaṇo Kumāra-kassapo samaṇassa Gotamassa sāvako Kosalesu cārikaṃ caramāno mahatā bhikkhu-saṃghena saddhiṃ pañca-mattehi bhikkhu-satehi Setavyaṃ anuppatto Setavyāyaṃ[1] viharati uttarena Setavyā[2] Siṃsapā-vane. Taṃ kho pana bhavantaṃ[3] Kumāra-kassapaṃ evaṃ kalyāṇo kittisaddo abbhuggato : "Paṇḍito vyatto medhāvī bahussuto citta-kathī kalyāṇa-paṭibhāno vuḍḍho c'eva arahā câti."[4] Tam enaṃ[5] bhavantaṃ Kumāra-kassapaṃ dassanāya upasaṃkaman-tīti.'[6]

'Tena hi bho khatte yena Setavyakā brāhmaṇa-gahapatikā ten' upasaṃkama, upasaṃkamitvā Setavyake brāhmaṇa-gahapatike evaṃ vadehi : "Pāyāsi bho rājañño evam āha. Āgamentu[7] kira bhavanto, Pāyāsi[8] rājañño samaṇaṃ Kumāra-kassapaṃ dassanāya upasaṃkamissa-tîti." Purā samaṇo Kumāa-kassapo Setavyake brāhmaṇa-gahapatike bāle avyatte[9] saññāpeti:[10] "Iti pi atthi paraloko,[11] atthi sattā opapātikā, atthi sukaṭa-dukkaṭānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti." N'atthi hi bho khatte paraloko, n'atthi sattā opapātikā, n'atthi sukaṭa-dukkaṭānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti.'

'Evaṃ bho ti' kho so khattā Pāyāsissa rājaññassa paṭissutvā yena Setavyakā brāhmaṇa-gahapatikā ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Setavyake brāhmaṇa-gahapatike etad avoca: 'Pāyāsi bho rājañño evam āha : "Āgamentu kira bhavanto, Pāyāsi rājañño samaṇaṃ Kumāra-kassapaṃ dassanāya upasaṃkamissaîti." '

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1. SS Setavyäva.
2. SS °vyaṃ ; B^{m} K °byaṃ.
3. S^{cd} bhagav°.
4. K ca.
5. S^{c} tamono; S^{dt} tameno; - B^{m} *adds* te; (K tam ete).
6. K upasaṅkamissantīti.
7. S^{t} āgamiṃtu.
8. B^{m} *adds* pi.
9. S^{t} B^{m} K bāle avyatte (B^{m} aby°).
10. SS -petîti.
11. B^{m} K paro loko, *and below*.

3. Now at that time Pāyāsi, the chieftain, had gone apart to the upper terrace of his house for siesta. And seeing the people thus go by he said to his doorkeeper:— 'Why are the people of Setavyā going forth like this towards the Simsapā-tree Grove ?' Then the doorkeeper told him the news. And he said :— 'Then, good doorkeeper, go to the brahmins and householders of Setavyā and say to them :— "Payāsi, sirs, bids you wait ; he will come himself to see the Wanderer Master Kassapa." That Boy Kassapa will be winning over at the outset those foolish and inexpert brahmins and householders of Setavyā to think :— "There is both another world and there are beings who are born not of parents, and there is fruit, and result of deeds well done and ill done." But, my good doorkeeper, these three things do not exist.'

'Even so, sir,' said the doorkeeper, and carried out his master's bidding.

4. Atha kho Pāyāsi rājañño. Setavyakehi brāhmaṇa-gahapatikehi parivuto yena siṃsapā-vanaṃ yen' āyasmā Kumāra-kassapo ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā āyasmatā Kumāra-kassapena saddhiṃ sammodi sammod-anīyaṃ kathaṃ sārāṇīyaṃ vītisāretvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. Setayakā pi kho brāhmaṇa-gahapatikā app' ekacce āyasmantaṃ Kumāra-kassapaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisidiṃsu, app' ekacce āyasmatā Kumāra-kassapena saddhiṃ sammodiṃsu, sammodanīyaṃ kathaṃ sārāṇīyaṃ vītisāretvā ekamantaṃ nisīdiṃsu, app' ekacce yen' āyasmā Kumāra-kassapo ten' añjalim paṇāmetvā ekamantaṃ nisidiṃsu, app' ekacce nama-gottaṃ sāvetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdiṃsu, app' ekacce tuṇhī-bhūtā ekamantaṃ nisīdiṃsu.

4. So Pāyāsi, the chieftain, surrounded by the brahmins and householders of Setavyā, came to the Simsapā-tree Grove, and finding the venerable Kassapa, exchanged with him the greetings and compliments of politeness and courtesy, and took his seat on one side. And as to the brahmins and householders of Setavyā, some of them bowed before the venerable Kassapa and took their seats on one side ; some of them exchanged with him the greetings and compliments of politeness and courtesy and

then took their seats on one side ; some of them saluted him with joined hands and took their seats on one side ; some of them called out their name and family and did likewise, some of them took their seats on one side in silence.

5. Ekamantaṃ nisinnokho Pāyāsi rājañño āyasmantaṃ Kumāra-kassapam etad avoca:

'Ahaṃ hi bho Kassapa evaṃ-vādī evaṃ-diṭṭhī : Iti pi n' atthi paraloko, n'atthi sattāopapātikā, n'atthi sukaṭa-dukkaṭānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti.'

'Nâhaṃ[1] Rājañña evaṃ-vādiṃ evaṃ-diṭṭhiṃ[2] addasaṃ vā assosiṃ vā. Kathaṃ hi nāma evaṃ vadeyya: Iti pi n'atthi paraloko, n'atthi sattā opapātikā, n'atthi sukaṭa-dukkaṭānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipako ti. Tena hi Rājañña taṃ yev' ettha paṭṭpucchissāmi, yathā te khameyya tathā naṃ vyākareyyāsi. Taṃ kiṃ maññasi rājañña, ime candima-suriyā[3] imasmiṃ[4] loke parasmiṃ vā, devā[5] te manussā vā ti ?'

'Ime bho Kassapa candima-suriyā parasmiṃ loke na imasmiṃ, devā te na manussā ti.'

'Iminā[6] kho te Rājañña pariyāyena evant hotu: Iti pi atthi paraloko, atthi satrā opapātikā, atthi sukaṭa-dukkaṭānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti.'

5. And when he was seated Pāyāsi spoke thus to the venerable Master Kassapa :—

'I, Master Kassapa, am of this opinion, of these views :— Neither is there another world, nor are there beings reborn not of parents, nor is there fruit or result of deeds well done or ill done."

'I, Prince, have neither seen or heard of any one holding such a view, such an opinion. How then can you declare, as you do that "there neither is another world, nor rebirth as inheritor of

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1. SS^{m} nâhaṃ ; K sohaṃ.
2. *So* B^{m} SS -vādi, -diṭṭhi.
3. B^{m} -sūriyā, *and below.*
4. K *addsa* vā.
5. B^{m} *add* vā ; *So also* K, *omitting* te.
6. B^{m} *adds* pi.

the highest heavens, nor fruit or result of deeds well-done or ill-clone" ? Wherefore, Prince, I will cross-question you herein, and do you reply in what way you may approve. What think you, yon moon and sun, are they in this world or in another world, are they divine or human ?'

'This moon and sun, Master Kassapa, are in another world, not in this, they are gods, not human.'

'Then, Prince, let this be taken as evidence that there is both another world, and rebirth as inheritor of the highest heavens, and fruit and result of deeds done well or ill.'

6. 'Kiñcâpi bhavaṃ Kassapo evam āha, atha kho evem me ettha hoti : Iti pi n'atthi paraloko, n'atthi sattā opapātikā, n'atthi sukaṭa-dukkaṭānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti.'

'Atthi pana Rājañña pariyāyo yena te pariyāyena evaṃ hoti : Iti pi n'atthi paraloko, n'atthi sattā opapātikā, n'atthi sukaṭa-dukkaṭānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti ?'

'Atthi bho Kassapa pariyāyo yena me pariyāyena evaṃ hoti : Iti pi n'atthi paraloko, n'atthi sattā opapātikā, n'atthi sukaṭa-dukkaṭānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti.'

'Yathā kathaṃ viya[1] Rājaññâti ?'

'Idha me bho Kassapa mittâmaccā ñāti-sālohitā pāṇâtipātī adinnâdāvī kāmesu micchâcārī musā-vādī pisuṇā-vācā pharusā-vācā[2] samphappalāpī abhijjhālū[3] vyāpanna-[4] cittā micchā-diṭṭhī. Te aparena samayena ābādhikā honti dukkhitā bāḷha-gilānā. Yadā 'haṃ jānāmi : "Na dān' ime imamhā abādhā vuṭṭhahissantîti" tyâhaṃ upas-aṃkamitvā evaṃ vādāmi: "Santi kho bho oke samaṇa-brāhmaṇā evaṃ-vādino evaṃ-diṭṭhino:— Ye te pāṇâtipātī adinnâdāyī kāmesu micchâcāri musā-vādî pisuṇā-vācā pharusā-vācā samphappalāpī abhijjālū vyāpanna-cittā micchā-diṭṭhī, te kāyassa bhedā param maraṇā apāyaṃ duggatiṃ vinipātaṃ

1. S^c kathañcidvaya; S^d katañcidvaya.
2. SS pisuṇā-, pharusā, *twice* ; B^m pisuṇa-, pharusa-, *twice*; K pisuṇā- *but* pharusa-, *chice. See* D. ii. 312.
3. SS B^m jhālu (*apparently*), *and below.*
4. K byā°.

nirayaṃ uppajjantîti.[1] Bhavanto kho pāṇâtipātī adinnâdāyī kāmesu michâcarī musā-vādī pisuṇā-vācā pharusā-vācā samphappalāpī abhijjālū vyā-panna-cittā micchā-diṭṭhī. Sace tesam bhavataṃ[2] samaṇa-brāhmaṇānaṃ saccaṃ vacanaṃ, bhavanto kāyassa bhedā param maraṇā apāyaṃ duggatiṃ vinipātaṃ nirayaṃ uppajjissanti. Sace bho kāyassa bhedā param maraṇā apāyaṃ duggatiṃ vinipātaṃ nirayaṃ uppajjeyyātha, yena me āgantvā āroceyyātha: Iti pi atthi paraloko, atthi sattā opapātikā, atthi sukaṭa-dukkaṭānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti. Bhavanto kho pana[3] me saddhāyikā paccayikā, yaṃ bhavantehi diṭṭhaṃ[4] yathā sāmaṃ[4] diṭṭhaṃ, evam etaṃ bhavissatîti." Te me "Sādhûti paṭissutvā n'eva āgantvā ārocenti, na pana dūtaṃ pahiṇ-anti.[5] Ayam pi kho bho Kassapa pariyāyo yena me pariyāyena evaṃ hoti : Iti pi n'atthi paraloko, n'atthi sattā opapātikā, n'atthi sukaṭa-dukkaṭānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti.'

6. 'Even though Master Kassapa says thus, it still appears to me that not one of these things exists.'

'Have you, Prince, any proof to establish that they do not exist ?'

'I have, Master Kassapa.'

'As how ?'

'Here it is, Master Kassapa. I have had friends, companions, relatives, men of the same blood as myself, who have taken life, committed thefts, or fornication, have uttered lying, slanderous, abusive, gossiping speech, have been covetous, of malign thoughts, of evil opinions. They anon have fallen ill of mortal suffering and disease. When I had understood that they would not recover from that illness, I have gone to them and said :— "According to the views and opinion held,, sirs, by certain wanderers and brahmins, they who break the precepts of morality, when the body breaks

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1. K byā°.
2. Bm upapajjissantiti; K upapajjantîti; Bm K upap° *throughout.*
3. K bhavati.
4. Sc yathāssamaṃ ; yathāssassamaṃ.
5. K Pahinanti.

up after death, are reborn into the Waste, the Woeful Way, the Fallen Place, the Pit. Now you, sirs, have broken those precepts. If what those reverent wanderers and brahmins say is true, this, sirs, will be your fate. If these things should befall you, sirs, come to me and tell me, saying :— 'There is another world, there is rebirth not of parents, there is fruit and result of deeds well-done and ill-done.' You, sirs, are for me trustworthy and reliable, and what you say you have seen, will be even so, just as if I myself had seen it." They have consented to do this, saying, "Very good," but they have neither come themselves, nor dispatched a messenger. Now this, Master Kassapa, is evidence for me that there is neither another world, nor rebirth not by human parents, nor fruit or result of deeds well done and ill.'

7. 'Tena hi Rajañña taṃ yev' ettha paṭipucchissāmi, yathā te khameyya tathā naṃ vyākareyyāsi. Taṃ kiṃ maññasi Rājañña ? Idha te purisā coraṃ āgu-cāriṃ gahetvā dasseyyuṃ: "Ayan te bhante coro āgu-cārī, imassa yaṃ icchasi taṃ daṇḍaṃ paṇehīti.[1]" Te tvaṃ[2] evaṃ vadeyyāsi: "Tena hi bho imaṃ purisaṃ daḷhāya rajjuyāpachā-pacchā-bāhaṃ gāḷha-bandhanaṃ bandhitvā, khura-muṇḍaṃ karitvā,[3] kharassarena paṇavena rathiyāya rathiyaṃ siṅghāṭakena siṅghāṭakaṃ parinetvā,[4] dakkhiṇena dvārena nikkhamitvā,[5] dakkhiṇato nagaassa[6] āghātane[7] sīsaṃ chindathâti." Te "Sādhuti" paṭisu-ṇitvā,[8] taṃ purisaṃ daḷhāya rajjuyā pacchā-bāhaṃ gāḷha-bandhanaṃ bandhitvā, khura-muṇdaṃ[9] karitvā, kharasa-arena paṇavena rathiyāya rathiyaṃ singhāṭakena siṅghātakaṃ parinetvā, dakkhiṇena dvārena nikkhaitvā,

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1. K vadehîti ; K (Sī) paṇehîti. *See* pp. 332, 339.
2. S^c netaṃ; S^{dt} tetam; B^m K te tvaṃ.
3. B^m K kāretvā, *and below* ; K (Sī) karitvā. *See* D. i. 98
4. *Here* S^t paṭitvā ; S^{cd} *here* Priggahetva; SS *below* parinetvā.
5. S^{cd} B^m K-khamitvā *twice;* S^t - khāmetvā. *So* Jāt. i. 326.
6. S^t naṅg°, *and below.*
7. *All MSS.* āghātena (*twice*).
8. S^d paṭiss°; B^m K paṭissutvā (*and onwards*).
9. S^c - akam.

dakkhiṇato nagarassa āghātane nisīdāpeyyuṃ. Labheyya nu kho so[1] coro cora-ghātesu : "Āgamentu tāva bhavanto cora-ghātā, amukasmiṃ[2] me gāme vā nigame vā mittâ maccā ñāti-sālohitā, yāvâhaṃ tesaṃ uddassetvā[3] āgacchāmîti ?" Udāhu vippalapantass' eva cora-ghātā sīsaṃ chindeyyun ti ?'

'Na hi so bho Kassapa coro labheyya cora-ghātesu: "Āgamentu tāva bhavanto cora-ghātā, amukasmiṃ me gāme vā nigame vā mittâmaccā ñāti-sālohitā, yāvâhaṃ tesaṃ uddassetvā āgacchāmîti." Atha kho naṃ vippalantass' eva cora-ghātā sīsaṃ chindeyyun ti.'

'So hi nāma Rājañña coro manusso manussa-bhūtesu cora-ghātesu na labhissati: "Āgamentu tāva bhavanto coa-ghātā, amukasmiṃ me gāme vā nigame vā mittâmaccā ñāti-sālohitā, yāvâhaṃ tesaṃ uddassetvā āgacchāmîti." Kiṃ pana te mittāmaccā ñāti-sālohitā pāṇâtipātī adinnâdāyī kāmesu micchâcārī musā-vādī pisunā-vācā pharusā-vācā samphappalāpī abhijjhālū[4] vyāpanna-cittā micchā-diṭṭhī[5] kāyassa bhedā param maraṇā apāyaṃ duggatiṃ vinipātaṃ nirayaṃ uppannā labhissanti niraya-pālesu: "Āgamentu tāva bhavanto niraya-pālā yāva mayaṃ Pāyāsissa rājaññassa gantvā ārocema: Iti pi atthi paraloke, atthi sattāopapātikā, atthi sukaṭa-dukkaṭānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti" ? Iminā pi kho te Rājañña pariyāyena evaṃ hotu: Iti pi atthi paraloko, atthi sattā opapātikā, atthi sukaṭa-dukkaṭānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti.'

7. 'Well then, prince, I will yet ask you this, and do you answer even, as you think fit. What think you ? Take the case of men who have taken a felon red-handed and bring him up saying:— "My lord, this felon was caught in the act ; inflict what penalty you wish." He replies :— "Well then, sirs, bind this man securely, his arms behind him, with a strong cord ; shave his

1. K bho.
2. SS (*here only*) asukasmim (*twice afterwards* m).
3. SS dassetvā (*thrice*) ; B[m] K uddisitvā (*thirce*) ; Suta uddassetvā.
4. S[dt] -jhā.
5. B[dt] *adds* te.

head ; lead him around, to the sound of a sharp drum, from street to street, from cross-road to cross-road, and out at the southern gate ; there, south of the town in the place of execution, cut off his head." They, assenting with "Very good," proceed to carry out these orders, and, in the place of execution, make him sit down. Now would the felon gain permission of this sort from his executioners: "Let my masters, the executioners, wait till I have visited my friends and advisers, my kinsmen by blood, in this or that village or town, and come back" ? Or would the executioners cut off the head of this vain talker ?'

'They would not grant the permission, Master Kassapa ; they would cut off his head.'

'But this felon, prince, is human and cannot get leave from human executioners. How much less then would your friends and relatives, after death, in the Pit, gain permission from the keepers of the Pit, saying:— "Let my masters, the Pit-keepers, wait till we have gone and told the chieftain Pāyāsi, that there is both another world and rebirth other than of parents, and fruit and result of deeds well-done and ill ?" Be this exposition a proof to you, Prince, that these things exist.'

8. 'Kiñcâpi bhavaṃ Kassapo evam āha, atha kho evam me ettha hoti : Iti pi n'atthi paraloko, n'atti sattāopapātikā, n'atthi sukaṭa-dukkaṭānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti.'

Atthi pana Rājañña pariyāyo yena te pariyāyena evaṃ hoti: Iti pi n'atthi paraloko, n'atthi sattāopapātikā, n'atthi sukaṭa-dukkaṭānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti ?'

'Atthi bho Kassapa pariyāyo yena me pariyāyena evaṃ hoti : Iti pi n'atthi paraloko, n'atthi sattā opapātikā, n'atthi sukaṭa-dukkaṭānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti.'

'Yathā kathaṃ viya Rājaññāti ?'

'Idha me bho Kassapa mittâmaccā ñā ti-sālohitā pāṇâtipātā paṭiviratā adinnâdānā paṭiviratā kāmesu micchā-cārā paṭiviratā musā-vādā paṭiviratā pisuṇaya vācāyā paṭiviratā pharusāya vācāya[1] paṭiviratā amphappalāpā paṭiviratā

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1. SS pisuṇā-vācā *and* pharusā-vacā; B^{m} pisuṇāya vācāya *and* pharusāya vācāya; K pisunā-vācā *and* pharusavācā.

anabhijjhālū avyāpanna-cittā sammā-diṭṭhī. Te aparena samayena ābādhikā honti dukkhitā bāḷha-gilānā. Yadâhaṃ jānāmi : "Na dān' ime imamhā ābādhā vuṭṭha hissantīti," tyâti," tydhaṃ upasaṃkamitvā evaṃ vạdāmi : "Santi kho bho eke samaṇa-brāhmaṇā evaṃ vādino evaṃ diṭṭhino—Ye te pāṇâtipātā paṭiviratā adinnâdānā paṭiviratā kāmesu micchācārā paṭiviratā musā-vādā paṭiviratā pisuṇāya vācāya[1] pāpaṭiviratā pharusāya vācāya[2] paṭiviratā samphappalāpā paṭiviratā anabhijjhālū avyāpanna-cittā sammā-diṭṭhī, te kāyassa bhedā param maraṇā sugatiṃ saggaṃ lokaṃ uppajjantîti. Bhavanto kho pāṇâpātā paṭiviratā adinnádāna paṭiviratā kāmesu micchácārā paṭiviratā musā-vādā paṭiviratā pisuṇāya vācāya paṭiviratā pharusāya vācāya[3] paṭiviratā samphappalāpā paṭiviratā anabhijjhālū avyāpanna-cittā sammā-diṭṭhī. Sace tesam bhavataṃ samaṇa-brāhmaṇānaṃ saccaṃ vacanaṃ, bhavanto kāyassa bhedā param maraṇā sugatiṃ saggaṃ lokaṃ uppajjissanti. Sace bho kāyassa bhedā param maraṇā sugatiṃ saggaṃ lokaṃ uppajjeyyātha, yena me āgantva āroceyyātha : Iti pi atthi paraloko, atthi sattā opapātikā, atthi sukaṭa-dukkaṭānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti. Bhavanto kho pana me saddhāyikā, yaṃ bhavantehi diṭṭham, yathā sāmaṃ diṭṭhaṃ, evam etaṃ bhavissatiti." Te me "Sādhuti" paṭisuṇitvā n'eva āgantvā ārocenti na pana dūtaṃ pahiṇanti. Ayam pi kho bho Kassapa pariyāyo yena me pariyāyena evaṃ hoti : Iti pi n'atthi paraloko, n'atthi sattā opapātikā, n'atthi sukaṭa-dukkaṭānaṃ kammānaṃ vipāko ti.'

8. 'Even though Master Kassapa says thus, it still appears to me that not one of these things exists.'

'Have you, prince, any further proof to establish that they do not exist ?'

'I have, Master Kassapa.'

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1. S[c] pisunā-vācāya : S[dt] K pisuṇā-vācā ; B[m] pisuṇāya vācāya.
2. S[d] pharusā-vācā ; S[c] pharusā-vācāya, ; S[t] B[m] pharu-sāya yācāyā; E pharusavācā (*and so onwards*).
3. S[c] B[m] pharusāya vācāya ; S[d] pharusā-vācā.

'As how ?'

'Here it is, Master Kassapa. I have had friends and companions, kinsmen, men of the same blood as myself, who have abstained from taking life, from committing thefts, or fornication, from lying, slandering, rude, or frivolous speech, who have not coveted, or had malign thoughts or evil opinions. They anon have fallen ill of mortal suffering and disease. When I had understood that they would not recover from that illness, I have gone to them and said: "According, sirs, to the views and opinions held by some Wanderers and Brahmins, they who keep the precepts of morality, when the body breaks up, are after death reborn into the bright and happy world. Now you, sirs, have kept those precepts. If what those reverend samaıas and brahmins say is true, this, sirs, will be your fate. If these things should befall you, sirs, when you have been there reborn, come to me and let me know that there is both another world, rebirth other than of parents, and fruit and result of deeds well-done and ill-done. You, sirs, are for me trustworthy and reliable, and what you say you have seen, will be even so, just as if I myself had seen it." They have consented to do this, saying "Very good"; but they have not come and let me know, nor have they dispatched a messenger. Now this again, Master Kassapa, is evidence to me that there is neither another world, nor rebirth other than of parentage, nor fruit and result of deeds well-done and ill-done.'

9. 'Tena hi Rājañña upaman te karissāmi. Upamāya[1] pi idh' ekacce viññū purisā bhāsitassa atthaṃ ājānanti.[2] seyyathā pi Rājañña puriso gūtha-kupe sasīsako[3] nimuggo assa. Atha tvaṃ purise āṇāpeyyāsi : "Tena hi bho taṃ purisaṃ tamhā gūtha-kūpāuddharathâti." Te[4] "Sādhūti" paṭissuṇitvā taṃ purisaṃ tamhā gūtha-gūtha-kūpā uddhareyyuṃ. Te tvaṃ evaṃ evaṃ vadeyyāsi : "Tena hi bho tassa purisassa kāyā

1. B upamāyamidhekace ; K upamāyapidhekacce (*and so both throughout*).
2. SS *usually* ajānanti.
3. S[t] sisako; B[m] sasisakaṃ.
4. K te te, *and below.*

velu-pesikāhi gūthaṃ sunimmajjitaṃ nimmajjeyyuṃ. Te tvaṃ evaṃ vadeyyāsi : "Tena hi bho tassa purisassa kāyaṃ paṇḍumattikāya[1] tikkhattuṃ subbaṭṭitaṃ[2] ub-bṭṭethâti."[3] Te[4] tassa purisassa kāyaṃ paṇḍumattikāya[5] tikkhattuṃ subbaṭṭitaṃ[6] ubbaṭṭeyyuṃ.[7] Te tvaṃ evaṃ vadeyyāsi : "Tena hi bho taṃ purisaṃ telena abbhañjitvā[8] sukhumena cuṇṇena tikkhattuṃ suppadhotaṃ karothâti." Te taṃ purisaṃ telena abbhañjitvā sukhumena cuṇṇena tikkhattuṃ suppadhotaṃ kareyyuṃ. Te tvaṃ evaṃ vadeyyāsi : "Tena hi bho tassa purisassa kesa-massuṃ kappethâti." Te tassa purisassa kesa-massuṃ kappeyyuṃ. Te tvaṃ evaṃ vadeyyāsi : "Tena hi bho[9] tassa purisassa mahagghañ ca mālaṃ mahagghañ ca vilepanaṃ mahagghāni ca vatthāni upaharathâti." Te tassa purisassa mahagghañ ca mālaṃ mahagghañ ca vilepanaṃ mahagghāni ca vatthāni upaareyyuṃ. Te tvaṃ vadeyyāsi : "Tena hi bho taṃ purisaṃ pāsādaṃ āropetvā, pañca kāma-guṇāni upaṭṭhapethâti."[10] Te taṃ purisaṃ pāsādaṃ āropetvā pañca kāma-guṇāni upaṭṭhapeyyuṃ. Taṃ kim maññasi Rājañña ? Api nu tassa purisassa sunahātassa[11] suvilittassa kappita[12]-kesa-massussa āmutta-mālâbharaṇassa[13] odāta-vattha-vasa-nassa upari-pāsāda-vara-gatassa pañcahi kāmaguṇehi samappitassa samaṅgibhūtassa paricāriyamā-

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1. S[d] pañcupattikāya ; S[t] paccumattikāya.
2. S[c] sabbavaṭṭitaṃ : S[d] sabbaṭṭitaṃ ; S[t] subaṭṭitam; B[m] supp°; K ubbaṭitaṃ (*and below*).
3. B[m] uppaṭṭ° *and so* B[d] at Jāt. v. 89 ; K ubbaṭethâti. *See* Jāt. i. 238.
4. K *adds* te te sādhūti paṭi°.
5. S[t] paccumattikāya ; S[c] paṇḍumattikā.
6. S[t] subaṭṭ°; B[m] supp°.
7. B[m] upp°; K ubbaṭeyyum.
8. *See* pug. P. p. 56.
9. K *omits*.
10. B[m] -ṭhāp°, *twice*.
11. S[d] B[m] K sunhātassa; K (*note*) sunahātassa.
12. B[m] sukappita-.
13. K maṇikaraṇassa.

nassa[1] punad eva[2] tasmiṃ gūtaha-kūpe nimmujjitukāmatā[3] assâti ?'

'No h'idaṃ bho Kassapa.'

'Taṃ kissa hetu ?'

'Asuci bho Kassapa gūtha-kūpo, asuci c'eva[4] asuci-saṃkhāto ca duggandho ca duggandha-saṃkhāto ca jeguccho ca jeguccha-saṃkhāto ca paṭikkūlo[5] ca paṭikkūlasaṃkhāto câti.

'Evam eva kho Rājañña manussā devānam asucī c'eva asuci-saṃkhātā ca duggandhā ca duggandha-saṃkhātā ca jegucchāca jeguccha-saṃkhātā ca paṭikkūlā ca paṭikkūla-saṃkhātāca. Yojana-sataṃ kho Rājañña manussa-gandho deve ubbāhati.[6] Kim pana te mittâmaccā ñāti-sālohitā pāṇâtipātā paṭiviratā adinnâdātā kāmesu micchâcārā paṭiviratā musā-vādā paṭiviratā pisuṇāya vācāya paṭiviratā pharusāya vācāya[7] paṭiviratā samphappalāpā paṭiviratā anabhijjhālū avyāpanna-cittā sammā-diṭṭhī kāyassa bhedā param maraṇā sugatiṃ saggaṃ lokaṃ uppannā[8] āgantvā ārocessanti : "Iti pi atthi paraloko, atthi sattā opapātikā, atthi sukaṭa-dukkaṭānaṃ vipāko ti ?" Iminā pi kho te Rājañña pariyāyena evaṃ hotu: Iti pi atthi paraloko, atthi sattā opapātikā, atthi sukaṭa-dukkaṭānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti.'

9. 'Well then, Prince, I will make you a simile, for by a simile some intelligent persons will recognize the meaning of what is said. Just as if a man were plunged head-under in a pit of mire. And you were to order men saying :— "Well now,

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1. B^m K paricāraya°.
2. SS *add* tassa.
3. B^m -kamyatā; K-kāmyatā.
4. S^cd asucimeva (*twice*).
5. K paṭikūl° (*four times.*)
6. B^m ubbādhati. *See* p. 347.
7. S^d K pisuṇāvācā . . . pharusāvācā.
8. B^m K upapannā te (*cp.* § 7, *p.* 13, *where* B^m *adds* te, *though in a different place*). K *puts full stop at* upapannā.

masters, pull the man out of that pit." They, saying "Very good," were to comply and pull him out. You were then to say to them:— "Well now, masters, brush the mire smearing him from off his body with split bamboo [1]." And they were to obey you. And you were to say to them :— "Well now, masters, shampoo this man's body a treble massage with yellow shampoo powder." And they were to do so. And you were to say to them :— "Now, masters, rub him with oil, and bathe him three times using fine chunam." And they were to do so. And you were to say to them:— "Well, masters, now dress his hair." And they were to do so. And you were to say to them :— "Now, masters, deck him with a costly garland and costly unguent and costly garments." And they were to do so. And you were to say to them :— "Well, masters, take him up on to the palace and amuse him with the pleasures of the five senses." And they were to do so. Now what think you, O chieftain? Would this man, well bathed, well anointed, shaved and combed, dressed, wreathed and adorned, clad in clean raiment, taken to the upper palace, and indulging in, surrounded by, treated to, the five pleasures of sense, be desirous of being plunged once more into that pit of mire ?' 'No indeed, Master Kassapa.'

'And why?'

'Foul, Master Kassapa, is a pit of mire, foul and counted as such, stinking, disgusting, repulsive, and counted as such.'

'Even so, Prince, are human beings in the eyes of the gods, foul and counted as such, stinking, disgusting, repulsive, and counted as such. The smell of man offends the gods a hundred leagues away. What then ? Shall your friends and companions, your kinsmen and connexions who, having kept the precepts, are reborn into the bright and happy place, come and bring you word that there is another world, that there is rebirth other than by parentage, that there is fruit and result of deeds well-done and ill-done ? Let this exposition, chieftain, be evidence to you that these things exist.'

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1. No doubt a sort of brush made o' split bamboo.

10. 'Kiñcâpi bhavaṃ Kassapo evam āha, atha kho evam me ettha hoti: Iti pi n'atthi paraloko, n'atthi sattā opapātikā, n'atthi sukaṭa-dukkaṭānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti.'

'Atthi pana Rājañña pariyāyo . . . pe . . .'

'Atthi bho Kassapa pariyāyo . . . pe . . .'

'Yathā kathaṃ viya Rājaññâti ?'

'Idha me bho Kassapa mittāmaccā ñāti-sālohitā pāṇâtipātā paṭiviratā adinnâdāna paṭiviratā kāmesu micchâ-cārā paṭiviratā musā-vādā paṭiviratā surā-meraya-majja-pamādaṭṭhānā paṭiviratā. Te aparena samayena ābādhikā honti dukkhitā bāḷha-gilāna. Yadâhaṃ jānāmi : "Na idān' ime imamhā ābādhā vuṭṭhahissantīti," tyāhaṃ upasaṃkamitvā evaṃkamitvā evaṃ adami: "Santi kho bho ake samaṇa-brāhmaṇā evaṃ vādino evaṃ ditthino—Ye te pānâtipātā paṭiviratā adinnâdānā paṭiviratā kāmesu micchâcārā paṭiviratā musā-vādā paṭiviratā surā-meraya-majja-pamādaṭṭhānā paṭiviatā, te kāyassa bhedā param maraṇā sugatiṃ saggaṃ lokaṃ uppajjanti devānaṃ Tāvatiṃsānaṃ sahavyatan ti. Bhavanto kho pāṇâtipātā paṭiviratā adinnâdānā paṭiviratā kāmesu micchâtipātā pativiratā susā-vādā paṭiviratā surā-meraya-majja-pamādaṭṭhānā pativiratā. Sace tesam bhavataṃ[1] samaṇa-brāhmaṇānaṃ saccaṃ vacanaṃ, bhavanto kāyassa bhedā param maraṇā sugatim saggaṃ lokaṃ uppajjissanti devānaṃ Tāvatiṃsānaṃ sahavyataṃ. Sace[2] bho kāyassa bhedā param maraṇā sugatiṃ saggaṃ lokaṃ uppajjeyyātha devānaṃ Tāvatiṃsānaṃ sahavyataṃ, yena me āgantvā āroceyyātha—Iti pi atthi paraloko, atthi sattā opapātikā, atthi sukaṭa-dukkaṭānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti. Bhavanto kho pana me saddhāyikā paccayikā, yaṃ bhavantehi diṭṭhaṃ, yathā sāmaṃ diṭṭhaṃ, evam etaṃ bhavissatî." Te me "Sādhûti" paṭisuṇitvā n'eva āgantvā ārocenti na pana dūtaṃ pahiṇanti. Ayam pi kho Kassapa pariyāyo yena me pariyāyena

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1. S[ct] bhavantānaṃ ; K bhavati.
2. K *incerts* kho.

evaṃ hoti : Iti pi n'atthi paraloko n'atthi sattāopapātikā n'atthi sukaṭa-dukkaṭānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti.'

10. 'Even though Master Kassapa says so, it still appears to me that not one of these things exists.'

'Have you any further evidence, prince ?' . . .

'I have, Master Kassapa.'

'As how ?'

'Here it is, Master Kassapa. I have had friends, companions, kinsmen, men of the same blood as myself, who kept the precepts, abstaining from taking life; from taking what was not given, from inchastity, lying speech and strong intoxicating liquors. They anon have fallen mortally ill; and I, having told them how some samattas and brahmins say that, after such a life, one would be reborn in the communion of the Three-and-Thirty Gods, have asked them, if they were so reborn, to come and let me know that there was another world, birth other than of parents, and fruit and result of deeds well-done and ill-done. They have promised to do so, but they have neither come and told me, nor sent a messenger. This, Master Kassapa, is evidence to me that not one of those things exists.

11. 'Tena hi Rājañña taṃ yev' ettha paṭipucchissāmi, yathā te khameyya tathā naṃ vyākareyyāsi. Yaṃ kho[1] Rājañña mānusakaṃ vassa-sataṃ, devānaṃ Tāvatiṃsā-naṃ eso eko rattindivo.[2] Tāya rattiyā tiṃsa rattiyo māsom, tena māsena dvādasa-māsiyo[3] saṃvaccharo, tena saṃvaccharena dibaṃ vassa-sahassaṃ devānaṃ Tāvā-tiṃsānaṃ āyuppamāṇaṃ. Ye te mittâmaccā ñāti-sālohitā pāṇâtipātā paṭiviratā adinnâdānā paṭiviratā kāmesu-micchâcārā paṭiviratā musāvādā paṭiviratā surā-meraya-majja-pamādaṭṭhānā paṭiviratā, te[4] kāyassa bhedā param maraṇā sugatiṃ saggaṃ lokaṃ uppannā deānam Tāvatiṃsānaṃ sahavyataṃ. Sace pana tesaṃ

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1. K kho pana.
2. Bᵐ rattidivo (*twice*).
3. *So* SS Bᵐ K. (*Compare* māsikaṃ at Th. 1.283 *and* D. 1. 166 = M. i. 238, 342; P.P. p. 55.)
4. *So* Bᵐ. SS K *omit*.

evaṃ bhavissati : "Yāva mayaṃ dve vā tīṇi vā rattindivāni dibbehi pañca-kāma-guṇehi[1] samappitā samaṅgibhūtā paricārema, atha mayaṃ Pāyāsissa Rājaññassa gantvā ārocessāma[2]: Iti pi atthi paraloko, atthi sattā opapātikā, atthi sukaṭa-dukkaṭānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti," api nu te[3] āgantvā āroceyyuṃ[4] : Iti pi atthi paraloko, atthi sattā opapātikā, atthi sukaṭa-dukkaṭānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti ?'

'No h'idaṃ[5] bho Kassapa. Api hi mayaṃ bho Kassapa ciraṃ kālakatā pi bhaveyyāma. Ko pan' etaṃ bhoto Kassapassa āroceti : "Atthi devā Tāvatiṃsā" ti vā, "Evaṃ dīghâyukā devā Tāvatiṃsā" ti vā. Na mayaṃ bhoto Kassapassa saddahāma "Atthi devā Tāvatiṃsā" ti vā "Evaṃ dīghâyakā devāvatiṃsā" ti vā.[6]

'Seyyathā pi Rājañña jaccandho puriso yo[7] na passeyya kaṇha-sukkāni rūpāni, na passeyya nīlakāni rūpāni, na pasacyya pītakāni rūpānī, na passeyya lohitakāni rūpāni, na passeyya mañjiṭṭhikāni[8] rūpāni, na passeyya sama-visamaṃ, na passeyya tāraka-rupāni[9] na passeyya candima-suriye.[10] So evem vadeyya : "N'atthi[11] kaṇha-sukkāni rūpāni, n'atthi kaṇha-sukkānaṃ rūpānaṃ dassāvī, n'atthi nīlakāni rūpāni, n'atthi nīlakānaṃ rūpānaṃ dassāvī, n'atthi pītakāni rūpāni, n'atthi pītakānaṃ rūpānaṃ dassāvī, n'atthi lohitakāni rūpāni, n'atthi lohitakānaṃ rūpānaṃ dassāvī, n'atthi mañjiṭṭhikāni rūpāni, n'atthi mañjiṭṭhikānaṃ rūpānaṃ dassāvī, n'atthi

1. K pañcahi k°.
2. *So* SS; Bm K āroceyyāma.
3. SS api te ; Bm api na te ; K nu te.
4. SS Bm ārocesuṃ.
5. Bm etaṃ ; K hi taṃ.
6. SS Bm K *all omit* ti; *cp. p.* 329.
7. Sc ye; Sd Bm K *omit.*
8. K mañjeṭṭhakāni (*and below*). *See* M. 1. 35, 529, *and* vimāna Vatthu xxxix. 1.
9. *All MSS.* tāraka-rūpāni *thrice;* K tārakāni rupāni *thrice.*
10. Bm -sūriye.
11. Scd tattha.

sama-visamaṃ, n'atthi sama-visamassa dassāvī, n'atthi tāraka-rupāni, n'atthi tāraka-rūpānaṃ dassāvī, n'atthi candima-suriyā,[1] n'atthi candima-suriyānaṃ dassāvi.[2] Aham etaṃ na jānāmi, aham etaṃ na passāmi, tasmā taṃ n'atthîti." Sammā nu kho so Rājañña vadamāno vadeyyâti ?'

'No h' idaṃ bho Kassapa. Atthi[3] kaṇha-sukkāni rūpāni, atthi kaṇha-sukkānaṃ rūpānaṃ dassāvī, atthi nīlakāni rūpāni, atthi nīlakānaṃ rūpānaṃ dassāvī,[4] atthi pītakāmi rūpāni, atthi pītakānaṃ rūpānaṃ dassāvī, atthi lohita-kāni rūpāni, atthi lohitakānaṃ rūpānaṃ dassāvī, atthi mañjiṭṭhakāni rūpāni, atthi mañjitthakānaṃ rūpānaṃ dassāvī, atthi sama-visamaṃ, atthi sama-visamassa dassāvī, atthi tāraka-rupāni, atthi tāraka-rūpānaṃ dassāvī, atthi candima-suriyā, atthi candima-suriyānamc dassāvī.[5] "Aham etaṃ na jānāmi, aham etaṃ na passāmi, tasmā taṃ n'atthîti," na hi so bho Kassapa sammā vadamāno vadeyyâti.'

'Evam eva kho tvaṃ Rājañña jaccandhûpamo maññe paṭibhāsi, yaṃ[6] maṃ tvaṃ evaṃ vadesi[7] : "Ko pan' etaṃ[8] bhoto Kassapassa āroceti: 'Atthi devā Tāvatiṃsā' ti vā, 'Evaṃ dīghâyukā devā Tāvatiṃsā' ti vā. Na mayaṃ bhoto Kassapassa saddahāma : 'Atthi devā Tāvatiṃsā' ti vā 'Evaṃ dīghâyukā devā Tāvatiṃsā' ti vā."

'Na kho Rājañña evaṃ paraloko[9] daṭṭhabbo yathā tvaṃ maññasi iminā maṃsa-cakkunā. Ye kho te Rājañña samana - brāhmaṇā araññe[10] vanapatthāni[11] pantāni senâsanāni

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1. SS° - yānaṃ rūpāni.
2. SS *insert* n'atthi.
3. SS tattha.
4. B^m pa; K pe, *down to* atthi sama-visamaṃ.
5. SS *add* atthi.
6. S^t *omits;* K yam etaṃ evaṃ vadesi.
7. S^{cd} vadeyya.
8. B^m pana me taṃ.
9. K paro loko, *and below.*
10. B^m K arañña-.
11. B^m vanapattāni.

paṭisevanti [1]appa-saddāni appa-nigghosāni,[1] te tattha appamattā ātāpino pahitattā[2] viharantā[3] dibbaṃ[4] cakkhuṃ visodhenti, te dibbena cakkhunā visuddhena atikkamanta-mānusakena imam eva[5] lokaṃ passanti[6] param eva,[6] satte ca[7] opapātike. Evaṃ[8] kho Rājañña para-loko daṭṭhabbo,[9] na tveva[9] yathā tvaṃ[10] maññasi iminā maṃsa-cakkhunā. Iminā pi kho to Rājañña pariyāyena evaṃ hotu: Iti pi atthi paraloko, atthi sattāopapātikā, atthi sukaṭa-dukkaṭānaṃ kam-mānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti.'

11. 'Well then, Prince, I will reply by asking you something, and do you answer as you think fit. That which, humanly speaking, is a century, this to the Three-and-Thirty Gods is one night and day. Of such a night thirty nights are the month—of such a month twelve months are the year—of such a year the celestial thousand years are the life-span of the Three-and-Thirty Gods. Those of whom you now speak will have attained rebirth into the communion of these Gods. If it should occur to them thus :— "Let us for two or three days indulge ourselves, surrounded by and steeped in the five pleasures of sense, and thereafter let us go and tell the chieftain Pāyāsi that there is another world, rebirth other than of parents, and fruit and result of deeds well-done and ill-done"—would they then have come to you, and told you so ?'

'Certainly not, Master Kassapa ; for we should have been dead long before. But who lets Master Kassapa know all these things :—that there are Three-and-Thirty Gods, or that the Three-

1-1. B[m] K *omit.* K (ī) ito paraṃ 'appasaddāni appanigghosānîti' dissati.
2. S[c] pahīn[o] ; S[d] pahīt[o].
3. S[c] -taṃ.
4. K dibba-.
5. B[m] K imañ c'eva.
6-6. S[t] purima; B[m] K parañ ca.
7. *All MSS. omit* ca.
8. B[m] *adds* ca.
9-9. S[c] nattheva; S[t] na tvevaṃ.
10. SS *omit* tvaṃ.

and-Thirty Gods live so many years ? We do not believe him when he says these things.'

'That, Prince, is just as if there were a man born blind who could not see objects as dark or bright, as blue, yellow, red or brown ; who could not see things as smooth or rough, nor the stars, nor moon, nor sun. And he were to say :— "There are none of these things, nor any one capable of seeing them. I don't know them, I don't see them ; therefore they don't exist." Would one so speaking, speak rightly, Prince ?'

'Not so, Master Kassapa. The visual objects of which you speak do exist, and so does the faculty of seeing them, To say "I don't know them, I don't see them ; therefore they don't exist" : that would not be speaking rightly.'

'But even so, methinks, do you, Prince, talk like the blind man in my parable when you say :— "But who lets Master Kassapa know that there are Three-and-Thirty Gods, or that the Three-and-Thirty Gods live so many years ? We do not believe him when he says these things." For, Prince, the other world is not, as you imagine, to be regarded with this fleshly eye.

Those Wanderers and Brahmins who haunt the lonely and remote recesses of the forest, where noise, where sound there hardly is, they there abiding strenuous, ardent, aloof, purify the eye divine ; they by that purified eye divine, passing the vision of men, see both this world and that other world, and beings reborn not of parents. In this way, Prince, is the other world to be seen; and not, even as you imagine, by this fleshly eye. Let this be a proof to you that there is another world, that there are beings reborn not of parents, that there is fruit and result of deeds well-done and ill-done.'

12. 'Kiñcâpi bhavaṃ Kassapo evam āha, atha kho evma me ettha hoti: Iti pi n'atthi paraloko, n'atthi paraloko, n'atthi sattā opapātikā, n'atthi sukaṭa-dukkaṭānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti.'

'Atthi pana Rājañña pariyāyo . . . pe [322] . . . ?

'Atthi bho Kassapa pariyāyo . . . pe . . .

'Yathā kathaṃ viya Rājaññâti ?'

'Idhâhaṃ bho Kassapa passāmi samaṇa-brāhmaṇe sīlavante kalyāṇa-dhamme jīvitu-kāme amaritu-kāme sukha-kāme dukkha-paṭikkūle.[1] Tassa mayhaṃ bho Kassapa evaṃ hoti: Sace kho ime bhonto samaṇa-brāhmaṇā sīlavanto kalyāṇa-dhammā evaṃ jāneyyum : "Ito no matānaṃ seyyo bhavissatîti," idān' ime bhonto samaṇa-brāhmaṇā sīlavanto kalyāṇa-dhammā visaṃ vā khādeyyuṃ, satthaṃ vā āhareyyuṃ, ubbandhitvā[2] vā kālṃ kareyyuṃ, papāte vā papateyyuṃ. Yasmā ca kho ime bhonto samaṇa-brāhmaṇā sīlavanto kalyāṇa-dhammā na evaṃ jānanti : "Ito no matānaṃ seyyo bhavissatîti," tasmā ime bhonto samaṇa-brāhmaṇā sīlavanto kalyāṇa-dhammā jīvitu-kāmā amaritu-kāmā sukha-kāmā dukkha-paṭikkūlā.[3] Ayam pi[4] bho Kassapa pariyāyo yena me pariyāyena evaṃ hoti: Iti pi n'atthi paraloko, n'atthi sattā opapātikā, n'atthi sukata-dukka-ṭānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti.'

12. 'Even though Master Kassapa says so, yet it still appears to me that not one of these things exists.'

'Have you any further evidence, Prince ?'

'I have, Master Kassapa.'

'As how ?'

'Here it is, Master Kassapa. I see Wanderers and Brahmins moral and of virtuous dispositions, fond of life, averse from dying, fond of happiness, shrinking from sorrow. Then I think, Master Kassapa :— "If these good Wanderers and Brahmins were to know this— 'When once we are dead we shall be better off' —then these good men would take poison, or stab themselves, or put an end to themselves by hanging, or throw themselves from precipices. And it is because they do not know that, once dead, they will be better off, that they are fond of life, averse from dying, fond of happiness, disinclined for sorrow. This, Master Kassapa, is for me evidence that there is no other

1. K paṭikūle (*and so below*).
2. *See* Therī Gāthā 80; Jāt. i. 111, 345, 504.
3. B[m] *adds* attānaṃ na mārenti.
4. K *adds* kho.

world, no beings reborn otherwise than of parents, no fruit and no result of deeds well and ill-done.'

13. 'Tena hi Rājañña upaman te karissāmi. Upamāya idh' ekacce viññū purisā bhāsitassa atthaṃ ājānanti. Bhūtapubbaṃ Rājañña aññatarassa brāhmaṇassa dve pajāpatiyo ahesuṃ. Ekissā putto ahosi dasavassuddesiko vā dvādasavassuddesiko vā, ekā gabbhinī upavijaññā, atha kho so brāhmaṇo kālam akāsi. Atha kho so māṇavako mātu-sapattiṃ[1] etad avoca: "Yam idaṃ bhoti dhanaṃ vā dhaññaṃ vārajataṃ vā jātarūpaṃ vā sabban taṃ mayhaṃ. N'athi tumh' ettha kiñci, pitu me bhoti[2] dāyajjaṃ nīyyātehîti." Āgamehī tāva tāta yāva vijāyāmi. Sace kumārako bhavissati, tassa pi eka-deso bhavissati ; sace kumārikā bhavissati, sā pi to opabhoggā[3] bhavissatîti."

'Dutiy;am pi kho māṇavoko mātu-sapattiṃ etad avoca: "Yam[4] idaṃ bhoti dhanaṃ vā dhaññaṃ vā rajataṃ vā jātarūpam vā sabban taṃ mayhaṃ. N'atthi tumh'ettha kiñci, pitu me[5] bhoti dāyajjaṃ nīyyātehîti." Dutiyam pi kho sā brāhmaṇī taṃ māṇavakaṃ etad avoca: "Āgamehi tāva tāta yāva vijāyāmi. Sace kumārako bhavissati tassa pi eka-deso bhavissati; sace kumārikā bhavissati, sā[6] pi te opabhoggā bhavissatîti."

'Tatiyam pi kho so māṇavako mātu-sapattiṃ etad avoca: "Yam idaṃ hoti dhanaṃ vā dhaññaṃ vā rajataṃ vā jātarūpaṃ vā sabban taṃ mayham. N'atthi tumh'ettha kiñci, pitu me bhoti dāyajjaṃ nīyyātehîti." Atha kho sā brāhmaṇī

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1. K mātusapatiṃ. (*Note*) mātusapattinti vā pāṭho.
2. B[m] pitu me hoti; SS tumhetta kiñci pi tañ ca hoti dāyajjaṃ, *first time and second; but* kiñci pitu me hoti (or bhoti) dāyajjaṃ *the third time;* K tuyhettha kiñci pitu me santako bhoti dāyajjaṃ *with a note that* santako *is not found in Ceylon MSS.*
3. K upa°.
4. B[m] K yam ; SS yad.
5. S[t] pime.
6. B[m] K sā; SS sabbā.

satthaṃ gahetvā ovarakaṃ pavisitvā[1] udaraṃ opādesi[2] : "Yāva jānāmi[3] yadi vā kumārako yadi vā kumārikā ti." Sā attānañ c'eva [4]jīvitaṃ gabbhaṃ sāpateyyañ ca [vināsesi][4] yāthā[5] taṃ bālā avyattā anaya-vyasanaṃ āpannā, ayoniso dāyajjaṃ gavessanti. Evam eva kho tvaṃ Rājañña bālo avyatto anaya-vyasanaṃ āpajjissasi ayoniso paralokaṃ gavesanto, seyyathā pi sā[6] brāhmaṇī bālā avyattā anaya-vyasanaṃ āpannā ayoniso dāyajjaṃ gavesantī.[7] Na kho Rājañña samaṇa-brāhmaṇā sīlavanto kalyāṇa-dhammā apakkaṃ paripācenti,[8] api ca paripākaṃ[9] āgamenti paṇḍitā.[10] Attho hi[11] Rājañña samaṇa-brāhmaṇānaṃ sīlavantānaṃ kalyāṇa-dhammānaṃ jīvitena. Yathā yathā kho[12] Rājañña samaṇa-brāhmaṇā sīlavanto kalyāṇa-dhammā ciraṃ dīgham addhānaṃ tiṭṭhanti,[13] tathā tathā[14] bahuṃ puññaṃ pasavanti, bahujana-hitāya ca paṭipajjanti bahujana-sukhāya lokânukampakāya[15] atthāya hitāya sukhāya deva-manussānaṃ. Iminā pi kho te[16] Rājañña pariyāyena evaṃ hotu : Iti pi atthi paraloko, atthi sattā opapātikā, atthi sukaṭa-dukkaṭānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti.'

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1. B^m pavīsitvā.
2. K uppādesi.
3. *So* SS; B^m vijāyāmi; K vijānāmi.
4-4. SS K *omit* vināsesi ; B^m jīvitañ ca sabbañ ca sāpateyyañ ca vināsesi; K jīvitañ ca gabbhañ ca sāpateyyañ ca.
5. S^t nā; S^{cd} ; S^{cd} *omit.*
6. K *omits* pi sā.
7. SS-ti.
8. SS pācenti.
9. S^t B^m K paripākaṃ ; S^{cd} -kā.
10. S^t pāsita; B^m paṇḍitānam (*after* āgamenti, *so that* paṇḍitānaṃ *is thrown into the next sentence*).
11. K aññehi.
12. K *omits* yathā kho.
13. S^{cd} diṭṭhanti.
14. K *omits one* tathā.
15. *So* SS. B^m K-pāya
16. K *omits.*

13. 'Well then, Prince, I will make you a simile, for by way of a simile some wise men discern the meaning of what is spoken. Once upon a time, Prince, there was a brahmin who had two wives. By one he had a son, ten or twelve years of age ; the other was pregnant and near her time. Then the brahmin died. Now the boy said to his mother's co-wife:— "Whatever treasure there is, lady, or grain, or silver, or gold, all that is mine. There is nothing here for you whatever ; make over to me, lady, the heritage of my father ! "Then the brahminee made answer to him:— "Wait, my lad, till my child is born. If'twill be a boy, one portion shall be his; if a girl, she shall wait on you."

'But the boy reiterated his claim again and yet again. Then the brahminee, taking a sword, entered an inner room and ripped up her belly, saying:— "If I can only find out whether 'tis a boy or a girl." Thus did she destroy both her own life and her unborn infant, and her wealth also, through the foolish and thoughtless way in which, seeking a heritage, she met with ruin and disaster. Even so you, Prince, foolish and thoughtless that you are, will meet with ruin and disaster by seeking without wisdom for another world. Moral and virtuous Wanderers and Brahmins do not force maturity on that which is unripe; they, being wise, wait for that maturity. The virtuous have need of their life. In proportion to the length of time such men abide here, is the abundant merit that they produce and accomplish for the welfare of many, for the happiness of many, out of compassion for the world, for the advantage, the welfare, the happiness of gods and men. Let this then be a proof to you, Prince, that there is another world, that there is rebirth other than of parentage, that there is fruit and result of deeds well and ill-done.'

14. 'Kiñcâpi bhavaṃ Kassapo evam āha, atha kho evam me ettha[1] hoti : Iti pi n'atthi paraloko, n'atthi sattā opapātikā, n'atthi sukaṭa-dukkaṭānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti.'

'Atthi pana Rājañña pariyāyo . . . pe . . . ?

'Atthi bho Kassapa pariyāyo . . . pe . . .

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1. B^m ettha me.

'Kathaṃ viya Rājaññâti ?'

'Idha me bho[1] Kassapa purisā coraṃ āgu-cāriṃ gahetvā dassenti : "Ayaṃ te bhante coro āgu cārī, imassa yaṃ icchasi taṃ daṇḍaṃ paṇehîti."[2] Tyâhaṃ evaṃ vadāmi : "Tena hi bho imaṃ purisaṃ jīvantaṃ yeva kumbhiyā pakkhipitvā mukhaṃ pidahitvā allena cammena onandbitvā allāya mattikāya bahalâvalepanaṃ[3] karitvā[4] uddhanaṃ āropetvā aggiṃ dethâti." Te me "sadhûti" paṭisuṇitvā[5] taṃ purisaṃ jīvantaṃ yeva kumbhiyā pakkhipitvā mukhaṃ pidahitvā allena cammena onandhitvā allāya mattikāya bahalâvale-panaṃ karitvā[6] uddhanaṃ āropetvā aggiṃ denti. Yadā mayaṃ jānāma : "Kālakato[7] so puriso ti," atha naṃ[8] kumbhiṃ oropetvā ubbhinditva[9] mukhaṃ vivaritvā saṇikaṃ[10] nillokema[11] : "App eva nām' assa jīvaṃ nikkhamantaṃ passāma. Ayam pi kho bho Kassapa pariyāyo yena me pariyāyena evaṃ hoti: Iti pi n'atthi paraloko, n'atthi sattā opapātika, n'atthi sukaṭa dukkaṭānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti.'

14. 'Even though Master Kassapa says so, it still appears to me that not one of these things exists.'

'Have you further evidence, Prince ?'

'I have, Master Kassapa.'

'As how, Prince ?'

'Here it is, Master Kassapa. Take the case of men who having taken a felon red-handed bring him up, saying :— "This

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1. S[cd] Ime kho ; S[t] Idha me so.
2. K vadehîti; *in next* § dehîti. *See* p. 321.
3. B[m] K bahalavil[o] (*twice*); K (Sī) bahalāv[o].
4. B[m] kāretvā.
5. K paṭissutvā.
6. *So* B[m] *here.*
7. B[m] kālañkato.
8. S[cd] B[m] naṃ; S[t] K taṃ.
9. B[m] ubbandhitvā.
10. S[cd] sunikaṃ ; S[t] sanikaṃ.
11. K vilokema.

felon, my lord, was caught in the act Inflict on him what penalty you wish." And I should say :— "Well then, my masters, throw this man alive into a jar; close the mouth of it and cover it over with wet leather, put over that a thick cement of moist clay, put it on to a furnace and kindle a fire." They saying "Very good" would obey me and . . . kindle a fire. When we knew that the man was dead, we should take down the jar, unbind and open the mouth, and quickly observe it, with the idea:— "Perhaps we may see the soul of him coming out! "We don't see the soul of him coming out! This, master Kassapa, is for me evidence that there neither is another world, nor rebirth other than by parentage, nor fruit or result of deeds well or ill-done.'

15. 'Tena hi Rājañña taṃ yev' ettha paṭipucchissāmi, yathā te khameyya tathā naṃ vyākareyyāsi. Abhijānāsi no tvaṃ Rājañña divā-seyyaṃ upagato supinakaṃ passitvā ārāma-rāmaṇeyyakaṃ vana-rāmaṇeyyakaṃ bhūmirāmaṇeyyakaṃ pokkharaṇī-rāmaṇeyyakan ti ?'[1]

'Abhijānām' ahaṃ bho Kassapa divā-seyyaṃ upagato supinakaṃ passitvā ārāma-rāmaṇeyyakaṃ vana-rāmaṇeyyakan ti.'

'Rakkhanti taṃ tamhi samaye khujjā pi vāmanikā[2] pi velāmikā[3] pi komārikā pîti ?'

'Evam pi[4] bho Kassapa rakkhanti maṃ[5] tamhi samaye khujjā pi vāmanikā pi velāmikā[6] pi komārikā pîti.'

'Api nu tā tumhaṃ[7] jīvaṃ passanti pavisantaṃ[8] vā nikkhamantaṃ vā ti ?'

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1. *Compare* J.R.A.S. 1899, *p.* 77.
2. B[m] K vāmanakā, *and below. See* M. 1. 178.
3. S[c] velomikā ; S[d] celovikā ; S[t] velāvika; B[m] velāsikā ; K celāvikā (*and below*).
4. K *omits.*
5. S[d] B[m] *omit.*
6. *So* S[c], S[d] velāmi (*and omits* pi); S[t] velācakā (*omits* komārikā pi); B[m] velāsikā. *See above, p.* 198.
7. S[t] tuyha; B[m] K tuyhaṃ.
8. B[m] pavīs°.

'No h' idaṃ[1] bho Kassapa.'

'Tā hi nāma Rājañña tumhaṃ[2] jīvantassa jivantiyo jīvaṃ na passissanti pavisantaṃ vā nikkhamantaṃ vā. Kim pana tvaṃ[3] kālakatassa[4] jīvam passissanti pavi-santaṃ vā nikkhamantaṃ vā ? Iminā pi kho te Rājañña pariyāyena evaṃ hotu : Iti pi atthi paraloko, atthi sattā opapātikā, atthi sukaṭa-dukkaṭānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti.'

15. 'Well then, Prince, I will in reply ask you something, and do you answer as you may please. Do you not admit, Prince, that, when you are taking siesta, you see dreams of enjoyment in garden, grove, country, or lake side ?'

'I do admit it, Master Kassapa.'

'Are you at that time watched over by attendant women—hunchbacks and dwarfs, and maidens[5] and girls ?'

'That is so, Master Kassapa.'

'Do they see your soul entering or leaving you ?'

'Not so, Master Kassapa.'

'So they who are living do not see the soul of you who are living entering or leaving you (when you dream). How then will you see the soul of a dead person entering or leaving him? Let this be a proof to you, Prince, that those things do exist.'

16. 'Kiñcâpi bhavaṃ Kassapo evam āha, atha kho evam me[6] ettha hoti : Iti pi n'atthi paraloko, n'atthi sattā opapātikā, n'atthi sukaṭa-dukkaṭānam kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti ?'

'Atthi pana Rājañña pariyāyo . . . pe . . .?

'Atthi bho Kassapa pariyāyo . . . pe . . .

'Yathā kathaṃ viya Rājaññâti ?'

'Idha me bho Kassapa purisā coraṃ āgu-cāriṃ gahetvā dassenti : "Ayan te bhante coro āgu-cārī, imassa yaṃ icchasi

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1. B^{m} K etaṃ.
2. S^{t} B^{m} K tuyhaṃ.
3. *So* SS B^{m}.
4. B^{m} kālañk^{o}.
5. Velāmikā, 'very young and childish,' says Buddhaghosa here. Above, p. 231, it seems to be a clan name, but used in a similar connexion.
6. S^{d} eva; B^{m} ettha me.

taṃ daṇḍaṃ paṇehîti."[1] Tyâhaṃ evaṃ vadāmi : "Tena hi bho imaṃ bho imaṃ purisaṃ jīvantaṃ yeva tulāya tuletvā jiyāya anassāsakaṃmāretvā punad eva tulāya tulethâti." Te me "Sādhûti" paṭisuṇitvā[2] purisaṃ jīvantaṃ yeva tulāya tuletvā jiyāya anassāsakaṃ māretvā punad eva tulāya tulenti.[3] Yadā so jīvati,[4] tadā lahutaro ca hoti mudutaro ca kammaññataro ca. Yadā pana so kālakato hoti, tadā garutaro ca hoti patthīnataro[5] ca akammaññataro ca. Ayam pi kho bho Kassapa pariyāyo yena me pariyāyena evaṃ hoti: Iti pi n'atthi paraloko, n'atthi sattā opapātikā, n'atthi sukaṭa dukkaṭānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti."

16. 'Even though Master Kassapa says so, it still appears to me that not one of those things exists.'

'Have you any further evidence, Prince ?'

'I have, Master Kassapa.'

'As how ?'

'Take the case, Master Kassapa, of men taking a felon red-handed, and bringing him up saying:— "My lord, we caught this felon in the act. Inflict what penalty you wish." And I say:— "Well then, my masters, take this man and weigh him alive; then strangle him with a bowstring and weigh him again." And they do so. While he lives, he is more buoyant, supple, wieldy. When he is dead, he is weightier, stiffer, unwieldier. This, Master Kassapa, is evidence for me that there is neither another world, nor rebirth other than by human parentage, nor fruit nor result of deeds well-done or ill-done.'

17. 'Tena hi Rājañña upaman te karissāmi. Upamāya pi idh' ekacce viññū purisā bhāsitassa atthaṃ ājānanti. Seyyathā pi Rājañña puriso divasa[6]-santattaṃ ayo-guiaṃ

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1. K dehîti.
2. K paṭissutvā.
3. B^{m} tulanti.
4. S^{cd} jīvi.
5. S^{cd} patthinatthiro; B^{m} pattinnataro; K patthinnataro (*and so all below*). *See* 'Vinaya Texts,' *p.* ii. 206. *and* Asl. 307.
6. B^{m}-saṃ; K divasantattaṃ.

ādittaṃ sampajjalitaṃ sajotibhūtaṃ[1] tulāya toleyya,[2] tam enaṃ aparena samayena sītaṃ nibbutaṃ tulāya toleyya. Kadā nu kho so ayo-guḷo lahutaro vā[3] hoti mudutaro vā kammaññatato vā ? Yadā vā ādittto sampajjalito sajotibhūto, yadā vā sīto nibbuto ti ?'

'Yadā so bho Kassapa ayo-gulo tejo-sahagato ca hoti vāyo-sahagato āditte sampajjalito sajoti-bhūto, tadā lahutaro ca hoti mudutaro ca kammaññataro ca. Yadā pana so ayo-guḷo n'eva tejo-sahagato hoti na vāyosahagato sīto nibbuto, tadā garutaro ca hoti patthīnataro ca akammaññataro câti.'

'Evam eva kho Rājañña yadā 'yaṃ[4] kāyo āyu-sahagato ca hoti usmā-sahagato ca viññāṇa-sahagato ca, tadā lahutaro ca hoti mudutaro ca kammaññataro ca.[5] Yadā panâyaṃ kāyo n'eva āyu-sahagato ca hoti na usmā-sahagato[6] na viññāṇa-sahagato,[7] tadā garutaro ca hoti patthīnataro ca akammaññataro ca. Iminā pi kho te Rājañña pariyāyena evvaṃ hoti: Iti pi atthi paraloko, atthi sattā opapātikā, atthi sukaṭa-dukkaṭānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti.'

17. 'Well now, Prince, I will give you a simile, for by way of a simile some wise men discern the meaning of what is said. It is just as if, Prince, a man were to weigh in a balance a ball of iron that had been heated all day, and was burning and glowing with heat; and were to weigh it later on in a balance when it was cool and quenched. When would that ball of iron be lighter, softer and more plastic ? When it was burning and glowing with heat, or when it was cool and quenched ?'

'When, Master Kassapa, that ball of iron, with its lambent and gaseous concomitants, is burning and glowing with heat, then it is lighter, softer, more plastic, but when, without those

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1. K sañjoti (*twice*).
2. *So* S^{dt}; S^{c} to leyyaṃ; B^{m} K tuleyya (*and below*).
3. S^{c} cā *corrected to* ca.
4. K ayaṃ.
5. *See* M. i. 295 ; Chānd. Up. vi. 8, 6; Tait. Br. ii., 2, 9, 1.
6. K *adds* ca.
7. K *adds* ca.

lambent and gaseous concomitants, it is cool and quenched, it is then heavier, more rigid, less plastic.'

'Even so, Prince, when this body has its concomitants of life, heat and intelligence, then it is lighter, softer and more plastic. But when it lacks those three concomitants, then it is heavier, more rigid, less plastic.

'Let this, Prince, be a proof to you that there is both another world, rebirth other than of parents, and fruit and result of deeds well and ill-done.'

18. 'Kiñcâpi bhavaṃ Kassapa evam āha, atha kho evaṃ me ettha[1] hoti : Iti pi n'atthi paraloko, n'atthi sattā opapātikā, n'atthi sukaṭa-dukkaṭānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti.'

'Atthi pana Rājañña pariyāyo . . . pe . . . ?'

'Atthi bho Kassapa pariyāyo . . . pe . . .'

'Yathā kethaṃ viya Rājaññâti ?'

'Idha me bho Kassapa purisā coraṃ āgu-cāriṃ gahetvā dassenti : "Ayan te bhante coro āgu-cārī, imassa yaṃ icchasi taṃ daṇḍaṃ paṇehîti."[2] Tyâhaṃ vadāmi : "Tena hi bho imaṃ purisaṃ anupahacca chaviñ ca cammañ ca maṃsañ ca nahāruñ[3] ca aṭṭhiñ ca aṭṭhi-miñjañ ca jīvitā voropethâti."[4] Te me "Sādhûti" paṭisuṇitvā taṃ purisaṃ anupahacca[5] chaviñ ca[6] cammañ ca maṃsañ ca nahāruñ ca aṭṭhiñ ca aṭṭhi-miñjañ ca jivitā voropenti. Yadā so addhamato[7] hoti, tyâhaṃ evaṃ vadāmi: "Tena hi bho imaṃ purisaṃ uttānaṃ nipātetha, app eva nām' assa jīvaṃ nikkha-mantaṃ passeyyāmâti." Te taṃ purisaṃ uttānaṃ nipātenti, n'eva assa mayaṃ jīvaṃ nikkhamantam passāma. Tyâhaṃ evaṃ vadāmi: "Tena hi

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1. S^c evaṃ me 'v' ettha ; S^{dt} evameettha.
2. K vadehîti.
3. B^m nhāruñ.
4. B^m K voropetha, app eva nām'assa jīvaṃ nikkha-mantuṃ passeyyāmâti.
5. S^d anap.
6. B^m pa, *down* to -miñjañ ca.
7. SS amato; B^m āmato.

bho imaṃ purisaṃ avakujjaṃ[1] nipāteha ... pe ... passena nipātetha ... dutiyena passena nipātetha ... uddhaṃ ṭhapetha ... omuddhakaṃ ṭhapetha ... pāṇinā ākoṭetha ... leḍḍunā[2] ākoṭetha ... daṇḍena ākoṭetha ... satthena ākoṭetha ... odunātha ... sandhunātha ... niddhunātha,[3] app eva nām' assa jīvaṃ nikkha-mantaṃ passeyyāmâti." Te taṃ purisaṃ odhunanti[4] sandhunanti[5] niddhnanti,[6] n'eva assa mayaṃ jivaṃ nikkhamantaṃ passāma.[7] Tassa ca[8] tad eva cakkhuṃ[9] hoti te[10] rūpā tañ ca' āyatanaṃ nappaṭisaṃvedeti, tad eva sotaṃ hoti te saddā tañ c'āyatanaṃ nappaṭisaṃvedeti, ted eva ghānaṃ hoti te gandhā tañ c'āyatanaṃ nappaṭi-saṃvedeti, sā yeva[11] jivnā hoti te rasā tañ c'āyatanaṃ nappaṭisaṃvedeti, so yeva[12] kāyo hoti te phoṭṭhabbā tañ c'āyatanaṃ nappaṭisaṃvedeti. Ayam pi kho bho Kassapa pariyāyo yena me pariyāyena evaṃ hoti : Iti pi n'atthi paraloko, n'atthi sattā opapātikā, n'atthi sukaṭa-dukkaṭānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti."

18. 'Even though Master Kassapa says this, it still appears to me that not one of those things exists.'

'Have you any further evidence, Prince ?'

'I have, Master Kassapa.'

'What might that be like ?'

'Take the case, Master Kassapa, of the men taking a felon red-handed and bringing him up, saying :— "My lord, this felon

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1. SS, B^m K avakujja, *but see below*, p. 337, *note*[11], *and* J.P.T.S., 1886, p. 148; M.i. 80; S v. 89; Jāt. vi. 40.
2. K leṇḍunā; (*note*) leḍḍunātipi pāṭho.
3. S^cd nibbunātha: *see below*.
4. S^cd omunanti.
5. S^c samun^c ; B^m saṃdhūn^o.
6. S^c nibbun^o; B^m niddhūn^o (*but not above*).
7. K passeyyāma.
8. B^m K *omit*.
9. B^m cakkhu; K cakkhaṃ.
10. S^t *omits*.
11. SS *omit* yeva; B^m ca.
12. K so va.

was caught in the act. Inflict on him what penalty you wish." And I say:— "Well, my masters, kill this man by stripping off cuticle and skin and flesh and sinews and bones and marrow." They do so. And when he is half dead, I say :— "Lay him on his back, and perhaps we may see the soul of him pass out." And they do so, but we see the passing of no soul. Then I say:— "Well then, lay him bent over . . . on his side . . . on the other side . . . stand him up . . . stand him on his head . . . smite him with your hand . . . with clods . . . on this side . . . on that side . . . all over; perhaps we may see the soul of him pass out." And they do so, but we see the passing of no soul. He has sight and there are forms, but the organ does not perceive them ; he has hearing and there are sounds, but the organ does not perceive them ; he has smell and there are odours, but the organ does not perceive them, he has a tongue and there are tastes, but the organ does not perceive them ; he has a body and there are tangibles, but the organ does not perceive them. This, Master Kassapa, is for me evidence that there is neither another world, nor rebirth other than of parents, nor fruit or result of deeds well or ill-done.'

19. 'Tena hi Rājañña upaman te karissāmi. Upamāya p' idh' ekacce viññū purisā bhāsitassa atthaṃ ājānanti. Bhutapubbaṃ Rājañña aññataro saṅkha-dhamo saṅkhaṃ ādāya paccantimaṃ janapadaṃ agamāsi. So yen aññataro gāmo ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā majjhe gāmassa ṭhito tikkhattuṃ saṅkhaṃ upaḷāsitvā[1] saṅkhaṃ bhūmiyaṃ nikkhipitvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. Atha kho Rājañña tesaṃ paccantajānaṃ[2] manussā-naṃ etad ahosi: "Kissa[3] nu kho eso saddo evaṃ rajanīyo evaṃ kamanīyo[4] evaṃ madanīyo

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1. SS upalāsitvā; B^m upaḷāpetvā; K upaḷāsetvā. *See* Mil. p. 21 (*last line*), Trenckner, 'Pali Miscellany,' p. 83.
2. S^cd paccantarājānaṃ; B^m K paccanta-janapada-; K (Sī) paccantajānaṃ.
3. SS ambho kissa; B^m K ambho kassa.
4. *So* SS; B^m khamaṇiyo; *and so onwards;* K kammaniyo. B^m and K throughout °niyo.

evaṃ madanīyo evaṃ bandhanīyo evaṃ mucchanīti[1] ti ?" Sannipatitvā taṃ saṅkha-dhamaṃ etad avocuṃ : "Ambho kissa[2] nu kho eso saddo evaṃ rajanīyo evaṃ kamanīyo evaṃ madanīyo evaṃ bandhanīyo evaṃ mucchanīyo ti ?" "Eso kho bho[3] saṅkho nāma yass' eso[4] saddo evaṃ rajanīyo evaṃ kamanīyo evaṃ madanīyo evaṃ bandhanīyo evaṃ mucchanīyo ti." Te taṃ saṅkhaṃ uttaevaṃ : "Vadehi bho saṅkha, vadehi bho saṅkhâti." N'eva so saṅkho saddam akāsi. Te taṃ saṅkhaṃ avakujjaṃ[5] nipātesuṃ . . . passena nipātesuṃ . . . dutiyena passena nipātesuṃ . . . uddhaṃ ṭhapesuṃ . . . omuddhakaṃ ṭhapesum . . . pāṇinā ākoṭesuṃ . . . leḍḍunā ākoṭesum . . . odhuniṃsu . . . sandhuniṃsu . . . niddhuniṃsu : "Vadehi bho saṅkha, vadehi bho saṅkhâti." N'eva so saṅkho saddam akāsi. Atha kho Rajañña tassa saṅkha-bhamassā etad ahosi : "Yāva[6] bālā ime paccantajā[7] manussā! Kathaṃ hi nāma ayoniso saṅkha-saddaṃ gavesissantîti!" Tesaṃ pekkhamānānaṃ saṅkhaṃ gahetvā tikkhattuṃ saṅkhaṃ upaḷāsitvā[8] saṅkhaṃ ādāya pakkāmi.[9] Atha kho Rājañña tesaṃ paccantajānaṃ[10] manussānaṃ etad ahosi : "Yadā kira bho ayaṃ saṅkho nāma purisa-sahagato ca hoti vāyāma-sahagato ca vāyo-sajagatp[11] ca, tadâyaṃ saṅkho saddaṃ karoti. Yadā panâyaṃ saṅkho n'eva purisa-sahagato hoti na vāyāma-sahagato na vāyo-sahagato, nâyaṃ saṅkho saddaṃ karotîti." Evam eva kho Rājañña yadâyaṃ kāyo āyu-sahagato ca hoti usmā-sahagato ca viññāṇa-sahagato ca, tadā abhikkamati pi[12] paṭikkamati

1. K muñcaniyo (*three times.*)
2. B^m kassa.
3. B^m *omits.*
4. K yassa os.
5. So *all* Mss. *and* K.
6. B^m K *add* kho.
7. B^m paccanta-janapada-; K -padā.
8. SS upalāsitvā; B^m upaḷāpetvā; K upaḷasetvā.
9. B^m pakkami.
10. B^m K-janapadānaṃ.
11. B^m vāyu-, *and below.*
12. S^cd *omit.*

pi tiṭṭpi nisīdati pi seyyam pi kappeti, cakkhunā pi rūpaṃ passati, sotena pi saddaṃ suṇāti, ghānena pi gandhaṃ ghāyati, jivhāya pi rasaṃ sāyati, kāyena pi gandhaṃ ghāyati, jivhāya pi rasaṃ sāyati, kāyena pi phoṭṭhabbam phusati, manasā pi dhammaṃ vijānāti. Yadā panâyaṃ kāyo n'eva āyu-sahagato ca hoti, na usmā-sahagato ca, na viññāṇa-sahagato, tadā n'eva abhikkamati na paṭikkamati na tiṭṭhati na nisīdati na seyyaṃ kappeti, cakkhunā pi rūpaṃ na passati, sotena pi saddaṃ na suṇāti, ghānena pi gandhaṃ na ghāyati, jīhāya pi rasaṃ na sāyati, kāyena pi phoṭṭhabbaṃ na phusati, manasā pi dhammaṃ na vijānāti. Iminā pi kho te Rājañña pariyāyena evaṃ hotu : Iti pi atthi paraloko, atthi sattā opapātikā, atthi sukaṭa-dukkaṭānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti.'[1]

19. 'Well then, Prince, I will give you a simile, for by way of a simile some wise men discern the meaning of what is said. Once upon a time, Prince, a certain trumpeter, taking his trumpet of chank-shell, travelled to the folk on the border. When he came to a certain village, he stood in- its midst and blew thrice on his trumpet, then laying it on the ground sat down beside it. Now, Prince, those border folk thought:— "Whose is this sound so charming, so lovely, so sweet, so constraining, so enervating ?" Coming together they asked the trumpeter. "This, my masters, is what men call a trumpet, the sound whereof is so charming, so lovely, so sweet, so constraining, so enervating." They laid the trumpet on its back and said :— "Speak, master trumpet! speak, master trumpet! "No sound did the trumpet make. They laid the trumpet curving downward, on this side, on that side, they stood it upright, they stood it topsy turvy, they struck it with their hands, with a clod, with a stick, with a sword, on one side, on the other, on every side, saying:— "Speak, master trumpet ! speak, master trumpet!" Then, Prince, the trumpeter thought:— "How silly are these border born men ! Why will they seek so senselessly for the trumpet's sound ?" And while they looked on, he took his trumpet, blew thrice upon it and, taking

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1. K *adds* Paṭhama-bhāṇavāraṃ.

it with him, went away. Then, Prince, those border born men thought thus :— "When forsooth there was with that trumpet a man, and an effort, and air, that same trumpet made sounds. But when there was with it neither man, nor effort, nor air, that same trumpet made no sounds." Even so, Prince, when this body has its concomitants of life, heat and intelligence, then it goes about and comes back, it stands and sits and lies down, it sees forms with the eye, hears sounds with the ear, smells odours with the smell, tastes tastes with the tongue, touches the tangible with the body, cognizes things with the mind. But when it lacks those three concomitants, it can do none of these things. Let this, Prince, be to you a proof that- there both is another world, rebirth other than of parents, and fruit and result of deeds well and ill-done.'

20. 'Kiñcâpi bhavaṃ Kassapo evam āha, atha kho evam me ettha hoti : Iti pi n'atthi paraloko, n'atthi sattā opapātikā, n'atthi sukaṭa-dukkaṭānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti.'

'Atthi pana Rājañña pariyāyo . . . pe . . . ?'

'Atthi bho Kassapa pariyāyo . . . pe . . .

'Yathā kathaṃ viya Rājaññâti ?'

'Idha me bho Kassapa purisā coraṃ āgu-cāriṃ gahetvā dessenti : "Ayaṃ te bhante coro āgu-cārī, imassa yaṃ icchasi taṃ daṇḍaṃ paṇehîti."[1] Tyâhaṃ evaṃ vadāmi: "Tena hi bho imassa purisassa chaviṃ chindatha, app eva nām' assa jīvaṃ passeyyāmâti." Te tassa purisassa chaviṃ chindanti, n'ev' assa mayaṃ jīvaṃ passâma. Tyâhaṃ evaṃ vadāmi : "Tena hi bho imassa purisassa cammam chindatha . . . maṃsaṃ chindatha . . . nahāruṃ chindatha . . . aṭṭhim chinda-tha . . . aṭṭhi-miñjaṃ chindatha, app eva nām assa jīvaṃ passeyyāmâti." Te tassa purisassa aṭṭhi-miñjaṃ chindanti, n'ev' assa mayaṃ jīvaṃ passāma. Ayam pi kho bho Kassapa pariyāyo yena me pariyāyena evaṃ hoti : Iti pi n'atthi paraloko, n'atthi sattā opapātikā, n'atthi sukaṭa-dukkaṭānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti.'

20. 'Even though Master Kassapa says this, it still appears to me that there is neither another world, nor rebirth

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1. K vadehîti. *See* p. 321

other than of parents, nor fruit or result of deeds well or ill-done.'

'Have you any further evidence, Prince ?'

'I have, Master Kassapa.'

'What may that be like ?'

'Take the case, Master Kassapa, of men who have taken a felon red-handed and bring him up, saying:— "My lord, we caught this felon in the act; inflict on him what penalty you wish." And I say :— "Well, my masters, flay this man alive, perchance we may see the soul of him passing out." They do so, but no passing of the soul of him do we see. And in cutting out his integument, and his flesh, and his nerves, and breaking his bones and extracting the marrow thereof, still no soul of him do we see. This, Master Kassapa, is for me evidence that there is neither another world, nor rebirth other than of parents, nor fruit or result of deeds well or ill-done.'

21. 'Tona hi Rājañña upaman te karissāmi. Upamâya pi idh' ekacce viññū purisā bhāsitassa attham ājānanti. Bhūtapubbaṃ Rājañña[1] aggiko jaṭilo araññâyatane paṇṇa-kuṭiyā[2] vasati.[3] Atha kho Rājañña aññataro janapada-padeso[4] vuṭṭhāsi. Atha kho so sattho[5] tassa aggikassa jaṭilassa assamassa sāmantā eka-rattiṃ vasitvā pakkāmi.[6] Atha kho Rājañña tassa aggikassa jaṭilassa etad ahosi : "Yan nūnâhaṃ yena so sattha-vāso[7] ten upasaṃkameyyaṃ, app eva nām' ettha kiñci upakaraṇaṃ[8] adhigaccheyyan ti." Atha kho so aggiko jaṭiko jaṭilo kālass' eva vuṭṭhāya yena so sattha-vāso ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā addasa tasmiṃ satthavāse daharaṃ kumāraṃ mandaṃ[9] uttāna-seyyakaṃ chaḍḍotaṃ.

1. B^{m} K *insert* aññataro.
2. S^{t} paṭiyā.
3. B^{m} samati ; K sammati; (Sī) vasati.
4. *So* SS K (Sī); B^{m} janapadesattho; K janapado satthavāso.
5. *So* S^{t} B^{m}; S^{c} satto; S^{d} tatta; K satthavāso.
6. B^{m} pakkami.
7. S^{t} *here only, and* S^{ct} *here and below* āvāso. SS *in* §17 (pp. 344, 345) sattha-vāso.
8. S^{cd} -kannaṃ
9. K maṇḍaṃ.

Disvān' assa[1] etad ahosi: "Na kho me taṃ paṭirūpaṃ yam me pekkhamānassa manussa-bhūto kālaṃ kareyya. Yan nūnâhaṃ imaṃ dārakaṃ[2] assamaṃ netvā[3] āpādeyyaṃ poseyyaṃ vaḍḍheyyan ti." Atha kho so aggiko jaṭilo taṃ dārakaṃ assamaṃ ānetvā[4] āpādesi posesi vaḍḍhesi. Yadā so dārako dasavvassuddesiko vā hoti dvādasavass-uddesiko vā, ath' assa[5] aggikassa jaṭilassa janapade kiñcid eva karaṇīyaṃ uppajji.[6] Atha kho so aggiko jaṭilo taṃ dārakaṃ etad avoca: "Icchām' ahaṃ tāta janapadaṃ[7] gantuṃ, aggiṃ[8] paricareyyāsi, mā ca te aggi nibbāyi. Sace va te aggi nibbāyeyya, ayaṃ vāsī, imāni kaṭṭhāni, idaṃ araṇi[9]-sahitaṃ, aggiṃ nibbattetvā aggiṃ paricareyyāsîti." Atha kho so aggiko jatto taṃ dārakaṃ evam anusāsitvā janapadaṃ agamāsi. Tassa khiḍḍā-pasutassa aggi nibbāyi. Atha kho tassa dārakassa etad ahosi : "Pitā kho maṃ evaṃ avaca: 'Aggiṃ tāta paricareyyāsi, mā ca te aggi nibbāyi. Sace va te aggi nibbāyeyya ayaṃ vāsī imāni kaṭṭhāni idaṃ araṇi-sahitaṃ, aggiṃnibbattetvā aggiṃ paricareyyāsîti.' Yan nūnâhaṃ aggiṃ nibbattetvā aggiṃ paricareyyan ti.:" Atha kho so dārako araṇi-sahitaṃ vāsiyā[10] tacchi : "App eva nāma aggiṃ adhigaccheyyan ti." N'eva so aggiṃ adhigacchi. Araṇi -sahitaṃ dvidhā phālesi,[11] tidhā phālesi, catudhā phālesi, pañcadhā phālesi, dasadhā phālesi, satadhā[12] phālesi, sakalikaṃ

1. SS *decidedly* disvā tassa *See* p. 347
2. S^t idaṃ daharakaṃ.
3. S^c assaṃ mānetvā; S^{dt} B^m K assamaṃ netvā.
4. *So* SS B^m K netvā *as before.*
5. S^t atha tassa; B^m K atha kho tassa.
6. K kiñci deva-karanīyaṃ upapajji.
7. B^m nagaraṃ.
8. B^m K *and* tāta.
9. SS *very between* i *and* ī; K *always* °ṇi; B^m *always* °ṇī.
10. S^{cd} *insert* taṃ vāsiyā.
11. S^{cd} phālesīti; B^m phāḷesi *almost always.* S^t l *and* ḷ ; K *always* l.
12. K visatidhā; K (Sī) satadhā.

sakalikaṃ akāsi, sakalikaṃ sakalikaṃ karitvā[1] udukkhale koṭṭhesi,[2] udukkhale koṭṭhetvā mahā-vāte opuni:[3] "App eva nāma[4] aggiṃ adhigaccheyyan ti." N'eva so aggiṃ adhigacchi. Atha kho so aggiko jaṭilo janapade taṃ karaṇīyaṃ tīretvā, yena sako assamo ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā taṃ dārakaṃ etad avoca: "Kacci te tāta aggi[5] nibbuto ti ?" "Idha me tāta khiḍḍā-pasutassa aggi nibbāyi. Tassa me etad ahosi: Pitā kho maṃ evaṃ avaca: 'Aggiṃ tāta paricareyyāsi, mā ca te[6] aggi nibbāyi. Sace va te aggi nibbāyeyya ayaṃ vāsī imāni kaṭṭhāni idaṃ araṇi-sahitaṃ, aggiṃ nibbattetvā aggiṃ paricareyyāsîti.' Yan nūnâhaṃ aggiṃ nibbattetvā aggiṃ paricareyyan ti. Atha kho ahaṃ tāta araṇi-sahitaṃ vāsiyā tacchiṃ: 'App eva nāma aggiṃ adhigaccheyyan ti.' N'evâhaṃ aggiṃ adhigacchiṃ. Araṇi-sahitaṃ dvidhā phālesiṃ, tidhā phālesiṃ, catudhā phālesiṃ, pañcadhā phālesiṃ, dasadhā phālesiṃ, satadhā phālesim, sakalikaṃ sakalikaṃ akāsiṃ, sakalikaṃ saka-likaṃ karitvā udukkhale koṭṭhesiṃ, udukkhale koṭṭhetvā mahā-vāte opuniṃ: 'App eva nāma aggiṃ adhigaccheyyam ti.' N'evâhaṃ aggiṃ adhigacchin ti." Atha kho tassa aggikassa jaṭilassa etad ahosi: "Yāva bālo ayaṃ dārako avyatto. Kathaṃ hi nāma ayoniso aggiṃ gavesissatîti?" Tassa pekkhamānassa araṇi-sahitaṃ gahetvā aggiṃ nibbattetvā taṃ dārakaṃ etad avoca : "Evaṃ kho tāta aggi nibbattetabbo, na tv eva yathā tvaṃ[7] bālo avyatto ayoniso aggiṃ gavesissasîti."[8] Evam eva kho tvaṃ Rājañña bālo avyatto ayoniso paralokaṃ gavesasi.[9] Paṭinissajj' etaṃ Rājañña pāpakaṃ diṭṭhi-gataṃ. Paṭinissajj' etaṃ Rājañña

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1. B^{m} karetvā.
2. B^{m} koṭṭesi *and* koṭṭetvā *as* B^{d} *at* Jāt. iv. 37 (*comp.* ii. 424) ; K koṭesi *and* koṭetva.
3. K ophuni, *and below.*
4. SS *omit.*
5. B^{m} *adds* na.
6. B^{m} K *add* tāta
7. S^{cd} taṃ.
8. B^{m} gavesîti.
9. B^{m} K gavesissasi.

pāpakaṃ diṭṭhi-gataṃ. Mā te ahosi dīgha-rattaṃ ahitāya dukkhāyâti.'

21. 'Well now, Prince, I will give you a simile, for it is by way of a simile that some intelligent men discern the meaning of what is spoken. Once upon a time, Prince, a fire-worshipping Jatila was dwelling in a leaf-hut in a woodland spot. Now the people of a certain country-side migrated. And their leader, after spending one night near the Jatila's hermitage, went away. Then the Jarila thought:— "If I were to go to that leader's camp, I might perhaps get something useful." And rising up betimes he came to the leader's camp, and there he saw, abandoned and lying on its back a little baby. And when he saw it he thought:— "It is not fit that I should let a human being die while I look on. What if I were to carry this baby to my hermitage, and foster, tend, and rear it ? "So he carried the baby to his hermitage, and fostered, tended, and reared it. When the boy had attained the age of ten or twelve years, it happened that the Jatila had something or other to do in the country-side. So he said to the boy:— "I want to go to the country-side, my lad ; keep up the fire ; do not let it go out. If it should go out, here is a hatchet, here are sticks, here is the fire drill, so that if you do let the fire out, you can rekindle it again." And having thus instructed the boy, the Jatila went off to the country-side. Intent upon his play, the boy let the fire out. Then he thought:— "Father told me, 'Tend the fire, my lad; let it not go out. If it should go out, here is a hatchet, here are sticks, here is the fire drill, so that if you do let the fire out, you can rekindle it again.' What if I were now to do so ?" Then the boy chopped the fire drill with the hatchet, thinking :— "Perhaps that's how I shall get fire." No fire got he. He split the fire drill in twain, in three, four, five, ten, a hundred pieces, he made it into piecemeal, he then pounded it in a mortar, and winnowed it in the wind, thinking that so he might perhaps get fire. No fire got he. Then the Jatila, having accomplished his business, came back to his own hermitage and said to the boy :— "Why, child, you have let the fire out!" "Father, the fire went out because I was busy at my game. Then I thought of what you had told me, and I set about rekindling it. And I chopped the fire drill

with the hatchet to get fire, but no fire came. And I went on till I had smashed the fire drill into atoms, pounded it in a mortar and winnowed it in the wind, but I never got any fire ! "Then the Jatila thought :— "How silly, how unintelligent is the lad ! Why will he be seeking fire in this senseless manner ? "And while the boy looked on, he took a fire drill, and making fire said to him:— "This is how to make fire, my lad. One doesn't try to get it as you, so silly and unintelligent, were trying." Even so, Prince, have you, silly and unintelligent, sought after another world. Renounce, Prince, this evil set of opinions. Let them not involve you for long in bale and sorrow !'

22. 'Kiñcā bhavaṃ Kassapo evam āha, atla kho n'evâhaṃ sayhāmi[1] idaṃ pāpakaṃ diṭṭhi-gataṃ paṭinissajjituṃ. Rājā pi maṃ Pasenadi[2]-kosalo jānāti tiro-rājāno pi : "Pāyāsi rājañño evaṃ-vādī evaṃ-diṭṭhī: Iti pi n'atthi paraloko, n'atthi sattā opapātikā, n'atthi sukaṭa-dukkaṭānaṃ kammā-naṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti." 'Sacâhaṃ bho Kassapa imaṃ[3] pāpakaṃ diṭṭhi-gataṃ paṭinissajjis sāṃi, bhavissanti me vattāro : "Yāva bālo Pāyāsi rājañño avyatto duggahīta[4]-gāhī ti." Kopena pi naṃ harissāmi, makkhena pi naṃ harissāmi, paḷāsena[5] pi naṃ harissāmîti.'

22. 'Even though Master Kassapa says this, I still cannot bring myself to renounce this evil set of opinions. King Pasenadi the Kosalan knows me, and so do foreign kings, as holding to the creed and the opinion that there is neither another world nor rebirth other than of parents, nor fruit or result of deeds well and ill-done. If I, Master Kassapa, renounce these opinions, people will say of me :— "How silly is Prince Pāyāsi, how unintelligent, how badly he grasps anything !" In wrath thereat will I keep to it. In guile will I keep to it. In self-respect will I keep to it!'

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1. B^{m} K sakkomi. *See* p. 346.
2. B^{m} passenadī; K Passenadi, *and so at* § 18. *See* p. 316.
3. K idaṃ (*as above*).
4. S^{d} B^{m} -gahita, *and so* B^{m} *in* § 18.
5. S^{cd} phalāsena; S^{t} B^{m} K paḷāsena. *See* M. i. 15, 527; A. i. 79 (*last line*) ; P. P. ii. 2; Mil. 289. *Cf.* M. ii, 242.

23. 'Tena hi Rājañña upaman te karissāmi. Upamāya[1] p' idh' ekacce viññū purisā bhāsitassa attham ājānanti. Bhūtapubbaṃ Rājañña mahā sakaṭa-sattho sakaṭa-sahassaṃ puratthimā janapadā pacchimaṃ janapadaṃ agamāsi. So yena yena gacchati[2] khippam eva pariyādiyati tiṇa-kaṭṭhodakaṃ[3] haritaka-vaṇṇam.[4] Tasmim kho pana satthe[5] dve satthavāhā ahesuṃ, eko pañcannaṃ sakaṭa-satānaṃ eko pañcannaṃ sakaṭa-satānaṃ. Atha kho tesaṃ satthavāhānaṃ etad ahosi:

' "Ayaṃ kho pana[6] mahā sakaṭa-sattho sakaṭa-sahassaṃ. Te mayaṃ yena yena gacchāma khippam eva[7] pariyā diyati[8] tiṇa-kaṭṭhodakaṃ haritaka-vaṇṇaṃ. Yan nūna mayaṃ imaṃ satthaṃ dvidhā vibhajeyyāma ekato pañca sakata-satāni."

'Te taṃ satthaṃ dvidhā vibbajiṃsu[9] ekato pañca sakaṭa-satāni ekato pañca sakaṭa satāni. Eko[10] tāva[11] satthavāho bahuṃ[12] tiṇañ ca kaṭṭhañ ca udakañ ca āropetvā satthaṃ pāyāpesi.[13] Dvīha-tīha-pāyāto[14] kho pana so sattho addasa purisaṃ kāḷaṃ lohitakkhiṃ[15] apanaddha-kalāpaṃ[16] kumuda-māliṃ all-vatthaṃ allakesaṃ kaddama-makkhitehi cakkehi

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1. B[m] upamāyam.
2. S[dt] So yena yena gacchasīti; S[c] So na gacchasiti B[m] So yena gacchi; K so yeva gacchati.
3. S[cd] tina-; K tiṇaṃ.
4. K -paṇṇaṃ; K (Sī) -vantaṃ. *See* Sum *in loc.*
5. *B[m]* Satte, *but then* satthavāhā.
6. B[m] K *omit.*
7. SS khippaṃ yeva, *as* B[m] K *above.*
8. S[d] -tī.
9. SS vibhajjiṃsu; B[m] vibhajjesuṃ (*sic*).
10. S[c] ekato ; S[t] eke.
11. B[m] *omits.*
12. SS very between bahu *and* bahuṃ; B[m] K *always* bahuṃ.
13. SS *almost always* pā°.
14. B[m] *here* dviha-tihaṃ payāto; B[m] K *always* Pā.
15. S[t] kāḷalohitakkhaṃ; S[cd] kāḷalohitakaṃ. B[m] kaḷaṃ lohitakkham; *comp.* Jāt. i. 102 rattanetto. *See* p. 344.
16. B[m] asannaddhakalāpaṃ; K āsanu° *and below.*

gadrabha-rathena[1] paṭipathaṃ āgacchantaṃ. Disvā etad avoca: "Kuto bho āgacchasîti ?"

' "Amukamhā janapadā ti."

' "Kuhiṃ gamissasîti ?"

' "Amukaṃ nāma janapadan ti."

' "Kacci bho purato kantāre mahā-megho abhippavaṭṭo ti ?"[2]

' "Evaṃ kho[3] bho purato kantāre mahā-megho abhippavaṭṭo, āsittodakāni vaṭumāni, bahuṃ tiṇañ ca kaṭṭhañ ca udakañ ca, chaḍḍetha bho purāṇāni tiṇāni kaṭṭhāni udakāni, lahu-bhārehi sakaṭehi sīghaṃ sīghaṃ[4] gacchatha, mā yoggāni kilamethâti."[5]

'Atha kho so satthavāho satthike āmantesi : "Ayaṃ bo puriso evam āha : Purato kantāre mahā-megho abhi-pavaṭṭo, āsittodakani vaṭumāni, bahuṃ[6] tiṇañ ca laṭṭhañ ca udakañ ca, chaḍḍetha bho purāṇāni tiṇāni kaṭṭhāni udakāni, lahubhārehi sakaṭehi sīghaṃ gacchatha, mā yoggāni kilamethâto—chaḍḍetha bho purāṇāni tiṇāni kaṭṭhāni udakāni, lahu-bhārehi sakaṭehi satthaṃ pāyā-pethâti."[7]

"Evam bho ti" kho te satthikā tassa satthavāhassa paṭissutvā, chaḍḍetvā purāṇāni tiṇāni kaṭṭhāni udakāni lahubhārehi sakaṭehi satthaṃ pāyāpesuṃ.[8] Te paṭhame pi satthavāse na addasaṃsu tiṇaṃ vā kaṭṭhaṃ vā udakaṃ vā, dutiye pi sattha-vāse . . . tatiye pi satthavvāse . . . catutthe pi satthavāse . . . pañcame pi sattha-vase . . . chaṭṭhe pi sattha-vāse . . . sattame pi sattha-vāse na addasaṃsu tiṇaṃ cā kaṭṭhaṃ

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1. S[d] gaduha-; S[ct] gadūha- (SS *below* gadubha-); B[m] bhaddena rathena; K bhadrena rathena. *See* Jāt. i. 100.
2. K abhippavuṭṭho; B[m] abhippavuṭho *as* B[d] *at* Jāt. 5, 206. *See* M. ii. 117.
3. B[m] *omits.*
4. B[m] siṅghaṃ siṅghaṃ, *and below.* SS *have* sigha- sīghaṃ *the last time, and so* S[cd] *the time before. See* Jāt. i. 103.
5. S[d] kilamatthâti; B[m] K kilamitthāti (*and below*).
6. *See* p. 343, *note*[7].
7. S[cd] pāyethâti; S[t] pāyāp°.
8. SS pay°.

vā udakaṃ vā, sabbe va anaya-vyasanaṃ āpajjiṃsu. Ye ca[1] tasmiṃ satthe ahesuṃ manussā vā pasū[2] vā sabbe[3] so yakkho amanusso bhakkhesi, aṭṭhikān' eva sesesi.[4]

'Yadā aññāsi dutiyo satthavāho: "Bahu-nikkhanto[5] kho dāni so sattho ti," bahuṃ tiṇañ ca kaṭṭhañ ca udakañ ca āropetvā satthaṃ pāyāpesi. Dvīha-tīha-pāyāto kho pan' eso sattho addasa purisaṃ kāḷaṃ lohitakkhiṃ[6] apanaddha-kalāpaṃ[7] kumuda-māliṃ[8] alla-vatthaṃ alla-kesaṃ kaddama-makkhitehi cakkehi gadrabha-rathena[9] paṭipathaṃ āgacchantaṃ. Disvā etad avoca: "Kuto bho āgacchasîti ?"

' "Amukamhā janapadā ti."

' "Kuhiṃ gamissasîti ?"

' "Amukaṃ nāma janapadan ti."

' "Kacci bho purato kantāre mahā-megho abhippa-vaṭṭo[10] ti ?"

' "Evaṃ bho purato kantāre mahā-megho abhippavaṭṭo, āsittodakāni vaṭumāni, bahuṃ[11] tiṇañ ca kaṭṭhañ ca udakañ ca, chaḍḍetha bho purāṇāni tiṇāni kaṭṭhāni udakāni, lahu-bhārehi sakaṭehi sīghaṃ sīghaṃ sīghaṃ gacchatha, mā yoggānt kilamethâti."[12]

'Atha kho so satthavāho satthike āmantesi : "Ayaṃ bho puriso evam āha—Purato kantāre mahā-megho abhippavaṭṭo, āsittodakāni vaṭumāni bahuṃ tiṇañ ca kaṭṭhañ

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1. S[c] va; *so* K yeva (*at end of previous sentence*). *See* p. 346.
2. S[c] phasu; S[dt] B[m] pasu.
3. K *adds* va.
4. B[m] K sesāni; K (Sī) sesesi.
5. K bahunikkhantaro.
6. S[c] kāḷa-lohitakkham *corrected to* -lohitaṃ; S[dt] kāla-lohitakkham; B[m] kāḷaṃ lohitakkhaṃ. *See* p. 343, *note*[10].
7. B[m] asannaddha-.
8. K mālaṃ.
9. SS gadubha-rathehi; B[m] bhaddena rathena; K bhadrena rathena.
10. S[t] *here and in next line* -yaddho ; B[m] -vuṭho, *and below* ; K-vuṭṭho.
11. *See* p. 343, *note*[7].
12. B[m] K kilamitthâti, *and below.*

ca udakañ ca, chaḍḍetha bhe purāṇāni tiṇāni kaṭṭhāni udakāni, lahu-bhārehi sakaṭehi sīgham sīghaṃ gacchatha, mā yoggāni kilamethâti. Ayaṃ kho[1] bho puriso n'ev' amhākaṃ mitto na pi[2] ñāti-sālohito, kathaṃ mayaṃ imassa saddhāya[3] gamissāma ? Na kho[4] chaḍḍe-tabbāni purāṇāni tiṇāni kaṭṭhāni udakāni, yathā-katena[5] bhaṇḍena satthaṃ pāyāpetha, na vo[6] purāṇaṃ chaḍḍes-sāmâti."

' "Evaṃ bho" ti kho te satthikā tassa satthavāhassa paṭissutvā yathā-katena[7] bhaṇḍena satthaṃ pāyāpesuṃ Te paṭhame pi sattha-vāse na addasaṃsu tiṇaṃ vā kaṭṭhaṃ vā udakaṃ vā, dutiye pi satthavāse[8] . . . tatiye pi satthavāse . . . catutthe pi satthavāse . . . pañcame pi satthavāse . . . chaṭṭhe pi satthavāse . . . sattame pi satthavāse na addasaṃsu[9] anaya-vyasanaṃ āpannaṃ. Ye va[10] tasmiṃ satthe ahesuṃ manussā vā pasū vā, tesañ ca aṭṭhikān' eva addasaṃsu tena yakkhena amanussena bhakkhitānaṃ.[11]

'Atha kho so satthavāho satthike āmantesi: "Ayaṃ kho bho[12] so sattho anaya-vyasanaṃ āpanno yathā tam tena bālena satthavāhena pariṇāyakena. Tena hi bho yān' asmākaṃ[13] satthe appa-sārāni paṇiyāni, tāni chaḍḍetvā, yāni imasmiṃ satthe mahā-sārāni paṇiyāni tāni ādiya-thâti." "Evaṃ bho ti" kho te satthikā tassa sattha-vāhassa paṭissutvā yāni sakasmiṃ satthe appa-sārāni paṇiyāni tāni chaḍḍetvā, yāni tasmiṃ satthe mahā-sārāni paṇiyāni tāni ādiyitvā,

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1. Bᵐ K *omit*.
2. Bᵐ K *omit*.
3. Bᵐ saddāya.
4. Bᵐ t; K vo.
5. Scd kathena.
6. K no.
7. Sct P -kathena; Sd -kaṭena.
8. *Not in* SS.
9. Sd -siṃsu.
10. *So* SS; Bᵐ ca; K yeva *at end of preceding sentence*.
11. K bhakkhitā.
12. Scd *omit*.
13. Bᵐ K amhākaṃ.

sotthinā taṃ kantāraṃ nittharimṃsu yathā taṃ paṇḍitena satthavāhena pariṇāyakena. Evam eva kho tvaṃ Rājañña bālo avyatto anaya-vyasanaṃ āpajjissasi ayoniso paralokaṃ gavesanto, seyyathāpi so puriso[1] satthavāho. Ye pi tava sotabbaṃ saddahātabbaṃ maññissanti, te pi anaya-vyasanaṃ āpajjis-santi, seyyathā pi te satthikā. Paṭinissajj' etaṃ Rājañña pāpakaṃ diṭṭhi-gataṃ. Patinissajj' etaṃ Rājañña pāpakaṃ diṭṭhi-gataṃ. Mā te ahosi dīgha-rattaṃ ahitāya dukkhāyâti.'

23. 'Well then, Prince, I will give you a simile ; for it is by way of a simile that some intelligent men discern the meaning of what has been said. Once upon a time, Prince, a great caravan of a thousand carts was going from the East country into the West country. Wherever it went, it consumed swiftly straw, wood, water and verdure. Now in that caravan were two caravan leaders, each commanding one half of the carts. And this occurred to them :—

' "This is a great caravan, one of a thousand carts. Wherever we go, we consume everything. What if we were to divide this caravan into two, five hundred carts in each."

'So they divided that caravan into two equal portions. Then one of the leaders collected large quantities of straw, wood and water, and started [his carts]. On the second or third march the leader saw a swarthy red-eyed man coming from the opposite direction, armed with a quiver, wearing a lotus wreath, his garments and hair wet, and driving a chariot drawn by asses, its wheel splashed with mud. When he saw this man he said :— "Whence come you, Sir ?"

' "From such and such a district"

' "Whither go you ?"

' "To such and such a district,"

' "Has there, Sir, been any great fall of rain recently in the jungle ?"

' "Yes indeed, Sir, there has been a great rain in the jungle just in front, the roads are well watered, there is much grass and

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1. *So* SS : B[m] purimo.

wood and water. Throw away the grass and wood and water, Sir, you have already got ; with light-laden carts you will go quite quickly ; do not tire your teams."

'Then the leader told his carters what the man had said, and bade them throw away their provender and wood, that the caravan might travel more quickly.

' "So be it, sir," the carters replied, and did so. But at their first camp they saw no grass or wood or water, nor at the second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth or seventh camp. So they all met with ruin and disaster. And then that fiend, the yakkha, devoured all the men and the cattle in that caravan, leaving only the bones behind.

'When the second caravan leader knew that the other caravan had got well on its way, he took in large supplies of grass and wood and water and set out. And he too met a swarthy red-eyed man, and exchanged with him the same remarks, and was also bidden to throw away his provender.

'Then that leader said to his carters : "This man, sirs, says that there has recently been much rain in the jungle, that the roads are watered, and there is plenty of grass and wood and water. And he advises us to throw away our provender, so that, with lightened carts we may travel quicker and not weary our teams. But this man, sirs, is not a friend of ours, nor a kinsman, nor of our blood. Why should we act as if we trusted him ? Our stock of provender is not to be thrown away; let the caravan proceed with the goods we brought; let us not part with what we have."

' "So be it, sir," agreed the carters, and went on with the stock they had loaded. And at seven successive camping places they saw no grass or wood or water ; but they saw the other caravan that had come to grief. And they saw the skeletons of the men and cattle devoured by that yakkha fiend.

'Then the caravan leader said to the carters : "That caravan, my masters, met with ruin and disaster, through having that silly caravan leader for its guide. Well then, let us leave here such of our wares as are of little value, and take from that cara-

van such wares as are of great value. "So be it, master," replied the carters, and made the transfer, and passed safely through the jungle, through having this wise caravan leader for their guide.[1]

'Even so you, Prince, silly and unintelligent, will meet with ruin and disaster in that you seek so senselessly after another world, even like that former caravan leader. They who fancy that they can believe whatever they hear, will meet with ruin and disaster, even like those carters. Renounce, Prince, this evil set of opinions ; renounce them, I say ! Let them not involve you long in bale and sorrow !'

24. 'Kmcâpi bhavaṃ Kassapo evam āha, atha kho n'evâhaṃ sayhāmi[2] idaṃ pāpakaṃ diṭṭhi-gataṃ paṭinissajjituṃ. Rājā pi maṃ Pasenadi-kosalo jānātîti tiro-rājāno pi: "Pāyāsi Rājañño evaṃ-vādī evaṃ-diṭṭhī : Iti pi n'atthi paraloko, n'atthi sattā opapātikā, n'atthi sukaṭa-dukkaṭānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti." Sacâhaṃ bho Kassapa idaṃ[3] pāpakaṃ diṭṭhi-gataṃ paṭinissajjissāmi, bhavissanti me vattāro: "Yāva bālo Pāyāsi Rājañño avyatto duggahīta-gāhī ti," kopena pi naṃ harissāmi, makkhena pi naṃ harissāmi, paḷāsena pi naṃ harissāmîti.'

24. 'Even though Master Kassapa says this, I still cannot bring myself to renounce this evil set of opinions. King Pasenadi the Kosalan knows me, and so do foreign kings, as holding to the creed and the opinion that there is neither another world, nor rebirth other than of parents by human parentage, nor fruit or result of deeds well and ill-done. If I, master Kassapa, renounce these opinions people will say of me : "How silly is prince Pāyāsi, how unintelligent, how badly he grasps anything ! 'In wrath thereat will I keep to it. In guile will I keep to it. In self-respect will I keep to it!'

1. This story has been turned into a Jātaka by identifying the hero as the Buddha in a previous birth, and has been made the first story in the collection afterwards put together as the Jātaka Book. This one of twelve stories in that book found in the older texts. See 'Buddhist India,' p. 195.
2. B^{m} K sakkomi (*as above,* p. 342).
3. K imaṃ.

25. 'Tena hi Rājañña upaman te karissāmi. Upamāya p' idh' ekacce viññū bhāsitassa atthaṃ ājānanti. Bhūtapubbaṃ Rājañña aññataro sūkara-posako puriso sakamhā gāmā aññaṃ gāmaṃ agamāsi. Tatth' addasa pahūtaṃ sukkha-gūthaṃchaḍḍitaṃ.[1] Disvān' assa etad ahosi : "Ayaṃ me[2] bahuko[3] sukkha-gūtho[4] chaḍḍito[5] mamañ ca sūkara-bhattaṃ.[6] Yan nūnâhaṃ ito sukkha-gūthaṇi hareyyan ti." So uttarā-saṅgaṃ pattharitvā pahūtaṃ sukkha-gūthaṃ āharitvā[7] bhaṇḍikaṃ[8] bandhitvā sīse ubbāhetvā[9] agamāsi. Tassa antarāmagge mahā akāla-megho pāvassi. So uggharantaṃ paggharantaṃ yāva agga-nakhā gūthena makkhito gūtha-bhāraṃ ādāya agamāsi. Tam enaṃ manussā disvā evam āhaṃsu: "Kacci no tvaṃ bhaṇe ummatto, kacci veceto ?[10] kathaṃ hi nāma uggharantaṃ paggharantaṃ yāva agganakhā gūthena makkhito gūtha-bhāraṃ harissasîti ?"[11] "Tumha khvattha[12] bhaṇe ummattā tumhe vecetā[13] tathā hi pana me sūkara-bhattan[14] ti." Evam eva kho tvaṃ Rājañña gūtha-hārikûpamo[15] maññe paṭibhāsi. Paṭinissajj' etaṃ Rājañña pāpakaṃ diṭṭhi-gataṃ. Paṭinissajj' etaṃ Rājañña pāpakaṃ diṭṭhi-gataṃ. Mā te ahosi dīgha-rattaṃ ahitāya dukkhāyâti.'

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1. B^m chaṭṭ°.
2. B^m K kho.
3. SS bahuno ; K pahūto; B^m pahuko (*sic*).
4. S^{cd} sukka-
5. B^m chaṭṭito.
6. S^t mama ca da sukara-ābhattā; S^d mamañ ca sūka-rabhattā. K mama sūkarānaṃ bhakko ; K (Sī) mamañ ca sūkarabhatto.
7. B^m ākiritvā.
8. S^c khaṇḍikam; S^d khaṇḍikaṃ tam; S^t Caṇḍ°.
9. B^m uccāropetvā ; Kuccoropetvā. *See* p. 325.
10. B^m viceto; K nu viceto.
11. K hariyassatîti ; (*note*) harissasitīti pāṭhena bhavitabbaṃ.
12. B^m K khvettha.
13. B^m K vicetā.
14. SS sukarābhattā.
15. K -bhārikūpamo.

25. 'Well then, Prince, I will give you a simile, for it is byway of a simile that some intelligent men discern the meaning of what has been said. Once upon a time, Prince, a certain swine-herd was going from his own village to another village. There he saw a heap of dry dung thrown away. Seeing it he thought:— "That's a lot of dry dung thrown away which will feed my pigs. What if I were to carry it away ? "So he spread out his cloak and collecting the dry dung tied it into a bundle and lifting it on to his head went on. In the after-part of his journey there fell a heavy shower of rain out of season. He, splashed with muck to his nail-tips, bearing his oozing, dripping dung-burden, went on his way. And men seeing him said :— "Gramercy, you must be mad, you must be out of your senses! How can you tote along that oozing, dripping load of dung, splashed with muck to your nail-tips ?" "It's you that are mad, you that are out of your senses ; by this my pigs will get food." Even so, methinks, Prince, do you talk, like this dung-carrying simile. Renounce, Prince, this evil set of opinions, renounce them, I say! Let them not be long a cause of bale and sorrow to you.'

26. Kiñcâpi bhavaṃ Kassapo evam āha, atha kho n'evâhaṃ sayhāmi idaṃ pāpakaṁ diṭṭhi-gataṃ paṭinissajjituṃ. Rājā pi maṃ Pasenadi-kosalo jānātîti tiro-rajano pi : 'Payāsi Rājañño evaṃ-vādī evam diṭṭhī : Iti pi n'atthi paraloko, n'atthi sattā opapātikā opapātikā, n atthi sukaṭa-dukka-ṭānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti. Sacâhaṃ bho Kassapa idaṃ pāpakaṃ diṭṭhi-gataṃ patinissajjissāmi, bhavissanti me vattāro: "Yāva bālo Pāyāsi Rājañño avyatto duggahīta-gāhī ti." Kopena pi naṃ harissāmi, makkhena pi naṃ harissāmi, paḷāsena pi naṃ haris sāmîti.'

26. 'Even though Master Kassapa says this, I cannot bring myself to renounce this evil set of opinions. King Pasenadi the Kosalan knows me, and so do foreign kings, as holding to the creed and the opinion that there is neither another world, nor rebirth other than of parents by human parentage, nor fruit or result of deeds well or ill done. If I, Master Kassapa, renounce these opinions, people will say of me:— "How silly is Prince

Pāyāsi, how unintelligent, how bad is his grasp of things ! " In a,nger thereat will I keep to it. In guile will I keep to it. In self-respect will I keep to it!'

27. 'Tena hi Rājañña upaman te karissāmi. Upamāya p' idh' ekacce viññū purisā bhāsitassa atthaṃ ājānanti. Bhūtapubbaṃ Rājañña dve akkhadhuttā akkheni dibbiṃsu. Eko akkhadhutto āgatâgataṃ kaliṃ gilati.[1] Addasā kho dutiyo akkhadhu;tto taṃ akkhadhuttaṃ āgatâgataṃ kaliṃ gilantaṃ. Disvā[2] akkhadhuttaṃ etad avoca: "Tvaṃ kho samma ekantikena jināsi, dehi[3] samma akkhe, pajohissāmiti."[4] "Evaṃ sammâti" kho so akkhadhutto tassa akkhadhuttasa akkhe pādāsi.[5] Atha kho so akkha-dutto akkhe visena paribhāvetvā taṃ akkhadhuttaṃ etad avoca: "Ehi kho samma akkhehi dibbissāmâti." "Evaṃ sammâi" kho so akkhadhutto tassa akkhadhuttassa paccassosi. Dutiyam pi kho te akkhadhuttā akkhehi dibbiṃsu, dutiyam pi kho so akkhadhutto āgatâgataṃ kaliṃ gilati. Addasā kho dutiyo[6] akkhadhutto taṃ akkhadhuttaṃ dutiyam pi āgatâgataṃ kaliṃ gilantaṃ. Disvā taṃ akkhadhuttaṃ etad avoca:—

> **"Littaṃ paramena tejasā**
> **gilam akkhaṃ puriso na bujjhati[7]**
> **gila re gila pāpa-dhuttaka**
> **pacchāte kaṭukaṃ[8] bhavissatîti."[9]**

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1. B^m gīlati.
2. K *adds* taṃ.
3. B^m K *add* me.
4. S^c pajobhiss^o; S^t pañjohiss^o; B^m pajjohissāmi; K pajoharissāmi *and says that* Sum. *has the same, but the reading should be* pajohissāmi. *Our MSS. of* Sum. *have* pajohissāmi, *and so has* S^d *here.*
5. S^cd padāsi.
6. SS *omit.*
7. S^c bujjhita; S^d bhujjhita; S^t bujjhitaṃ; B^m bujjhyati.
8. B^m Gili re papa-dh^o p. te kaṭukaṃ; K Gilare pāpadhuttā kapaṇā te kaṭukaṃ.
9. Jāt. 380.

'Evam eva kho tvaṃ Rājañña akkhadhuttûpamo[1] maññe paṭibhāsi. Paṭinissajj etaṃ Rājañña pāpakaṃ diṭṭhi-gataṃ, paṭinissajj' etaṃ Rājañña pāpakaṃ diṭṭhi-gataṃ. Mā te ahosi dīgha-rattaṃ ahitāya dukkhāyâti.'

27. 'Well then, Prince, I will give you a simile, for it is by way of a sknile that some intelligent men discern the meaning of what is said. Once upon a time, Prince, two gamesters were playing with dice. One gamester swallowed as it came each adverse die. The other gamester saw him do this and said:— "Look here, friend, you've won outright; give me the dice; I will make a votive offering of them." "Good, friend," said the other, and handed over the dice. Then the second gamester smeared over the dice with poison, and proposed to the former:— "Come along, friend, let's play." "Good, friend," replied the other. Again, therefore, they played, and again that gamester swallowed each adverse die. The second gamester saw him doing so and said :—

The man knows not the swallowed die
With sharpest burning is smeared o'er.
Swallow, you false cheat, swallow now!
Bitter the hour at hand for you ![2]

'Even like the simile of the gamester, Prince, methinks is what you say. Renounce, Prince, this evil set of opinions, renounce them, I say ! Let them not be long a source of bale and sorrow .to you!'

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1. K-dhuttākūpamo.
2. This story is also in the Jātaka Book, I, 380. The *modus operandi* of the cheat is rendered obscure by our ignorance of the game played. Luders in his 'Würfelspiel der alten Inder' has shown that the dice were seeds of a tree called the Vibhîtaka, and that the usual game was probably to throw a number of seeds on a board, having previously fixed on a certain number. The seeds fell some upright, some on their sides. Only the upright ones counted. If they were less than the agreed number it was a draw; if equal the thrower won and threw again; if more he lost, and lost the throw. An extra seed was called the kali, 'the unlucky die.' This the cheat seems to have managed to pick up, and swallow

28. 'Kiñcâpi bhavaṃ Kassapo evam āha, atha kho n'evâhaṃ sayhāmi idaṃ pāpakaṃ ditthi-gataṃ paṭi-nissajjituṃ Rājā pi maṃ Pasenadi-kosalo jānāti, tiro-rājāno pi: 'Pāyāsi Rājañño evaṃ-vādī evaṃ-diṭṭhī: Iti pi n'atthi paraloko, n'atthi sattā opapātikā, n'atthi sukaṭa-dukkaṭānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti. Sacâhaṃ bho Kassapa idaṃ pāpakaṃ diṭṭhi-gataṃ paṭinissajjissāmi, bhavissanti me vattāro: "Yāva bālo Pāyāsi Rājañño avyatto duggahīta-gāhī ti." Kopena pi naṃ harissāmi, makkhena pi naṃ harissāmi, paḷāsena pi naṃ harissāmîti.'

28. 'Even though Master Kassapa says this, I still cannot bring myself to renounce this evil set of opinions. King Pasenadi the Kosalan knows me, and so do foreign kings, as holding to the creed and the opinion that there is neither another world, nor rebirth other than of parents, nor fruit or result of deeds well or ill-done. If I, Master Kassapa, renounce these opinions, people will say : "How silly is Prince Pāyāsi, how unintelligent, how bad is his grasp of things ! "In wrath thereat will I keep to it. In guile will I keep to it. In self-respect will I keep to it.'

29. 'Tena hi Rājañña, upaman te karissāmi. Upamāya pi idh' ekacce viññū purisā bhāsitassa atthaṃ ājānanti. Bhaūtapubbaṃ Rājañña aññataro janapado vuṭṭhāsi. Atha kho sahāyako sahāyakaṃ āmantesi: "Āyāma samma, yena so janapado ten' upasaṃkamissāma, app eva nām'ettha kiñci dhanaṃ adhigaccheyyāmâti." "Evaṃ sammâti" kho sahāyako sahāyakassa paccassosi. Te yana so janapado yen' aññataraṃ gāma-paddhanaṃ[1] ten' upasaṃkamiṃsu. Tatth' addasaṃsu pahūtaṃ sāṇaṃ chaḍḍitaṃ[2]. Disvā sahāyako shāyakaṃ āmantesi: "Idaṃ kho samma pahūtaṃ sāṇaṃ chaḍḍitaṃ, tena hi samma tvañ ca sāṇa-bhāraṃ bandha,[3] ahañ ca sāṇa bhāraṃ bandhissāmi,[4] ubho sāṇa-bhāraṃ ādāya gamis-

1. S[d] paṇḍanaṃ ; S[t] paccanaṃ; B[m] paṭṭam; K pajjaṃ.
2. B[m] chaṭṭ[o] *throughout.*
3. S[c] bandhanaṃ; S[d] bandhaṃ; K bandhi.
4. S[d] *adds* ti; S[ct] -mīti.

sāmâti." "Evaṃ sammâti" kho sahāyako sahāyakassa paṭissutvā sāṇa-bhāraṃ bandhi.[1]

'Te ubho sāṇa-bhāraṃ ādāya yen' aññataraṃ gāma-paddhanaṃ[2] ten' upasaṃkamiṃsu. Tatth' addasaṃsu pahūtaṃ sāṇa-suttaṃ chaḍḍitaṃ. Disvā sahāyako sahāyakaṃ āmantesī: "Yassa kho samma atthāya iccheyyāma sāṇaṃ idaṃ pahūtaṃ sāṇa-suttaṃ chaḍḍitaṃ. Tena hi samma tvañ ca sāṇa-bhāraṃ chaḍḍehi, ahañ ca sāṇabhāraṃ chaḍḍessāmi, ubho sāṇa-sutta-bhāraṃ ādāya gamissāmâti." "Ayaṃ kho me samma sāṇa-bhāro durā-bhato[3] ca susannaddho ca, alam me, tvaṃ[4] pajānāhîti." Atha kho so sahāyako sāṇa-bhāraṃ chaḍḍetvā sāṇa-sutta-bhāraṃ ādiyi.

'Te yen' aññataraṃ gāma-paddhanaṃ[5] ten' upasaṃkamiṃsu. Tatth'[6] addasaṃsu pahūtā sāṇiyo chaḍḍitā. Disvā sahāyako sahāyakaṃ āmantesi: "Yassa kho samma atthāya iccheyyāma sānaṃ vā sāṇa-suttaṃ vā, imā pahūtā sāṇiyo chaḍḍehi, ahañ ca sāṇa-sutta-bhāraṃ chaḍḍessāmi, ubho sāṇi-bhāraṃ ādāya gamissāmâti." "Ayaṃ kho me samma sāṇa-bhāro durābhato ca susannaddho ca, alam me, tvaṃ pajānāhîti." Atha kho so sahāyoko sāṇa-sutta-bhāraṃ chaḍḍetvā sāṇi-bhāraṃ[7] ādiyi.

Te yen' aññataraṃ gāma-paddhanaṃ[8] ten' upakamiṃsu. Tatth' addasaṃsu pahūtaṃ khomaṃ chaḍḍitaṃ. Disvā . . . pahūtaṃ khoma-suttaṃ chaḍḍitaṃ. Disvā . . . pahūtaṃ khoma-dussaṃ chaḍḍitaṃ. Disvā . . . pahūtaṃ kappāsaṃ chaḍḍitaṃ. Disvā . . . pahūtaṃ kappāsika-suttaṃ chaḍḍitam. disvā . . . pahūtaṃ ayaṃ[9] chaḍḍitaṃ. Disvā . . . pahūtaṃ

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1. B^m bandhitvā.
2. S^c pabbataṃ; S^d (gām) aṇḍanaṃ; S^t paddhanāṃ; B^m paṭṭaṃ; K pajjaṃ; (? *originally* paṭṭanaṃ).
3. S^t dūr° *and below* ; K durāgato (*thrice*); B^m durāhato.
4. SS alametaṃ.
5. *So* SS; B^m paṭṭam; K pajjaṃ, *and below.*
6. *For* pe; B^m *read* tatth' addasaṃsu, q.l.
7. B^m sāṇa-.
8. S^c pabbataṃ ; S^d paccataṃ.
9. B^m K ayasaṃ, *and below.*

lohaṃ chaḍḍitaṃ. Disvā . . . [1] pahūtaṃ tipuṃ chaḍḍitaṃ. Disvā . . . pahūtaṃ sīsaṃ chaḍḍitaṃ. Disvā . . . pahūtaṃ sajjhuṃ[2] chaḍḍitaṃ. Disvā . . . pahūtaṃ suvaṇṇaṃ chaḍḍitaṃ. Disvā sahāyako sahāyakaṃ āmantesi ; "Yassa kho samma atthāya idccheyyāma sāṇaṃ vā sāṇasuttaṃ vā sāṇiyo vā khomaṃ vā khoma-suttaṃ vā khoma-dussaṃ vā kappāsaṃ vā kappāsika-suttaṃ vā kappāsika-dussaṃ vā ayaṃ[3] vā lohaṃ vā tipuṃ vā sīsaṃ vā sajjhuṃ vā, idaṃ pahūtaṃ suvaṇṇaṃ chaḍḍehi, ahañ ca sajjhu-bhāraṃ[4] chaḍḍessāmi, ubho suvaṇṇa-bhāraṃ ādāya gamissāmâti." "Ayaṃ kho me samma sāṇa-bhāro durâbhato a susannaddho ca, alaṃ me, tvaṃ[5] pajānāhîti." Atha kho sahāyako sajjhu-bhāraṃ[6] chaḍḍetvā suvaṇṇa-bhāraṃ ādiyi.

'Te yena sako gāmo ten' upasaṃkamiṃsu. Tattha yo so sahāyoko sāṇa-bbaraṃ ādāya agamāsi, tass n'eva mātā-pitaro abhinandiṃsu, na putta-dārā abhinandiṃsu, na mittâmaccā abhinandiṃsu, na ca tato-nidānaṃ sukhaṃ somanassaṃ adhigacchi. Yo papa so sahāyako suvaṇṇa-bhāraṃ ādāy;a agamāsi, tassa mātā-pitaro abhinandiṃsu, putta-dārā pi abhinandimsu, [mittâmaccā pi abhinan-diṃsu],[7] tato-nidānañ ca sukhaṃ[8] somanassaṃ adhigacchati.

'Evam eva kho tvaṃ Rājañña sāṇabhārakûpamo maññe paṭibhāsi. Paṭinissaji' etaṃ Rājañña pāpakaṃ diṭṭhi-gataṃ, paṭinissajj' etaṃ Rājañña pāpakaṃ ditthi-gataṃ. Mā te ahosi dīgha-rattaṃ ahitāya dukkhāyâti.'

29. 'Well then, Prince, I will give you a simile, for it is by way of a simile that some intelligent men discern the meaning

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1. S[c] *inserts* pahūtaṃ lohaṃ tipuṃ chaḍḍitaṃ disvā; S[d] *inserts* pahūtaṃ lohanti tipuṃ chaḍḍitaṃ disvā.
2. B[m] sajjhyaṃ, *and below* ; K sajjhaṃ.
3. B[m] K ayasaṃ.
4. S[t] sajjhā-.
5. S[c] alamebhavaṃ; S[d] alamebhaṭaṃ; S[t] alam me bhavaṃ.
6. SS *here* sajjhā ; B[m] sajjhya *as befire* ; K sajjhu.
7. SS *omit* ; B[m] K *insert.*
8. SS *omit.*

of what is said. Once upon a time, Prince, a certain country-side migrated. And one man said to his crony:— "Let's go friend, to that country-side ; perhaps we may come upon some treasure." "Good, friend," assented the other. And they came to where, in that country-side, there was a certain village street. There they saw a heap of hemp thrown away. Then one said to the other: "Here's a heap of hemp: do you make some into a bundle, I'll do the same and we'll carry it away." The other consented, and they did so.

'Bearing this burden they went on to another village street. There they saw a heap of hempen thread thrown away, and one said to the other :— "This heap of hempen thread thrown away is just the thing we want hemp for. Well then, friend, you throw away your load of hemp, I'll throw away mine, and we'll take away each a load of hempen thread." " I've brought this load of hemp a long way, friend, and it's well tied up—that's enough for me; you choose for yourself." So the former changed his load for one of hempen thread.

'Then they came to another village street. There they saw a heap of hempen cloths. And the one said to the other:— "This heap of hempen cloths is just the thing we want hemp for, or hempen thread for. Well then, friend, do you throw away your load of hemp, I'll throw away my load of hempen thread, and we'll each take a load of hempen cloth." "I've brought this load of hemp a long way, friend, and it's well tied up—that's enough for me ; you choose for yourself." So the former changed his load for one of hempen cloth.

'Then they came to another village street. There they saw a heap of flax ; and to another where they saw linen thread ; and to another where they saw linen cloth. And at each place the one crony made a change for the better, the other retained his hemp. Further they saw cotton-down, cotton thread and calico ; and the same thing happened. Further they saw iron, copper, tin, lead, silver, gold. So that in the end the one crony had a load of gold, the other of hemp.

'So they came to their own village. There the crony who

brought a load of hemp pleased neither his parents, nor his own family, nor his friends, and won neither pleasure or happiness. But the other with his load of gold both gave and won pleasure.

'Even like the simile of the load of hemp, methinks Prince, is what you say. Renounce, Prince, this evil set of opinions, renounce them, I say! Let them not be long a source of bale and sorrow to you.'

30. 'Purimen' evâhaṃ[1] opammena bhoto Kassapassa attamano abhiraddho, api câhaṃ imāni vicitrāni pañha-paṭibhānāni[2] sotu-kāmo, evâhaṃ bhavantaṃ Kassapaṃ paccanīkātabbaṃ[3] amaññisaṃ.[4] Abhikkantaṃ bho Kassapa, abhikkantaṃ bho Kassapa ! Seyyathā pi bho Kassapa nikkujjitaṃ vā ukkujjeyya, paṭicchannaṃ vā vivareyya, mūḷhassa vā maggaṃ ācikkheyya, andha-kāre vā tela-pajjotaṃ dhāreyya: "cakkhumanto rūpāni dakkhintī"[5]—evam eva bhotā Kassapena aneka-pari-yāyena dhammo pakāsito. Esâhaṃ bho Kassapa taṃ[6] bhagavantaṃ Gotamaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi dhammañ ca bhikkhu-saṃghañ ca. Upāsakam maṃ bhavaṃ Kassapo dhāretu, ajjatagge pāṇupetaṃ saraṇaṃ gataṃ. Icchāmi câhaṃ bho Kassapa mahā-yaññaṃ yajituṃ. Anusāsatu maṃ bhavaṃ Kassapo yaṃ mamaṃ[7] assa dīgha-rattaṃ hitāya sukhāyât.'

30. 'With Master Kassapa's first simile I was pleased, I was charmed ; moreover I wanted to hear his ready wit in questions, for I regarded Master Kassapa as one who was to be opposed. It is wonderful, Master Kassapa, it is marvellous! just as if one were to set up what has been upset, or were to reveal that

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1. K purimena câhaṃ.
2. SS-paṭibhāgāni; B^m -paṭibhāṇāni ; K pañhāpaṭibhā-ṇāni. *See* M. i. 378.
3. S^t paccaninikāt°; K paccanikaṃ kāt.
4. SS amaññissa; B^m amaññissanti.
5. B^m dakkhantîti; K dakkhanti.
6. K *omits.*
7. B^m mam; K mama. *See* D.i. 136.

which has been hidden away, or were to point out the road to the bewildered, or were to bring a lamp into the darkness, so that they that have eyes may see—even so has the truth been declared in many a figure by Master Kassapa. And I, even I, betake myself for refuge to Gotama the Exalted One, to the Doctrine and to the Brotherhood. May Master Kassapa accept me as a disciple, as one who from this day forth as long as life endures, has taken him as his guide. And I should like, Master Kassapa, to offer a great sacrifice. Let Master Kassapa instruct me herein that it may bring me long welfare and happiness.'

31. 'Yathārūpe kho Rājañña yaññe gāvo vā haññanti, ajeḷakā vā haññanti, kukkuṭa-sūkarā vā haññanti, vividhā vā pāṇā saṃghātaṃ[1] āpajjani, paṭiggāhakā ca honti micchā-diṭṭhī micchā-saṃkappā micchā-vācā micchā-kam-mantā micchā-ājīvā micchā-vāyāmā micchā-satī micchā-samādhī, evarūpo kho Rājañña yañño nāma na mahap-phalo hoti na mahânisaṃso na mahā-jutiko na mahā-vipphāro. Seyyathā pi Rājañña kassako bīja-naṇgalaṃ ādāya vanaṃ paviseyya. So tattha dukhette dub-bhūme[2] avihata-khānuke[3] bījāni patiṭṭhāpeyya khaṇḍāni pūtīni vātātapahatāni[4] asāradāni asukha-sayitāni,[5] devo ca na kālena kālaṃ sammā-dhāraṃ anuppaveccheyya.[6] Api nu tāni bījāni vuddhiṃ virūḷhiṃ vepullaṃ āpajjeyyuṃ, kassako vā vipula[7]-phalaṃ adhigaccheyyâti?'

'No h' idaṃ[8] bho Kassapa.'

'Evam eva kho Rājañña yathārūpe yaññe gāvo vā haññanti ajeḷakā vā haññanti kukkuṭa-sūkarā vā haññanti

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1. S[c] panasaṃkhātaṃ; S[d] pāṇasaṃkhātaṃ. *See* D. i. 141.
2. S[t] dumabbhūme; B[m] K dubbhumme; K (*note*) dubbhūme ti vā pāṭbo.
3. B[m] K -khāṇukandake.
4. S[cd] hātāni; B[m] vātātavapahātāni.
5. SS asukasasitāni. *See* S. iii. 54; v. 379.
6. B[m] anupavacch°.
7. B[m] K vipulaṃ.
8. B[m] na evāṃ.

vividhā vā pāṇā saṃghātaṃ[1] āpajjanti, paṭiggāhakā ca honti micchā-diṭṭhī micchā-saṃkappā micchā-vācā micchā-kammantā micchā micchā-ājīvā micchā-vāyāmāmicchā-satī micchā-samādhī, evarūpo kho Rājañña yañño na mahapphalo hoti na mahânisaṃso na mahā-jutiko na mahā-vipphāro. Yathārūpe ca kho Rājaññe n'eva gāvo haññanti na ajeḷakā haññanti na kukkuṭa-sūkarā haññanti na vividhā pāṇā saṃghātam[2] āpajjanti, paṭiggāhakā ca honti sammā-diṭṭhī sammā-saṃkappā sammā-vācā sammā-kam-mantā sammā-ājīvā sammā-vāyāmā sammā-satī sammā-samādhī, evarūpo kho Rājañña yañño mahapphalo hoti mahânisaṃso mahā-jutiko mahā-vipphāro. Seyyathā pi Rājañña kassako bīja-naṅgalaṃ ādāya vanaṃ paviseyya. So tattha sukhette[3] subhūme[4] suvihata-khānuke[5] bījāni patiṭṭhāpeyya akkhaṇḍāni apūtīni avātātapa-hatāni[6] sāradāni sukha-sayitāni,[7] devo ca kālena kālaṃ sammā-dhāraṃ anuppaveccheyya.[8] Api nu tāni bījāni vuddhiṃ virūḷhiṃ vepullaṃ āpajjeyyuṃ, kassako vā vipula-[9]phalaṃ adhigaccheyyâti ?

'Evaṃ bho Kassapa.'

'Evam eva kho Rājañña yathārūpe yaññe n'eva gāvo haññanti na ajeḷakā haññanti na kukkuṭa-sūkarāhaññanti na vividhā pāṇā saṃghātaṃ āpajjanti,[10] paṭiggāhakā ca honti sammā-diṭṭhī sammā-samkappā[11] sammā-vācā sammā-kammantā sammā-ājīvā sammā-vāyāmā sammā-satī samma-samādhī, earūpo kho Rājañña yañño mahap-phalo hoti mahânisaṃso mahā-jutiko mahā-vipphāro ti.'

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1. S[c] panasaṃkhānaṃ.
2. S[c] pana-saṃkhātaṃ, *and below* ; S[d] pāna-saṃkhātaṃ, *and below.*
3. S[t] sukkh°.
4. B[m] K subhumme.
5. B[m] K khāṇukaṇḍake.
6. S[c] hātāni.
7. S[c] sukaṇḍāyitāni *corrected to* sukhasay°; K S[dt] sukhaṇḍāyitāni; S.v. 380 *has* - sahitāni.
8. B[m] anuppavacch°.
9. B[m] K vipulaṃ.
10. S[c] āpajjeyyanti; S[t] āpajjenti.
11. S[d] *omits this and several others* ; S[t] -saṃkappo.

31. 'At the sort of sacrifice, Prince, where oxen are slain, or goats, or fowls and pigs, or divers creatures are put an end to; [368] and those that take part in the sacrifice have wrong views, wrong intention, wrong speech, wrong action, wrong livelihood, wrong endeavour, wrong mindfulness, wrong rapture, such a sacrifice, Prince, is neither of great fruitfulness nor of great profit, nor of great renown, nor of widespread effect[1]. It is just as if a farmer, Prince, were to enter a wood taking with him plough and seed, and were there, in an untilled tract, in unfavourable soil, among unuprooted stumps, to plant seeds that were broken, rotten, spoilt by wind and heat, out of season, not in good condition, and the god were not to give good rain in due season. Would those seeds attain to growth, increase and expansion, or would the farmer get abundant returns ?'

'No indeed, Master Kassapa.'

'So is it, Prince, with that sort of sacrifice. But where, Prince, neither oxen are slain, nor goats, nor fowls and pigs, nor are divers creatures put an end to, and those that partake of the sacrifice have right views, right intention, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right endeavour, right mindfulness, right rapture, such a sacrifice is of great fruitfulness, of great profit, of great renown, of widespread effect. It is just as if a farmer, Prince, were to enter a wood, taking with him plough and seed, and were there, in a well-tilled tract, in favourable soil well cleared of stumps, to plant seed that was unbroken, free from mildew, unspoilt by wind or heat, in season and in good condition, and the god were to give good rain in due season. Would those seeds grow, increase, expand, and would the farmer get abundant returns ?'

'He would indeed, Master Kassapa.'

'So is it, Prince, with that sort of sacrifice, where . . . no creatures are put to death, and those that take part therein are of high character. Such a sacrifice is of great fruitfulness, profit, renown and widespread effect.'

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1. So of the sacrifice intended by the Very Reverend Sir Gold-stick Sharp-tooth in the Kûtadanta. See especially above, I, 163.

32. Atha kho Pāyāsi rājañño dānaṃ paṭṭhapesi samaṇa-brāhmaṇa-kapaṇiddhika-vaṇibbaka-yācakānaṃ.[1] Tasmiṃ kho pana dāne dāne evarūpaṃ bhojanaṃ diyyati[2] kaṇājakaṃ[3] bilaṅga-dutiyaṃ therakāni[4] ca vatthāni guḷa-vālakāni.[5] Tasmiṃ kho pana dāne Uttaro nāma māṇavo vyāvaṭo[6] ahosi. So dānaṃ datvā evam anuddisati: 'Iminā[7] dānena Pāyāsi-rājaññam[8] eva imasmiṃ loke samāgañchiṃ[9] mā parasmin ti.' Assosi kho Pāyāsi rājañño : 'Uttaro kira māṇavo dānaṃ datvā evam anuddisati: Iminā dānena Pāyāsi-Rājaññam eva imasmiṃ loke samāgañchiṃ mā parasmin ti.' Atha kho Pāyāsi-rājañño Uttaraṃ māṇavaṃ āmantāpetvā etad avoca: "Saccaṃ[10] kira tvaṃ tāta Uttara dānaṃ datvā evam anuddisasi: Iminā dānena Pāyāsi-rājaññaṃ eva imasmiṃ loke sama-gañchiṃ mā parasmin ti' ?'

'Evaṃ bho ti.'[11]

'Kissa pana[12] tvaṃ tāta Uttara dānaṃ datvā evam anuddisasi– "Iminā dānena Pāyāsi-rājāññam[13] eva imasmiṃ loke samāgañchiṃ mā parasmin ti"? Na nu mayaṃ tāta Uttara puññatthikā danass' eva phalaṃ[14] pāṭikaṃkhino ti ?'

'Bhoto kho pana[15] dāne evarūpaṃ bhojanaṃ diyyati[16]:

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1. B^m K -kapaṇaddhika. *See* D. i. 137 ; Jāt. iv. 15.
2. S^cd dīyyati; B^m diyati; K dīyati, *and below.*
3. K kāṇājikaṃ *and below;* (*note*) kanājakanti vā pāṭho. *See* S. i. 90; Vin. ii. 77; Jāt. i. 228.
4. S^cd thevakāni; B^m dhorakāni; K corakāni.
5. B^m guḷagāḷakāni.
6. B^m K vāvaṭo *and below;* K (Sī) vyāvaṭo. *See* D. ii. 141 (*quoted* Mil. 177); D. ii. 270; Jāt. i. 89.
7. B^m *adds* 'haṃ (*three times*)
8. B^m Pāyāsiṃ.
9. B^m K -gacch^o *and below.*
10. K sabbaṃ.
11. S^ct hoti; S^d bho; B^m bho kassapa; K bho.
12. SS kissapana; B^m kassapana; K kasmā pana.
13. B^m *here* Pāyāsi.
14. SS dānaṃ devaphalaṃ.
15. B^m K *omit.*
16. S^c dīyyati; S^d dīyyāti; B^m diyati; K dīyati.

kaṇajakaṃ[1] bilaṅga-dutiyaṃ yam[2] bhavaṃ pādā pi na iccheyya chupituṃ[3], kuto bhuñjituṃ; therakāni[4] ca vatthāni guḷa-vālakāni yāni[5] bhavaṃ pādā pi na iccheyya samphusituṃ, kuto paridahituṃ. Bhavaṃ kho pan' asmākaṃ[6] piyo manāpo, kathaṃ mayaṃ piyaṃ[7] manāpaṃ amanāpena saṃyojemâti?'

'Tena hi tvaṃ tāta Uttara yādisâhaṃ bhojanaṃ bhuñjāmi tādisaṃ bhojanaṃ paṭṭhapehi, yādisāni câhaṃ vatthāni paridahāmi tādisāni ca vatthāni paṭṭhapehîti'

'Evaṃ bho ti' kho Uttaro māṇavo Pāyāsi-rājaññassa[8] paṭissutvā paṭissutvā yādisaṃ bhojanaṃ Pāyāsi-rājañño bhuñjati tādisaṃ bhojanaṃ paṭṭhapesi, yādisāni ca vatthāni Pāyāsi rājañño paridahati tādisāni ca vatthāni paṭṭhapesi.

Atha kho Pāyāsi rājañño asakkaccaṃ dānaṃ datvā asahatthā[9] dānaṃ datvā acittikataṃ[10] dānaṃ datvā apa viddhaṃ[11] dānaṃ danaṃ datvā kāyassa bedā param maraṇā Cātummahārājikānaṃ[12] devānaṃ sahavyataṃ[13] uppajji[14] suññaṃ Serisakaṃ[15] vimānaṃ. Yo pana tassa dāne vyāvaṭo ahosi Uttaro nāma māṇavo so sakkaccaṃ dānaṃ datvā sahatthā dānaṃ datvā citti-katvā dānaṃ datvā anapaviddhaṃ dānaṃ datvā kāyassa bhedā param maraṇā sugatiṃ saggaṃ

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1. S^c kanāñjakaṃ; S^d kanakajaṃ; B^m kaṇājº.
2. B^m K *omit.*
3. K samphusituṃ.
4. B^m dhorakāni; K corakāni.
5. K *omits.*
6. K amhākaṃ
7. B^m *omits.*
8. B^m Pāyāsissa.
9. B^m -hatthena.
10. SS acitti-katvā *here and below.*
11. K apaviṭṭhaṃ *and below;* K (Sī) apaviddham.
12. B^m cātumahāº; K vatummahāº.
13. B^m K sahabyaº, *and below.*
14. B^m K upapajji.
15. S^t suññaṃ Serissakaṃ; S^{cd} *here* suñña-Serissakaṃ, *but* suññaṃ *below* ; B^m suññaṃ-, *and below. See* V.V.A. 331; Āṭānātiya Sutta, *at the end; and* Divyāvadāna, 399.

lokaṃ uppajji[1] devānaṃ Tāvatiṃsānaṃ sahavyataṃ.

32. Then Prince Pāyāsi instituted a gift to Wan derers and Brahmins, the poor, wayfarers, beggars and petitioners. In that gift such food was given as gruel and scraps of food, and coarse robes with ball-fringes[2]. And at that gift a young brahmin named Uttara was passed over[3]. When the largesse had been distributed he mocked, saying : 'By this largesse I have met Prince Pāyāsi in this world, but how about the next?[4]' Pāyāsi heard of this, and sent word to Uttara asking him if it was true that he was saying this ?

'Yes, sir,' replied Uttara.

'But why have you been saying this, my dear Uttara ? Do not we who are seeking merit look for result from giving ?'

'In your gift, sir, such food as gruel and broken meats are given which you, sir, would not touch with your foot, much less eat; also coarse ball-fringed robes which you, sir, would not deign to use as carpets, much less to wear. You, sir, are pleasant and dear to us; how are we to associate what is pleasant and dear with what is unpleasant?'

'Welt then, my dear Uttara, do you arrange that such food shall be given as I eat, and such garments be given as I wear.'

'Very good, sir,' replied Uttara, and did so[5].

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1. B^{m} K upapajji ; (S^{c} uppajjati).
2. To keep the robes down.
3. Vyāvato. This became almost a technical term in connexion with largesse. It is literally 'hindered'; but when the things to be given were too limited as compared with the number of applicants, some had to be passed over. They were dāna-vyāvata 'hindered at the largesse' (Jāt. III, 129). Compare D. II, 141; Sum. I, 296 ; Jāt. I, 89; VVA. 298. But here perhaps it may simply mean 'objected to the largesse.'
4. Literally 'do not associate (with him) in the next.' The gibe intended must be very nearly as we have rendered. But both the reading of the text and the grammatical construction are doubtful. The word we have rendered 'mocked' (uddissati) has only been found here. Perhaps it means 'showed (the matter) up,' which comes to much the same as to point the finger of mockery.
5. Apparently at his own cost.

Now prince Pāyāsi, inasmuch as he had bestowed his gift without thoroughness, not with his own hands, without due thought, as something discarded, was, after his death, reborn into the communion of the Four Great Kings[1], in the empty mansion of the Acacia. But the youth Uttara, who had objected to that gift and had bestowed his gift thoroughly, with his own hands, with due thought, not as something discarded, was, after his death, reborn in a bright and happy world, into the communion of the Three-and-Thirty Gods.

33. Tena kho pana samayena āyasmā Gavampati[2] abhikkhaṇam suññaṃ Serīsakaṃ vimānaṃ divā-vihāraṃ gacchati. Atha kho Pāyāsi-devaputto yen' āyasma Gavampati ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā āyasṃantaṃ Gavampatiṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhāsi. Ekamantaṃ ṭhitaṃ kho Pāyāsi-devaputtaṃ[3] āyasmā Gavam-pati etad avoca: 'Ko 'si tvaṃ ti ?'

'Ahaṃ bhante Pāyāsi-rājañño ti.'

'Na nu tvaṃ āvuso evaṃ-diṭṭhiko ahosi—Iti pi n'atthi paraloko,[4] n'atthi sattā opapātikā, n'atthi sukaṭa-dukkaṭā-naṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti ?'

'Svâhaṃ bhante evaṃ-diṭṭhiko ahosiṃ:[5] Iti pi n'atthi paraloko, n'atthi sattā opapātikā, n'atthi sukaṭ-dukkaṭānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti. Api câhaṃ ayyena Kumāra-kassapena etasmā pāpakā diṭṭi-gatā vivecito ti.'

'Yo pana te āvuso dāne vyāvaṭo ahosi Uttaro nāma māṇavo, so kuhiṃ uppanno[6] ti ?'

'Yo me bhante dāne vyāvaṭo ahosi Uttaro nāma māṇavo, so sakkaccaṃ dānaṃ datvā sahatthā dānaṃ datvā citti-kataṃ dānaṃ datvā anapaviddhaṃ dānaṃ datvā kāyass bhedā

1. The guardian spirits of the four quarters. See the Introduction to the Mahā-samaya Sutta.
2. *See* There Gāthā 38; S. v. 436 = K. V. 220; Vin. i. 19.
3. Bm Pāyāsiṃ d°.
4. Bm K *as before,* paroloko.
5. Sct -si.
6. Bm upapanno, *and below.*

param maraṇā sugatiṃ saggaṃ lokaṃ uppann devānaṃ Tāvatiṃsānaṃ sahavyataṃ. Ahaṃ pana[1] asakkaccaṃ dānaṃ datvā asahatthā dānaṃ datvā acittikataṃ dānaṃ datvā apviddhaṃ dānaṃ datvā kāyassa bhedā param maraṇā Cātummanhārājikānaṃ devānaṃ sahavyataṃ uppanno suññaṃ Serīsakaṃ vimānaṃ. Tena hi bhante Gavampati manussa-lokaṃ gantvā evam ārocehi: "Sakkaccaṃ dānaṃ detha, sahatthā danaṃ detha, citti-kataṃ dānaṃ detha, anapaviddhaṃ dānaṃ detha. Pāyāsi rājañño asakkaccaṃ dānaṃ datvā asahatthā dānaṃ datvā acittikaṭaṃ dānaṃ datvā apaviddhaṃ dānâṃ datvā kāyassa bhedā param maraṇā Cātum-mahārājikānaṃ devānaṃ sahavyataṃ uppanno suññaṃ serīsakaṃ vimānaṃ. Yo pana tassa dāne vyāvaṭo ahosi Uttaro nāma māṇavo, so sakkaccaṃ datvā' sahatthā dānaṃ datvā citti-kataṃ dānaṃ datvā anapaviddhaṃ dānaṃ datvā kāyassa bhedā param maraṇā sugatim saggaṃ lokaṃ uppanno Devānaṃ Tāvatiṃsānaṃ sahavyatan ti." '

33. Now at that time the venerable Gavampati[2] used frequently to go for siesta to the empty mansion of the Acacia. And Pāyāsi, now one of the gods, came up to him and, saluting him, stood on one side. To him so standing the venerable Gavampati said :— 'Who art thou, friend ?'

'I, sir, am prince Pāyāsi.'

'Wert thou not once of the opinion that there was no other world, no rebirth other than of parents, no fruit or result of deeds well or ill-done ?'

'I was indeed, sir, but through his reverence Kumara Kassapa I detached myself from that evil set of opinions.'

'But the youth Uttara, who objected to thy gift, friend, whereunto has he been reborn ?'

'He, Sir, having objected to my gift, and having himself bestowed a gift thoroughly, with his own hands, with due thought,

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1. B^m K *add* bhante.
2. He had been the son of a merchant at Benares; and had been received into the Order by the Buddha at the very beginning of his career as a teacher (Vin. I, 19). This legend supposes him, still a man, going for meditation to the lower heavens.

not as something discarded, has, since he died, been reborn in the bright and happy world, into the communion of the Three-and-Thirty Gods. I, sir, inasmuch as I bestowed my gift without thoroughness, not with my own hand, without due thought, as something discarded, was after my death reborn into the communion of the Four Great Kings, in the empty mansion of Acacia. Wherefore, Gavam-pati, Sir, go thou into the world of men and tell them :— "Give me your gifts with thoroughness, with your own hands, with due thought, and give not as if ye were discarding somewhat. For so did not prince Pāyāsi; and he after his death was reborn into the communion of the Four Great Kings, in the empty mansion of the Acacia. But the youth Uttara, who bestowed his gifts in the right way, was after his death reborn in the bright and happy world, into the communion of the Three-and-Thirty Gods."

34. Atha kho āyasmā Gavampati manussa-lokaṃ āgantva evam ārocesi: 'Sakkaccaṃ dānaṃ detha, sahatthā dānaṃ detha, citti-kataṃ dānaṃ detha, anapaviddhaṃ dānaṃ detha. Pāyāsi rājañño asakkaccaṃ dānaṃ datvā asahatthā dānaṃ datvā acitti-dānaṃ datvā apaviddhaṃ dānaṃ datvā kāyassa bhedā param maraṇā Cātum mahārājikānaṃ devānaṃ sahavyataṃ upponno suññain Serīsakaṃ vimānaṃ. Yo pana tassa dāne vyāvaṭo ahosi, Uttaro nāma māṇavo, so sakkaccaṃ dānaṃ datvā sahatthā dānaṃ datva citti-kataṃ dānaṃ datvā datvā anapa-viddhaṃ dānaṃ datvā kāyassa bhedā param maraṇā sugatim saggaṃ lokaṃ uppanno devānaṃ Tāvatiṃsānaṃ shavyatan ti.'

34. So the venerable Gavampati came back to the world of men, and there told these things. "Give me your gifts with thoroughness, with your own hands, with due thought, and give not as if ye were discrarding somewhat. For so did not Prince Pāyāsi; and he after his death was reborn into the Communion of the Four Great kings, in the empty mansion of the Acacia. But the youth Ultara, who bestowed his gifts in the right way, was after his death reborn in the bright and happy world, into the Communion of the Three and Thirty Gods."

Pāyāsi Sutta Niṭṭhitam

The End Of The Payasi Sutta.

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